

THE OLD TESTAMENT
from the
MODERN POINT of VIEW



By the Rev. L. W. BATTEN, Ph. D.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

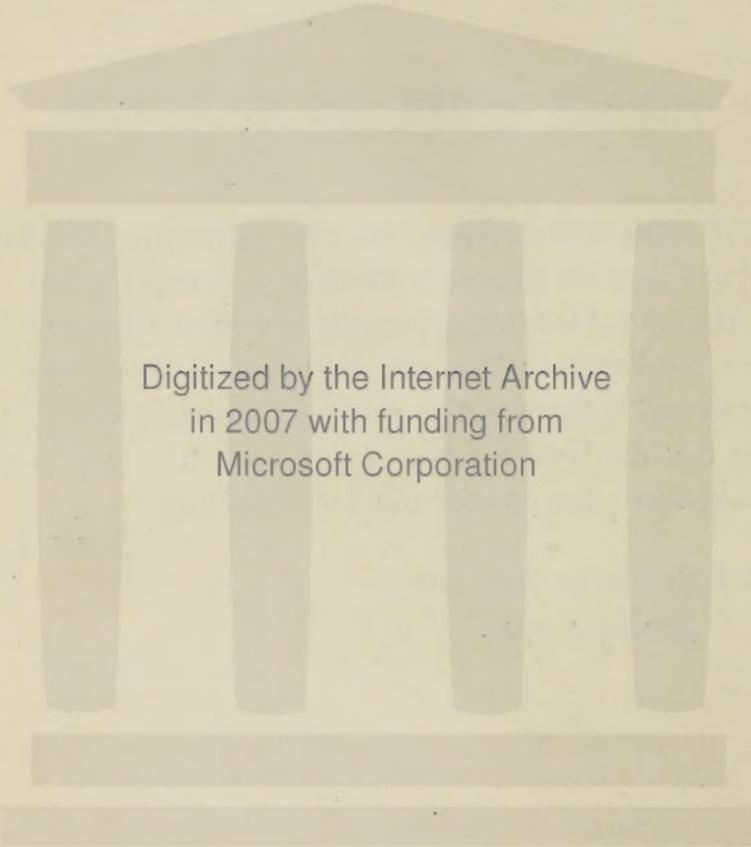
SOME typographical errors have been corrected in this edition ; but I have not deemed it advisable to change the text.

I am glad to have this opportunity to express my gratitude for the many kind words which have been said about this book, both in reviews and in letters. The particular testimony which I value most is that the book has been found useful to students of the Bible, and that it has proved helpful to a vital faith.

L. W. B.

St. Mark's Church, New York,

January 1, 1901.



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THE OLD TESTAMENT FROM THE MODERN POINT OF VIEW.

PREFACE.

EVERY age has its own way of looking at things. The things themselves are the same in every age; but they often appear to be different as they are seen from one or another point of view. In many respects it is impossible for us to see as our fathers saw. We can see as they did only as we are able to get their point of view. It is doubtless best for every age to see with its own eyes, because with them it can see most clearly, and it is by clear vision that true progress can be made.

If we look at the Old Testament from the modern point of view, we see the same collection of sacred writings which our fathers in the Christian Church have long held in high veneration; but we see them as they did not and could not. We may hope that we are of the same spirit as they, but we must not forego the vantage point of our many centuries of progress.

The modern point of view, in Biblical science, as in other sciences, is merely the point from which one endeavors to see things as they are. This age is not wont to look at things from the standpoint of an established theory, but from that of a determination to get at the actual facts. In some respects modern science seems cold, irreverent, even reckless in its quest of truth. Applied to the Bible, it seems to pay little heed to theories of the

date and authorship of the sacred writings—theories which have been so long cherished that they have come to be regarded as established facts. But after all the effort is good in its purpose. For it is evident that its aim is to get back of the long prevalent opinions, and to see things as they appeared to those who lived and moved and had their being among the things in question.

It is undoubtedly a great gain to be able to look upon an ancient writing from the point of view of the writer and of his first readers. It is a great gain to stand beside the ancient prophet, and to see the conditions which he saw, and by which God moved his prophetic spirit. To do this we must look with the eyes of our own age, because it is thus we are enabled to look with the eyes of the prophet. The object of modern historical criticism, therefore, is to get back to the view-point of those who spoke and wrote in ancient times.

The sacred literature of the Hebrews has come down to us in books and collections of books. The eyes of this generation are turned back to see how those books were made, and to understand the controlling literary spirit of the times in which they were composed.

There are some aspects of the Old Testament which must appear essentially the same to every devout Christian student, no matter to what period he belongs. In the fourth Christian century, for example, the fundamental belief of the Church was thus expressed in the Nicene Creed: "Who spake by the prophets." Those words state clearly and admirably the faith of the present age as well, and of every age intervening.

In the last chapter of the present volume I have dwelt upon the effects of Biblical criticism upon the essentials of the faith, my aim and desire being to show that critical investigation does not have a harmful, but a helpful result. That chapter stands in its logical position at the end of the book; but nevertheless it may be well

for readers to whom the problems herein discussed are comparatively new to read that chapter first. The doctrine which is supposed to be most seriously and harmfully affected by the results of criticism is inspiration. As a theory, it is true, inspiration is looked at differently to-day from what it has been in the past; but there is more than compensating gain in that the emphasis is now laid upon the fact of inspiration.

The subjects discussed in this volume are chiefly the literary problems which a thoughtful reading of the Old Testament inevitably raises. In dealing with these problems I have felt no disposition to be dogmatic. On the contrary, I have desired to lay before the reader the evidence upon which modern results are based, so that he can himself judge of their validity. It did not come within the scope of my plan to take up all the problems of the Old Testament; but I have chosen typical examples from the different parts into which the Hebrew Scriptures are naturally divided. It seemed to me that in this way could be given the best general idea of the work which has been done.

Coleridge says that "an author has three points to settle: to what sort his work belongs, for what description of readers it is intended, and the specific end, or object, which it is to answer."

The first of these points has already been answered, at least in part. If any further statement is needed, I could not give it better than in the words of the author just quoted: "It belongs to the class of *didactic* works. Consequently, those who neither wish instruction for themselves, nor assistance in instructing others, have no interest in its contents." The aim of this book certainly is not to entertain, but to teach. If it fails in that, it is a failure altogether.

With that emphatic statement, I pass on to Coleridge's second point, "For whom?" The book was not written for the comparatively small body of Old Testament scholars, who are familiar

with the working out of all the problems considered here, and whose knowledge would not be increased by anything I have said. There has been no effort to fill these pages with original contributions in fields already well worked.

But there is, I am persuaded, a large class of thoughtful Christian people who have not leisure for scholarly investigation, but who nevertheless desire to have some exact knowledge of the discussions which have so greatly influenced the modern view of the Old Testament. They may or may not be prepared to accept the conclusions reached by the specialists; but they do wish to know what those scholars hold, and the character of the evidence upon which their opinions are based. They want this knowledge furnished in a form readily intelligible to those who have no large acquaintance with the books which treat of the questions at issue; and they want the information in a form sufficiently brief for the busiest man in this busy age.

Whether I have succeeded in meeting the wants of this class or not it is of course for them to say. But if this book does meet their needs, it will, at least in the mind of the writer, justify its existence.

I spoke advisedly of this class as *Christian*; for this book has been written, as will appear to those who read it through, from the point of view of a believer, not only in the verities of the Christian religion, but also in the Old Testament as an inspired record of a divine revelation. However great freedom the writer may feel in the investigation of the critical questions which are found in the Old Testament, he desires to assert most emphatically that he discovers nothing in the results of his studies at variance with the Christian faith.

Coleridge's third point is, "For what?" There are some people who have been seriously troubled by the new ideas of the Old Testament which are now becoming so widely prevalent. But

there is also a large number whose religious faith was wrecked by a theory of the Old Testament which laid upon their consciences a burden greater than they could bear. The modern views have helped many of this class to re-accept the once discarded Scriptures, and to get back their Christian faith.

The Old Testament, of late years, has been sadly neglected among Christian believers. They could best meet its difficulties by letting it alone. There are now good signs of a revival of interest in these books, which were the sacred Scriptures of our Lord and of His Apostles. That revival will be greatly helped by the dissemination of truer views of the actual course of events in Hebrew history, and of the actual character of the Old Testament records.

The writer ventures to hope also that those who are at present unfriendly toward the historical criticism of the Bible will come to recognize at least the fact that the animus of the critical student is good. Difference of opinion, in matters of opinion, is a slight thing; but the misapprehension of motive is a serious thing. If this presentation of modern views of the Old Testament shall help along a juster appreciation of critical investigation on the part of those who now fear that it is destructive, one earnest hope of the writer will be fulfilled.

No attempt has been made to make the work a compendium of critical opinions; nor have I sought to support every assertion by abundant references. I have not pretended to acknowledge all my indebtedness to others; for the task would be too great. This book is the fruit of ten years' study and teaching of the Old Testament; but I gladly acknowledge the aid which I have received in those years from all the many good books, new and old, which have been written upon these subjects.

The translation of the passages cited from the Old Testament is my own. I claim no especial credit for this; but I could not satisfy

myself with following any existing version. The one merit at which I have aimed is fidelity to the original. I have departed as little as possible, however, from the Revised Version.

It will be noted that in the translations I have used "Jahveh" as the sacred name of God, in other places "Jehovah." When one remembers that the name "Jehovah" is formed by combining the consonants of the sacred name JHVH with the vowels of another divine name, *Adonai* (Lord), which the later Jews substituted for JHVH in reading the Scriptures, he cannot help wishing that we were rid entirely of this unfortunate form. But while "Jahveh" (or, perhaps better, *Yahwe*), represents the probable pronunciation of the name, it is not certainly so. We are likely at any day to get evidence from the Babylonian inscriptions which will definitely settle this vexed question. When we are assured of the correct form of the name, we should be ready to abandon the form "Jehovah." We are sure that no Hebrew ever called the Deity by that name; but neither are we sure, in spite of the strange guesses we now sometimes see in print, in what way the divine name was pronounced.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my former preceptor, Dr. John P. Peters; to my former colleague, Prof. R. W. Micou, D.D.; and to my present co-worker, Prof. Wm. M. Groton, who have read the manuscript or proof of this book, and from all of whom I have received helpful suggestions.

L. W. BATTEN.

Philadelphia Divinity School,

March 8, 1899.

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CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

THE higher criticism has ceased to be a young science. Measured by time, or by the truer standard of achievement, it has won its way to the front rank, and is now recognized generally as an indispensable handmaid in Biblical study. Many people, however, speak freely of this science who do not seem to have a clear knowledge of its precise scope. It is especially common to find the conclusions of a particular school of Biblical scholars identified with the name of the method by which their results were reached. It is well to state at the beginning just what is meant by the term Higher Criticism, a term which will be often used in this book, and which is so much used in theological discussions to-day.

In spite of its seemingly arrogant name, a source of offence to many, this branch of study aims to be modest enough. We need not ask higher than what? for the English comparative fills a multitude of functions, and the term here simply marks a contrast with another kind of criticism called the lower. The lower criticism deals with the text, and is now in fact more

commonly called textual criticism. Until very recently lower criticism was not much applied to the Old Testament, though it has long been recognized as indispensable in critical New Testament study.

In the case of the New Testament there are materials for this science which are altogether lacking in that of the Old. The oldest Hebrew manuscript does not antedate the tenth century A.D.; moreover, all Hebrew manuscripts belong to the same family, and therefore exhibit no important variants. In the textual criticism of the Old Testament, therefore, reliance must be placed on the ancient translations in Greek, Latin and Syriac, and upon conjecture. Even with such scanty materials considerable progress has been made in the past few years, the Polychrome Bible (in Hebrew) being the first attempt to publish a critically revised text. Just because the data are so few, it is but natural that, when a start was once made, conjectural emendations of the text should occupy a prominent place. The pendulum seems at present likely to make a pretty wide arc in that direction before it settles down to a proper centre. But a sound text is essential as the basis for all other study. Being, therefore, the foundation of all Biblical criticism, and in this sense only, it is called lower. One part of the superstructure may inoffensively be called higher in a purely spatial relation, without seeming to be arrogant, or to disparage anything else.

Higher criticism is purely literary in its character. The term literary criticism is innocent enough ; yet it is the same thing as the higher criticism. The latter term has proved unfortunate, as it has opened the way for many more or less clever gibes from those who like it not. But doubtless the wits would have found some other subject to ridicule, if this opening had been denied them. Higher criticism is a method of study, and does not imply any particular kind of results, radical, moderate, conservative, or traditional.

There is a single question we must ask of any writing which we undertake to study : What is its origin? The method by which we seek to answer that question scientifically is the higher criticism. The application of this method by different hands produces very different results. The array of evidence is marshalled by this method, but the judgment which is pronounced upon the evidence is beyond the sphere of this science. One scholar examines the evidence—language, style, thought, historical allusions, etc., and concludes that a certain Psalm, let us say, is pre-exilic ; another using precisely the same evidence may conclude that it is Maccabean ; but both alike are higher critics, and they reach their different results by the science of higher criticism.

In the study of the Old Testament the higher criticism has been applied very persistently and thoroughly, and with most important results. Its sphere

is the age, authorship and structure of the various books. It is often looked upon as a new science. In a sense it is. But sometimes it appears that the Preacher was right, and that "there is nothing new under the sun." The fact is that higher criticism was applied to the Old Testament a long while ago, as the example following will show.

It would be rash to venture an opinion as to the date when the heading was prefixed to the Song of Deborah, one of the earliest literary monuments of the Hebrew Bible. This heading (Judges v. 1) reads, "Now Deborah and Barak, the son of Abinoam, sang in that day, saying——." But an examination of this heading, or title page (for such these headings are), shows that the one who placed it there was a higher critic; for he tells us (1) the character of the writing, that it is a song; (2) the age, on the day of the great battle with Sisera; (3) the authors, Deborah and Barak; (4) the structure of the poem, reaching the radical conclusion that the song was composite, as he deems it the joint production of two authors.* It appears that this higher critic, who lived several centuries before Christ, had no more data to determine these

* The form in the Hebrew shows that the words "and Barak, the son of Abinoam," were an afterthought, probably by a second editor. (See Moore's "Judges," *in loc.*) Literally rendered, the passage runs: "And sang Deborah, and Barak, the son of Abinoam." The verb "sang" is the third feminine singular, and

questions than we have to-day. It, therefore, is not surprising that many modern higher critics have reached a different result from their early Jewish predecessor. Those who prefixed headings to the various prophecies, to the Psalms, and to other Old Testament writings, were likewise higher critics. In fact, this science flourished for a considerable period in pre-Christian times.

These critics, like their modern successors, did not always agree in their conclusions; and it sometimes happens that there is preserved more than one opinion as to the authorship of certain pieces. Examples of this will be found in the treatment of the Psalter; but a single instance may be cited here. The title to Psalm lxxxviii. reads thus: "A song. A psalm of the sons of Korah. For the liturgy. To (the tune of) the sickness. To be sung. A didactic poem (Maskil) of Heman the Ezrahite." The meaning of some of the terms in the Psalm headings is quite uncertain. I have used some of the renderings of the Polychrome Bible. But it is clear that the above heading is the result of successive editings, and that two different authors are credited with this poem.

The most marked achievement of modern higher

Deborah alone is its proper subject. It may be, therefore, that there were two higher critics from the pre-Christian age whose conclusions have survived. Early Christian criticism even essayed to state which parts of the poem were due to each of the authors.

criticism is the analysis of books which have heretofore been regarded as the production of a single writer. There is nothing inherently unreasonable in this critical analysis, for there are many ways in which an author might construct a book. He might compose it entirely from his own mind ; he might use other writers freely, having read and digested their ideas; or he might simply extract passages from different authors, adding only such notes as were necessary to connect the passages borrowed.

Suppose, for example, one wanted to prepare a history of the United States by compilation. By a judicious selection it would be possible to produce a very useful history, probably more useful than any single one now in existence. For no one can fully know the history of any period who has read but a single book.

Now the contention of the modern critics is, that a large number of the books of the Hebrew Bible were put into their present form by compilation. In modern times literary ethics requires the use of quotation marks, and generally the source quoted must be indicated ; but in ancient Israel there was no such thing as literary ethics. We should not justly appreciate such a compilation as mentioned above, because of the great premium which is placed upon originality ; but among the ancient Hebrews, originality was so little prized that books were published anonymously, or un-

der a *nom de plume*, the favorite kind being the name of some famous person of the past. This custom lasted into the Christian centuries, too. There is a famous writer of the fifth century A.D., whom we only know under his *nom de plume* of Dionysius the Areopagite, a Greek who was converted by St. Paul at Athens, and who lived therefore several centuries earlier than the unknown author who borrowed his name.*

Among the Hebrews, as among other peoples, there was an age of original literary production, and there was another age when indeed "of the making of many books there was no end," but when the literary spirit had changed. The genius of men was engaged in compilation and codification rather than in original production. Earlier literature was treated with great freedom. Parallel histories were woven into one; scattered prophecies and poems were collected into convenient books; and these collections acquired a position of authority previously unknown.

It is often supposed that much mischief was done in this age of collecting and editing, because so many original sources were lost or obscured in the process of compilation. On the contrary, too much gratitude can scarcely be expressed to those somewhat mechanical bookmakers. If anywhere in Church history the hand of God can be seen, it is there. We owe it apparently to those worthies that any considerable body

* Allen, "Christian Institutions," p. 495.

of Hebrew sacred literature is preserved. It would be indeed a great boon if we had the sources used by those compilers. It is often assumed that the compilers are responsible for their loss; but this assumption is utterly without warrant. It is quite absurd to suppose that when, for example, the two earliest sources of our present Pentateuch were combined into a single history, the compiler immediately destroyed every extant copy of the originals.

The compiler of Joshua has preserved an all too brief extract from the "Book of Jashar," a collection of poems celebrating the exploits of Israel's early heroes, but is he therefore responsible for the loss of that book? The value of these sources would indeed be inestimable; but it is infinitely better to have such extracts as the compilers have preserved than none at all. It was the sacred character of these compilations which saved them from destruction in such perilous days for Hebrew literature as those of Antiochus Epiphanes. On the doctrinal side it is easy to ridicule the idea of the inspiration of the various redactors or editors; it is easy also to find flaws in their poor literary work; but the Church owes them a debt which should cover a multitude of sins; for they, under God's providence, saved the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is often objected to the higher criticism that its results are negative and destructive. It must frankly plead guilty to this indictment; but not in the sense

too often intended. Whenever it is necessary to correct a generally received error, there is necessarily a negative and destructive side to the correction; and it often happens that the correction for a time goes no further. But the positive and constructive stage is sure to follow. When, for example, Joseph Mede in 1632 denied that Zechariah the prophet wrote the whole of the book called by his name, that result was negative; but when he said further that Jeremiah wrote a part of this prophecy, his conclusion was positive and constructive.*

In Biblical criticism it is often inevitable that the negative stage shall be in part final. The second part of Isaiah is believed to belong to the time of the Babylonian exile. In removing it from the Isaianic age and authorship, the result is negative. As it is impossible to tell who the exilic author was, the negative result must be final, so far as authorship goes. But is it a purely negative result to remove a wrong conclusion, even if it is not possible to put the right one in its place? But criticism was not obliged to stop with a negation. The prophecy is removed from an age to which it does not belong, and in which it has no fitness, to its true position, where every line speaks with new life and meaning. Is this result not both positive

* His object was to vindicate St. Matthew's reference (xxvii. 9) of a quotation from Zechariah (xi. 13) to Jeremiah. See G. A. Smith's "Twelve Prophets," II., 450.

and constructive? The history of the Jews in exile was almost a blank until this result was reached. Now we have material which enables us to draw a tolerably complete picture of that interesting stage in Israel's history. On the whole, then, is this critical discovery loss or gain?

The critical conclusions of modern times are not the result of a destructive or sceptical spirit which seeks to find as many errors as possible in the Bible, or in the traditional views about the Bible. They are the result of an effort to explain the facts which one finds in the Bible the moment one begins to study it with care. Why did Mede assign a part of Zechariah to Jeremiah? He found that St. Matthew quoted a passage from the former, but credited it to the latter. It was apparent, then, that either the statement in the Gospel was an error, or else that Jeremiah wrote the passage in question. Mede preferred the latter alternative, and his conclusion is the only logical one for those who maintain that the New Testament use is decisive in critical questions. The modern critic finds insuperable difficulties against assigning this passage to either Zechariah or Jeremiah; but the difficulties are not brought in from the outside; they lie in the prophecy itself.

Many other illustrations of this important aspect of the higher criticism will be found in the subsequent chapters.

It appears, therefore, that the aim of the higher criticism is to find the true solution of problems which force themselves upon the attentive student. Whatever one may think of its results, its motive at least is good. The truth does not always seem to be pleasant ; in fact it is often very grievous ; but nevertheless we perceive that it is best as soon as our eyes are open to see, and in the long run it will prevail. It may be hard to give up the Davidic authorship of a particular psalm ; but if David did not write it, there can be little use in keeping up the illusion.

The grief which comes to many earnest minds from the results of Biblical criticism is due in large measure to expectations of the Old Testament revelation which never should have been raised. People who find themselves troubled about these things would do well to study somewhat carefully the New Testament doctrine of the Old Testament.* It is often said that the full revelation in the Lord Jesus Christ sets aside for Christians only the ceremonial law of the Jews. But is this really all? Let us see.

The Epistle to the Hebrews begins with this suggestive utterance: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days

* Reference may be made to such guides as Toy's "Quotations in the New Testament," and to an article by Dr. J. P. Peters, "Christ's Treatment of the Old Testament," J. B. L., 1896, p. 87ff.

spoken unto us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things . . . having become so much better than the angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name than they." Now this writer distinctly recognizes the fact that the prophets were inspired, that is, that God spoke through them; but he claims quite as distinctly that the revelation through the Son was a superior revelation. Hence it follows that the revelation through the prophets was imperfect, even though it was real.

But there is higher authority than this, and there is no use standing on the threshold when we may go fully into the house. Our Lord repeatedly sets aside laws, doctrines, or morals of the Old Testament. On what ground? That they were not of God? By no means; but because they were only temporary expedients suitable for the conditions of the times, but not on the plane of Christian righteousness.

Divorce is not a ceremonial matter, surely; and the Mosaic Law contains specific regulations upon this subject; but our Lord set them aside, and gave a law which has not yet been attained in any Christian State. A considerable part of the Sermon on the Mount consists of corrections of the Mosaic Law, even of its most venerated part, the Decalogue. The prohibitions, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou shalt not commit adultery," etc., do not go far enough, according to the teaching of Jesus. One may keep them all and

yet be a grievous sinner. The *lex talionis*, which may have been a wise law for the early Hebrews, is distinctly set aside; so is the law to hate one's enemy. None of these are ritual matters. In fact our Lord does not seem to have had much to say against the ceremonial law, and was Himself somewhat scrupulous in the observance of the sacred seasons. But His attitude shows that He adjudged the old law to be imperfect. Therefore it is not for us to exalt the God-inspired to a level with the God-Man, nor to expect to see as clearly in the dawn as in the mid-day. It is true that we shall best understand the Son if we know the prophets, but the prophet cannot speak to us the final word; that was reserved for the Son.

Arrogant as the higher critic is often supposed to be, he does not stand forth to speak with the voice of authority, though he may speak with conviction. But the critical student feels that any problem which the Scriptures force upon him is a fair subject of investigation. Nevertheless it is often claimed that the New Testament has pronounced upon the literary questions which the higher critic deals with so freely, and that that pronouncement is authoritative; therefore to open these questions is impossible for the Christian. There are really two questions involved in this contention. Did the New Testament pronounce upon those critical problems? And, if so, is its judgment final? For complete treatment we should have to examine the whole

New Testament usage. But it will be sufficient to take the statements of our Lord. If His voice does not silence criticism, no other will.

It is well to keep in mind that such a study must be undertaken with all reverence. The free way in which our Lord has been dragged to the witness stand in such discussions is repulsive in the extreme. Some whose devotion to Jesus Christ is greater than their concern about any critical question whatever repudiate such a settlement, whether it makes for or against their own opinions. But there are many who are sorely perplexed by this matter. The acceptance of critical conclusions seems to require them to set aside the authority of Jesus Christ. The evidence may be overwhelming, but how can they attribute error to Him?

One's sympathy for those who feel thus cannot but be strong. For myself I am free to say that if I believed that Jesus Christ had deliberately and advisedly stated that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, I should accept it, and that without the nearly universal exception of the account of his death and burial (Deut. xxxiv.). When one decides critical questions on the ground of authority, he must accept the result as a whole. There is no use in straining at gnats and swallowing camels. But did our Lord ever pronounce on these questions? One may well doubt it, and in a case like this, as in a jury trial, a reasonable doubt is quite sufficient to justify a negative verdict.

It will strike any one who reads the Gospels with such a question in his mind as singular, if our Lord were concerned about settling, for instance, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, that He passed by such good opportunities to settle once for all a question which has sorely vexed His people.* In the Sermon on the Mount, where the Law is referred to so often, He does not once mention Moses, but uses the critically colorless phrase, "It was said." But in some other cases where He refers to the Law He simply uses the term *Moses*; as, "The gift that Moses commanded" (Matt. viii. 4); "Moses said" (Mark vii. 10; see also Matt. xix. 8; Mark i. 44). In Mark xii. 26, Jesus asks: "Have ye not read in the book of Moses, in the bush?" But in the parallel passage, Luke xx. 37, we read "that the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in the bush,† when he calleth the Lord the God of Abraham," etc. The point of the argument is not the authorship of Moses, but the action of Moses. By calling Jehovah the God of Abraham, Moses taught that Abraham was alive. This is a much more forci-

* The inquiry is limited to the Synoptic Gospels, as they alone provide ample material for the purpose.

† The insertion in the Revised Version, "in the *place concerning* the bush," is unnecessary, to say the least. "Even Moses showed in the bush" is the correct rendering. "Bush" was the technical name of a section of the Pentateuch. (See Art. "Bible" in Hastings' Bible Dictionary.)

ble argument than the form in Mark,* and it is fair to assume that "the book of Moses" is due to the evangelist. Is it not likely that there are other similar cases? †

In St. Luke Christ speaks of the Old Testament under the names "Moses and the prophets" (xvi. 29), and "the law of Moses, and the prophets, and the psalms" (xxiv. 44). In these cases it is evident that our Lord uses the term "Moses" as the convenient, accepted, and universally understood title of the Pentateuch, just as He applies the term "the prophets" to the historical books (Joshua to Kings) and to all the prophetic books. Now if the usage is to be pressed so far that when He uses "Moses" as a designation of the Pentateuch, He at the same time pronounces it as His judgment that Moses was the author of the books so designated, then we must hold that all the books called prophets are really prophetic books, so that Joshua, with its long catalogue of cities assigned to the tribes, is not a historical book, but a prophecy. Moreover, since He applies the term "psalms" to the collection of books called the *Kethubim* or *Hagiographa*, by the same authority we shall have to hold that all the writings in this varied collection, even Daniel and Chron-

* The parallel passage in Matt. xxii. 31 has no reference to Moses: "Have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God?"

† See Sanday, "Bampton Lectures on Inspiration," p. 407.

icles, are psalms.* It appears, then, that the appeal to our Lord's authority proves too much.

Only once does our Lord connect the Psalms with David, and that can only be claimed to show the Davidic authorship of a particular Psalm (cx.). There are some who might be willing, on evidence, to believe that no other psalm was written by David. But they cannot give up the Davidic authorship of this psalm. The passage quoting Psalm cx. is found in all three Synoptics, Matt. xxii. 43, Mark xii. 36, Luke xx. 42, and in substantially the same words. If we look at the passages superficially it might seem that Jesus proved that Christ was not the Son of David; it might also be said that He proved that David did not write the Psalm; for that is the other alternative. Either David did not call Christ Lord, or else Christ is not David's son; these are the two horns of the dilemma which the critical Pharisees had to grapple with. Now our Lord's argument is not based upon His belief in the Davidic authorship of this

* It is held by many that Jesus does not apply the terms prophets and psalms in a general, but only in a limited, sense. That is, by "prophets," He means only the prophetic books, and by "psalms," only the book of Psalms. See Ryle's "Canon of the Old Testament," p. 15f. There is no evidence that the Old Testament canon was finally fixed in the time of Christ; yet it is quite possible that by "psalms" He refers to the varied collection in the third part of the Hebrew canon, whether its limits were definitely fixed or not.

Psalm, but upon the Pharisees' belief in that opinion.* The validity of the argument requires the Pharisaic assumption that David wrote the Psalm, and requires nothing else whatever.† In another case our Lord quotes from a Psalm, saying merely that it is "in the Scriptures" (Matt. xxi. 42).

We observe, then, that our Lord uses precisely the same terminology for the Scriptures as the people of

*See Peters' "Christ's Treatment of the Old Testament," J. B. L., 1896, p. 103.

†The writer does not wish to be understood here as contending that David was not the author of that Psalm, but only that the evidence for the Davidic authorship must be found elsewhere than in our Lord's use. It may be added, as a matter of interest, that very few modern critics ascribe the Psalm to David. Even so conservative a writer as Driver expresses his view thus: "This Psalm, though it may be ancient, can hardly have been composed by David. If read without *praejudicium*, it produces the irresistible impression of having been written, not by a king with reference to an invisible, spiritual Being, standing above him as his superior, but by a prophet *with reference to the theocratic king*" (see L. O. T.⁶, p. 384, note, where the reasons for his conclusion are given at length). Sanday says, "A Psalm is quoted as David's which, whatever its true date, it seems difficult to believe really came from him" ("Inspiration," p. 409). Orelli, like Ewald, holds that the Psalm is Davidic, in the sense of belonging to the Davidic age, but having David as the subject, not as the author. He calls the Psalm a "prophetic message to David" ("O. T. Prophecy," p. 153). Bishop Ellicott's little book, "Christus Comprobatur," is a polemic against modern criticism, the base of his

His time.* He employed terms which are in common use still as being convenient. Modern critics speak of the Mosaic Law, and of the Davidic Psalms without meaning that Moses was the author of the Law or David of the Psalms. Our Lord might cite a passage of the Pentateuch as a saying of Moses, without pronouncing a judgment *pro* or *con* on any critical question.

His custom in this matter is the same as in other matters. In all things connected with the physical world He uses the phraseology of His time. Not one of the great discoveries in any science, so important for the welfare of the race, was ever hinted at by Him. He rises out of His generation only when He deals with things moral and spiritual, and then at once we find that "never man spake like this man." It is difficult to believe that our Lord came into this world to teach things man can find out himself. He came to reveal truth which was beyond man's natural powers. Critical and scientific questions were far removed from the

attack being the authority of Christ and His Apostles. In regard to Psalm cx. he argues that if the author had not been David, some of the Pharisees would have known it (p. 175f.). This argument *assumes* that the Jews, several hundred years after the poem was written, had absolute knowledge as to the author. But there is no ground to justify such an assumption.

*See Matt. xix. 7; xxii. 24; Mark x. 4; xii. 19 (where the Jews refer to the Law as "Moses").

sphere of His mission or of His interest. Our Lord seems to have avoided questions which did not belong to the sphere of His mission as the Saviour of men. In regard to things indifferent, He conformed to the usage and thoughts of His time. Against John Baptist's protest, He insisted upon baptism (Matt. iii. 14f.). But whenever His higher work was in question, He did not hesitate to take direct issue with Jewish traditions.

It seems strange, then, that any one should couple the divinity of Christ with a particular critical conclusion. Many people find it perfectly easy to believe fully in the Incarnation and at the same time in the results of modern criticism. To make the Incarnation dependent upon traditional views of the Scriptures may prove to be building one's house upon the sand. It is certain that such a dependence has often proved perilous to faith. If one really feels that criticism and the Incarnation are inseparably connected, he might come to feel more certain of the criticism than of the Incarnation, and so make shipwreck of his faith. The doctrine of the Incarnation should be built upon the strongest grounds, not upon the weakest; upon the known facts recorded in the New Testament, not upon the Jewish critical conclusions in regard to the Old Testament.

The undivided Catholic Church has been wise enough not to confuse unrelated things. Her doctrine of the

Scriptures leaves little to be desired. The historic creeds only require belief in inspiration, "who spake by the prophets." The Sixth Article of Religion of the Protestant Episcopal Church is wholly admirable, though it takes the distinctly Protestant position that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith." It defines the limits of the canon, but does not pass judgment upon a single question of the higher criticism.

Now it is nowhere read in Scripture that Moses is the author of the book of Genesis, nor may it in any way be proved thereby; therefore the Mosaic authorship, whether true or false, is not an article of the faith. It is nowhere read in Scripture, nor may it be proved thereby, that Isaiah is the author of the whole of the first of the "Four Prophets the greater"; therefore it is not to be required of any man as an article of the faith. Prof. Sayce, in the preface to his recent "Early History of the Hebrews," says that he accepts whatever the Church holds, but that he knows of nothing in the Church's teaching which prevents a free treatment of Jewish history; and certainly he does treat it with a critical freedom that is surprising, in view of his many recent assaults on the higher critics.

The Anglican Church has done more than merely

stand out of the way of criticism. This *Ecclesia docens* has spoken through the highest authority—the Episcopate of the Anglican Communion. However high or low may be one's ecclesiastical views, he will highly respect an utterance of the noble body of Bishops gathered in the Lambeth Conference. This body, at its session in 1897, issued this declaration *in re* the higher criticism :

“ The critical study of the Bible by competent scholars is essential to the maintenance in the Church of a healthy faith. That faith is already in serious danger which refuses to face questions that may be raised either on the authority or the genuineness of any part of the Scriptures that have come down to us. Such refusal creates painful suspicion in the minds of many whom we have to teach, and will weaken the strength of our own conviction of the truth that God has revealed to us. A faith which is always or often attended by a secret fear that we dare not inquire lest inquiry should lead us to results inconsistent with what we believe, is already infected with a disease which may soon destroy it. But all inquiry is attended with a danger on the other side unless it be protected by the guard of reverence, confidence, and patience. It is quite true that there have been instances where inquiry has led to doubt, and, ultimately, to infidelity. But the best safeguard against such a peril lies in that deep reverence which never fails to accompany real

faith. The central object of Christian faith must always be the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. The test which St. Paul gives of the possession of the Holy Spirit is the being able to say that Jesus is the Lord. If a man can say with his whole heart and soul that Jesus is the Lord, he stands on a rock which nothing can shake. Read in the light of this conviction, the Bible, beginning with man made in the image of God, and rising with ever-increasing clearness of revelation to God taking on Him the form of man, and throughout it all showing in every page the sense of the Divine Presence inspiring what is said, will not fail to exert its power over the souls of men till the Lord comes again. This power will never really be affected by any critical study whatever. The report of the committee deals, in our judgment, temperately and wisely with the subject, and we think all Christian people will find it worthy of careful consideration."

Let the timid student read also what is said in the report of the special committee on this subject in the Report of Conference, page 63. As the Bishops say, "If a man can say with his whole heart and soul that Jesus is the Lord, he stands on a rock which nothing can shake." The only question which is vital in critical results is whether they are true or false; and the higher critic to-day asks no favor save a dispassionate review of the evidence. By this he is quite willing that his contentions should stand or fall.

In the last chapter I shall try to show that the acceptance of the results of criticism does not interfere with a full belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. To those who are likely to be troubled by the critical discussions in the chapters following, I would suggest that they read that chapter before the others.

If one believe that the result of the higher critical study of the Scriptures is an error, let him, at all events, not call it a dangerous error without considering the force of the words of Jefferson that "error is without danger so long as truth is left free to combat it."

CHAPTER II.

General Arguments against the Validity of Critical Results.

THERE are certain considerations of a general character which are sometimes supposed to invalidate the results of modern criticism as a whole. There are three of these which will be briefly discussed.

I. It has again and again been stated that archæological discoveries have disproved many critical conclusions, and are likely to disprove a great many more. The critic is warned that the spade is his greatest enemy, and told to tremble before its achievements. Let it be emphasized at the outset that the higher critic is in quest of the truth. He has no theory which he is anxious to maintain. He has had to abandon hosts of theories in the course of his investigations, and is ready to abandon more as soon as the evidence requires it. All the light which archæology is able to furnish is welcome to none more than to him.

One might ask then why there has been such a vigorous controversy between the higher critics and

the archæologists. The English Sayce and the German Hommel have been unsparing in their attacks on criticism, and the other side has not been altogether silent, though, so far as I have observed, the critics have preserved a more equable and seemly temper. The critics have been entirely ready to accept the facts discovered by archæologists, but they have not always been willing to accept the conclusions drawn from those facts by the archæologists.

The critics are often charged with building big theories upon a scanty basis of fact; but they could scarcely exceed the feats of some archæologists in this particular. It must not be supposed, however, that there is any necessary conflict between archæology and criticism. These two disciplines are naturally allies, and criticism must look to archæology as an aid, and, it may be, a corrective. But it must be remembered that archæological facts have to be interpreted as well as critical facts, and there is inevitably considerable difference of opinion in the one case as in the other.

Hommel, in the preface to his "Ancient Hebrew Tradition,"* thus indicates his belief in the overthrow of critical conclusions: "The monuments speak with

*I quote from the English translation published by S. P. C. K., 1897. It has been stated in print (*Expository Times*, January-February, 1898; *The Nation*, October 20, 1897; see also Driver L. O. T.^o, p. xvii., note) that the translation is in many places inaccurate, and the inaccuracies in the interest of greater conservatism.

no faltering tongue, and already I seem to see signs of the approach of a new era, in which men will be able to brush aside the cobweb theories of the so-called 'higher critic' of the Pentateuch, and, leaving such old-fashioned errors behind them, attain to a clearer perception of the real facts" (p. viii). I have read Hommel's book through with a great deal of interest and profit, but I have not seen a single fact which in the least invalidates the sober conclusions of the higher criticism, and not much to disprove even the conclusions of the most radical scholars. On the other hand, I have seen much which supports critical results.

Prof. Sayce endeavored to make his "Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments," published in 1894, a *via media* between the higher critics and the apologists. He repeatedly takes the former to task for their arrogant assumptions, and declares that the spade has set many of their theories at naught. But he falls into error by failing to make proper distinctions. By higher critics he means only the most radical school, who base their conclusions too largely upon mere conjecture. The great body of modern higher critics do not belong to this class, but only go as far in reconstructive theories as there are facts to warrant. Sayce himself is a higher critic of this class.

One of the best known and ablest critics of this class in the English-speaking world is Prof. Driver, of Oxford. His "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testa-

ment" was first published in 1891. This work at once became a classic in Old Testament study. The sixth and enlarged edition appeared in 1897. The work is well known to be the production of a thorough-going higher critic of the modern school. Yet the writer was careful not to allow his theories to run beyond his facts. Now Driver reviewed Sayce's book referred to above in the *Contemporary Review* (March, 1894, p. 408ff.), and declared that if he accepted every fact alleged by Sayce, it would only require him to modify three minute and unimportant statements in his Introduction.* This fact is cited because it is a fair specimen of the way in which the monuments have demolished critical conclusions or made them old-fashioned. We can scarcely rest content, however, with general conclusions, but will look at some of the detailed instances in which archæology and criticism have come into contact.

* It may be well to state in Driver's own words just what these three points are: "I should have to refer Gen. x.—not back to Moses, but—to a *later* author than I had supposed to be necessary; I should have to follow Prof. Cheyne in placing the short prophecy of Obadiah in the post-exilic period; and instead of attributing Jer. l.—li. 58 to a prophet who wrote 'no very long time before the fall of Babylon' (B. C. 538), I should have to assign it to a prophet who wrote definitely during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, which ended B. C. 561. In no other respect is a single argument or conclusion in my work affected unfavorably by the facts which Prof. Sayce has adduced, while in several cases they are materially confirmed by them." See also L. O. T.⁶, p. xviii., quoted below (p. 44).

The main object here is to show that archæology has not banished criticism, and is not likely to. Hence, it is necessary to dwell chiefly on the cases in which archæology does not substantiate the traditional view of the Scriptures. It would be much pleasanter to treat the other side, to show how this science has confirmed Biblical statements. But the object in view would not thereby be gained.

Yet the opportunity must be taken to say that the discoveries of Oriental archæology have been of inestimable value to Biblical study. Facts which stood alone, and not always unchallenged, have been marvellously confirmed. For example, in the twentieth chapter of Isaiah we are told that Sargon, the king of Assyria, sent Tartan to take Ashdod. Until the cuneiform monuments were dug up and deciphered, this was all that was known of Sargon. Naturally, there were some who were unduly influenced by the silence of such records of Assyrian history as were available, and doubted whether there was any such king. But we have now at hand inscriptions describing the campaigns of this king, and, among them, a description of this very campaign against Ashdod.*

* A translation of Sargon's account of his campaign may be found in Schrader's "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," II., 90f. In his annals for his eleventh year (711 B.C.) we find the brief record, "War against Azuri of Ashdod and conquest of that town."

Such discoveries are always a boon to the critical student of the Bible.

But the discoveries have often required us to correct the statements in the Bible, even while in the main they confirmed them. After the disaster to his army in the west, B.C. 701, "Sennacherib, the king of Assyria," we read in II. Kings xix. 36f., "returned and dwelt at Nineveh. And it came to pass, as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, that Adrammelech and Sharezer smote him with the sword; and they escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esar-haddon, his son, reigned in his stead." Now it is not distinctly stated that the assassination of the king took place immediately upon his return to Nineveh; but it is a natural inference, and was generally so understood until the monuments furnished the necessary correction—in this case a correction not of the Biblical statement, but of the received interpretation of the statement. As a matter of fact, however, Sennacherib was not murdered for at least twenty years after his campaign. Moreover, there is no known Assyrian deity called Nisroch, and Sayce himself has pointed out that the order of events is quite reversed here, Hezekiah's sickness (II. Kings xx.) having been ten years earlier than Sennacherib's campaign (H. C. M., p. 446).

Another interesting correction which we are able to make from the monuments of Assyria is in connection with the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. In II. Kings xvii.

3ff. we read that Shalmanezzer invaded Israel and reduced King Hoshea to servitude. The passage goes on to describe Hoshea's rebellion, and the three years' siege of Samaria, which ended in the capture of the city. Except in verse 3, the name of the Assyrian king is not mentioned; the title used is simply "the king of Assyria." This leads naturally to the conclusion that Shalmanezzer was the king who reduced Samaria. As a matter of fact, we now know from the monuments that Shalmanezzer was succeeded by Sargon during this siege, and that it was the latter who led the captive Israelites to Assyria.

One of the most interesting figures in the Old Testament is Melchizedek, king of Salem, who blessed Abraham after his successful campaign against Chedorlaomer and his allies, and to whom Abraham paid a tithe of the booty (Gen. xiv. 18ff.) We have little knowledge of this personage. He appears and disappears very strangely and without any apparent relation to the events. It will scarcely seem strange, therefore, that the historicity of this personage has been often disputed. We only know that he was both priest and king. The Epistle to the Hebrews contains an elaborated version of the story: "being first, by interpretation, king of righteousness, and then also king of Salem, which is, king of peace; without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but made like unto the Son of God, abideth a priest continually" (vii. 2f.).

Now it is true that Melchizedek entered into the Jewish Messianic conception (Psalm cx. 4; Heb. v. 6); but it is uncertain on what material the writer of the Epistle based his statements, so far as they go beyond Genesis. It may be doubted whether he does not amplify the original narrative from his conceptions of the Messiah. At all events, the statement that "he was without beginning of days or end of life" could not apply to the original Melchizedek any more than the statement that "he was without father or mother."

But Prof. Sayce has repeatedly asserted that he has vindicated the historical character of Melchizedek (*H. C. M.*, p. 177). One must indeed wish that he had been able to make this matter clear; but before accepting his conclusions we must examine the evidence upon which his vindication is based.

In one of the famous Tell-el-Amarna letters, Abd-hiba, called by Sayce Ebed-Tob, vassal king of Jerusalem, thus writes of himself: "Behold, this country Jerusalem; neither my father nor my mother gave it to me; the strong arm of the king gave it to me."* The meaning of this passage is apparently plain; the prince has occasion repeatedly to protest his adherence to his Egyptian overlord. The basis of his loyalty is the fact that his throne was not inherited, but (like that of the Jewish Zedekiah) the gift of the

* Letter No. 180. I quote these letters from Winckler's translation, "The Tell-el-Amarna Letters," New York and Berlin, 1896.

king. In other words, he had been placed on the throne by the king of Egypt ; therefore, there was the best reason for his loyalty. He says, accordingly, in another message to his sovereign (Letter No. 181) : “ It is slander which they have heaped upon me. Behold, I am no prince, I am a deputy of my lord, the king ; behold, I am an officer of the king ; I am one who brings tribute to the king. Neither my father nor my mother, but the strong arm of the king established me *over my father's territory.*” (Italics here and below mine.) Still again, he says : “ Some one has slandered me before my lord, the king (saying), ‘ Abd-hiba has revolted from his lord, the king.’ Behold, neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The strong arm of the king inaugurated me in my father's territory. Why (then) should I commit an offence against my lord, the king ? ” (Letter No. 179).

This last passage looks quite different in Sayce's translation : “ Behold, neither my father nor my mother have *exalted* me in this place ; the prophecy (or, perhaps, arm) of the mighty king has caused me to enter the house of my father.” Upon such a translation Sayce builds his theory thus : “ The mighty king is distinguished from the king of Egypt ” : this king was the king of Salem ; he was without father or mother ; because the prophecy had made him a king, he was a priest ; and because Abd-hiba (or Ebed-Tob) was such, Melchizedek, the priest-king of Salem, was

a historical personage (H. C. M., p. 175). With such processes as this, it would be possible to prove or disprove anything. Winckler's translation is quite correct. "Mighty" probably qualifies *arm*, not *king*; there is no such word as prophecy or priest in the letters; and even from Sayce's rendering it is clear that Abd-hiba's father had reigned in Jerusalem before him. How else could he say that "the king [who is clearly the king of Egypt] established me over my father's territory"?

But even if Sayce's translation were correct, it would be far from "vindicating the historical character of Melchizedek." There is no reason to suppose that Melchizedek did not inherit his throne; and this poor Egyptian vassal, begging piteously for troops to save his city from the enemy, and perpetually pleading his innocence of the intrigues with which he is charged, is a very different personage from the priest-king who pronounces the blessing of 'El 'Elyon upon the victorious Abraham. The story of Melchizedek may or may not be historical; but archæology has not yet furnished anything to aid the higher critic in determining the question.*

* Hommel's treatment is quite different from Sayce's. The former holds that the narrative in Gen. xiv. 17ff. is composite, one source saying that the king of Sodom came out to meet Abraham, the other that it was Melchizedek, the king of Salem. The part about the king of Salem is a late interpolation. Melchizedek re-

This case has been dwelt upon to show how frail a weapon is confidently relied upon to overthrow critical results. It may seem an extreme case; but there are enough others of a like kind. The evidence relied upon to prove the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is quite as weak. It has been denied that Moses could have written the Pentateuch, because such a literary production could not have come from the early age of Israel, an age lacking literary culture or models. This argument is indeed weak, but not weaker than that by which it is controverted.

The contention is made that we have these Tell-el-Amarna letters, many of them written in Canaan about 1400 B.C.; we know that there was a vast literature in Babylonia and Egypt before this time, and that letters were exchanged between the kings of these empires in the fifteenth century B.C.; there was a city in Canaan called Kiriath-Sepher—"Book-town"—or, probably,

fused to take any of the booty, lest Abraham should claim the credit of enriching him; that is, Melchizedek, not Abraham, is the speaker in v. 22f. This is quite a different story. Hommel holds that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews knew a version of the Melchizedek story which contained an added clause, such as, "who had not received the kingdom from his father and mother." He gives the translation, "arm of the mighty king" (not, however, "prophecy"), but holds that the mighty king was an "earthly potentate," that is, the king of the Hittites ("Ancient Hebrew Traditions" p. 149ff.). But the context shows that the king, whether mighty or not, was the king of Egypt.

Kiriath-Sopher—"City of the Scribe." Now, these are facts which no higher critic for a moment doubts. But how far do they go to prove the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch? They do not give any support whatever to the belief that he did write it, and they do not go very far to show that it was even possible for Moses to be the author.

For how was Moses to get access to all this literature of Babylonia? How were the freed slaves, living as wandering nomads in the wilderness, to come into contact with this culture? If Moses had any literary culture at all, and the writer does not doubt that he had, he got it at the Egyptian court; and all that we know about that is in the Bible. Archæology has so far failed to add a single particle of *knowledge* on this subject. Still, Sayce does not scruple to say: "The archæological facts support the traditional rather than the so-called 'critical' view of the age and authority of the Pentateuch, and tend to show that we have in it not only a historical monument whose statements can be trusted, but also what is substantially a work of the great Hebrew legislator himself" ("Patriarchal Palestine," p. iv.). The fact is, that archæology has not yet produced a single fact which has any legitimate bearing upon the authorship of the Pentateuch.

We may well consider the force of some words spoken by the Rev. Dr. Peters at the Church Congress

at Norfolk in 1895. He was speaking about the argument from the civilization which must have prevailed in Palestine. "The difficulty that we encounter is this: that while we find a people before the Hebrews that possessed a civilization; while we find a people in Egypt that possessed a civilization; while we find a people in Babylonia that possessed a civilization; while we find a people in the north of Syria that possessed a civilization; while we find a people in Asia Minor that possessed a civilization—we have, unfortunately, no records of a similar civilization among the Hebrews. It is precisely that for which we must look. We are not yet in a position to say what they did know, nor what they could know." It need only be added, to guard against possible misconception, that Dr. Peters here refers to the conditions among the Hebrews. This statement is true, that so far modern archæology has not thrown a single ray of light upon early Hebrew civilization.

It is a matter of great regret that archæological light on the Bible has so far all come from outside of Palestine. There are letters, it is true, which were written from Palestine to Egypt, but from a period before the Conquest. The spade has accomplished wonderfully great results in Assyria, Babylonia and Egypt, but almost no digging has been undertaken in Palestine. Work has been done at Jerusalem, but so far has not produced results useful in critical study. Lachish was

partly excavated, but the results have been disappointing, as in these cases no significant inscriptions have been found,* or anything else which throws much light on Hebrew history. Can it be that the cities of Palestine did not contain such imperishable literary monuments as Egypt and Babylonia? No; there must be priceless treasures under the soil of Palestine, which will help to clear up perplexing difficulties in the Old Testament. Why has so much money and labor been expended in excavating in other countries, and so little in the Holy Land itself? No one more earnestly longs for the light which the spade may disclose than the higher critic.

This section may fittingly conclude with a statement from Driver: "The attempts to refute the conclusions of criticism by means of archæology have signally failed. The archæological discoveries of recent years have indeed been of singular interest and value; they have thrown a flood of light, sometimes as surprising as it was unexpected, upon many a previously dark and unknown region of antiquity. But, in spite of the ingenious hypotheses which have been framed to prove the contrary, they have revealed nothing which is in conflict with the generally accepted conclusions of the critics" (L. O. T.⁶, p. xviii.). What archæology may

*One tablet was found by Mr. Bliss at Lachish, but it belonged, strange to say, to the Tell-el-Amarna collection, and had no bearing on the Hebrews.

discover in the future, it is idle to guess; but if that noble science shall reveal anything which makes critical opinions untenable, it is safe to predict that the critics will be the first to acknowledge it, and the warmest in their welcome of the new facts.

II. There is another general ground upon which it is often claimed that the results of the higher criticism are invalidated—the disagreement among the critics themselves. Prof. Green, of Princeton, has for years never wearied of assailing the modern criticism of the Old Testament. The divergency of view of the critics has been one of his favorite weapons of attack. He has been followed in this course by many others. Let the higher critics get together, they say, and reach a unanimity of opinion; when they offer us the results about which they are thus agreed, it will be time enough for us to consider whether they are to be accepted or not. It will be well for every student of Old Testament criticism to consider carefully the force of this argument.

Now difference of opinion may be parallel or successive, that is, the difference of opinion may be among critics of successive generations, or among critics of the same date. At present, only the disagreement among contemporaries is to be considered. It must be confessed that the value of expert testimony—and the testimony in question is clearly of that character—does depend in part upon unanimity of opinion, at least

its value to the one who is not an expert does. If two experts testify in court, and their opinions are hopelessly at variance, the value of the testimony is *nil* to the jury, whatever it may be to others; so if it is true that critical opinion is hopelessly divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. The only question, therefore, is whether the critics are so at variance as to invalidate their results.

No one who has read largely in this field can for a moment doubt that there is a great difference of opinion among the higher critics. It would be easy to fill a much larger volume than the present with illustrations of this fact. But in all fairness we must admit that before we draw any conclusions as to the effect of these differences, we must consider their character. Such a consideration seems never to have entered into the calculation of those who use the divergent views to bring criticism into contempt. The point to consider is whether the difference is about matters that are vital or not. An examination of all the vast mass of illustrations which could be gathered would show that, as a rule, the differences of opinion are not about matters that are of real importance. About the main contentions of criticism the verdict is unanimous, however great variety of opinion there may be in minor points. A few illustrations will make this clear. The number could be multiplied indefinitely.

Take the question of the Pentateuch. The burning

question (considering now only literary problems) is this: Was the Pentateuch written or compiled by Moses, or some other? Any one who finds insuperable difficulties in the assumption of the Mosaic authorship finds himself at once in the large company of modern critics. And modern criticism is absolutely unanimous in its verdict that the Pentateuch in its present form originated in an age long subsequent to Moses.*

The agreement of the critics, indeed, goes much further than this. It is held by all that the Pentateuch (excluding Deuteronomy) is the result of the compilation mainly of three documents, the earliest of which was written about 800 B.C.; and in the main the critics agree as to the lines of cleavage. Sometimes it is admitted to be difficult or impossible to make more than a tentative separation, but this difficulty does not alter the unanimity of opinion that a separation must be made before the original form is reached. There is considerable difference of view as to the date of these primary documents. The Jahvistic narrative is dated from 850 B.C. to 750 B.C.; but the traditionalist will find no more satisfaction in one of these dates than in the other. It matters but little to him what the date, if the writing be taken away from the age of Moses. The agreement of the critics is complete on the main question.

* There is, however, Mosaic material incorporated in the Pentateuch. See p. 151.

If we take the analysis of the book of Isaiah, the same result is reached. The vital question—again considering only literary problems, as there is indeed a more vital question than this, which will be considered later—is whether all the prophecies in that book are from the pen of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, or whether some of them came from other prophets. Unless one holds that the book is a unit, there is little consolation in considering whether the parts which belong to other prophets than Isaiah are to be divided into many parts or not. There is no modern critic to-day who holds to the unity of this book. He may believe that cc. xl–lxvi., commonly called the second Isaiah, is a single prophecy or a collection of prophecies from many voices, but he holds—and all his fellows agree with him—that these prophecies belong to the exilic period or later. The verdict of criticism is again unanimous in regard to the main question.

There is yet considerable difference of opinion in regard to the date of the so-called Priest-code, of which more will be said in a subsequent chapter. Some still adhere to the view of the late Prof. Dillmann that it belongs to the latter part of the pre-exilic age; others, and they are fast getting to be a large majority, hold to the post-exilic origin of this writing. One may be in great doubt which date will ultimately prevail, but he may be sure that this document will never again be placed in the age of Moses.

As a general thing the greatest difference of opinion appears in the minute analysis, where confessedly the data are often not sufficient for more than tentative results. It often happens that there is unanimity of opinion in regard to the smallest points because the ground of the analysis is sufficient. Thus in the story of the Flood the last few words of Gen.vii. 16, are unanimously assigned to J, the symbol for the Jahvistic writer, for in the few words "and Jahveh shut him in"—only three words in Hebrew—there are two decisive indications of J: the name Jahveh, and the anthropomorphic conception of God. But in other places the grounds are less sure, and critical opinion consequently divergent. Thus while every modern student of the Old Testament recognizes Cheyne's masterful work on Isaiah, many will be very slow to accept the analysis he has made in his Introduction and in the Polychrome Bible. Ingenious and scholarly as his conclusions show him to be, he has carried his opinions far beyond the reliable data, and many question marks will have to be used in dealing with his work.

III. Sometimes still more hope for the fall of criticism is found in the divergent views as one era of criticism gives way to another. It is frequently stated that this criticism is only a wave, which will soon pass away. One generation reaches results radically different from those of another, and soon the whole thing will pass away, like the Tübingen criticism of the New

Testament. This kind of objection is not so easily treated, because it appeals to the future. It leaves the inquirer in the condition of the Jews of Jehoiakim's time, when "Hananiah the prophet" said that the yoke of Babylon would be broken within two years, and Jeremiah the prophet said it would not (Jer. xxviii.). There seemed to be little to do but wait for the two years to expire. Still it would have been possible to determine the question, if the people had considered these things: With which of these prophets is the wish most likely to be the father of the thought? Which has shown himself in the past the more accurate in foreseeing the course of events? Upon what ground is the assertion of each based?

So perhaps the means are not lacking for the one who is able to discern the signs of the times to know whether Old Testament criticism is likely to be so short-lived as many seem to suppose and wish. The writer ventures to express the hope that the present predominance of literary criticism in Old Testament study may soon give way to more important matters. The great object of Old Testament study for the Christian is the discovery of moral and spiritual truth. But the literary problems must be solved before such study can secure its rightful place, because it must be built upon a solid foundation. The history of Israel and the history of the Jewish religion must be rebuilt on a reconstructed basis before there will be

a sure ground for the highest criticism of all. But the prediction may be safely ventured that this reconstruction will go on to completion, and to general acceptance, and that we shall never drop back to the basis of a half century ago.

For the present, Old Testament criticism rests upon an entirely different basis from that of the New Testament, which quickly passed away. The New Testament criticism was in the main subjective, and the moment acute scholars began to investigate the allegations of the Tübingen school their hopeless weakness appeared, and they have given place to a more sober conclusion. But the Old Testament criticism rests upon a solid basis of facts. Every point in its progressive development has been contested by the ablest scholarship with the result that many who had entered the list as assailants have come out on the other side. The late Prof. Franz Delitzsch was a notable instance. For years he stood against the tendency of his age. But always studying as a scholar, the apologist never getting entirely the upper hand, in his ripe old age the result of his own investigations compelled him to accept the main results against which he had so long contended.

The higher criticism of the Old Testament has been a good while in the field. The first complete analysis of the Pentateuch was made by Astruc in 1753, with a conservative interest. There have been many changes

from that day to this, but all in the direction of a progressive development. Very likely the pendulum will now and again swing too far, but it will quickly come back. There have been ample time and ample effort to show that the results of criticism are invalid ; but this has not yet been done. No one has changed his views backwards, and the acceptance of these results has gone on with notable rapidity, until to-day the number of scholars who adhere to the traditional views is very small. The opponents have been active, but they have failed to stop the inevitable course of events. It is well that we turn our attention to the basis of facts upon which its conclusions rest, and see whether it has sufficient to justify its verdicts. For there is no sign on the horizon which the most far-sighted can see to justify the belief that the higher critics of the Old Testament have labored in vain.

CHAPTER III.

The Hexateuch.

I. THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

THE oldest important subject of critical investigation is the Pentateuch. In modern discussions, however, we find in place of the term Pentateuch, Hexateuch—meaning the first six books of the Bible; for the phenomena found in the Pentateuch occur also in Joshua; and the book of Joshua makes a fitter ending for the first period of Hebrew history than Deuteronomy. The Hexateuch will first engage our attention. So much has been written on this subject that we cannot hope to produce anything new; but for the sake of completeness this matter must be taken up. The investigation is best begun with this oldest problem of Old Testament criticism; for in this field the results seem most assured. Taking the simplest subject first, we will consider the origin of the book of Deuteronomy.

To engage in such investigation in the right spirit, we must be students, and not apologists; we may have strong convictions in favor of or against the Mosaic authorship, but not so held that they will not yield to evidence. We are after facts, and *a priori* assumptions

are too apt to prevent the recognition of facts when we meet them. With minds not unduly prejudiced we wish to ascertain what facts we have which bear upon the origin of this great book, and then the meaning of the facts we discover. Our work will not be exhaustive, but will be sufficient.*

In the eighteenth year of his reign (621 B.C.), King Josiah gave directions to repair the temple so as to restore it suitably for the worship of Jehovah, which had been interrupted during the long period of his immediate predecessors, Manasseh and Amon. Shaphan was sent by the king with a message to Hilkiyah the high priest, and returned with a statement about the progress of the repairs, and then added: "Hilkiyah the priest has delivered me a book" (II. Kings xxii. 10). Hilkiyah's announcement to Shaphan was, "I have found the book of the law in the house of Jahveh" (*ib.*, v. 8). What book was this?

It appears, in the first place, to have been a small book. Shaphan was sent to the temple on an errand for the king. He stopped long enough at the temple to read the book (*ib.*, v. 8); when he returned he read the book aloud to the king (v. 10). Hilkiyah was summoned, and, along with others, sent to Huldah the prophetess to ask her what the king should do. Now

* Reference may be made to an article by the writer on "The Origin and Character of Deuteronomy," published in the *Biblical World* of April, 1898.

all this at least seems to have taken place in one day; certainly the book was read twice in one day.

In an ordinary Hebrew Bible the Pentateuch occupies 350 pages; this cannot be read in less than twelve hours. To read it aloud would take at least twenty hours.* Now Shaphan would scarcely tarry on an errand for the king long enough to read such a large book, and it could not have been read twice in one day. The book of Deuteronomy occupies sixty-three pages, and could be read aloud in about three hours and a half. The law proper in Deuteronomy (chaps. xii.-xxvi.) occupies twenty-three pages and could be read in one hour, or a little more. This part, therefore, is about as large a book as the conditions warrant. Driver holds that at least chaps. v.-xxvi., xxviii. must have been in the book which was read to the king,† though others have adhered to the strictly legal part, chaps. xii.-xxvi. Even the part assumed by Driver could be read in about two hours.

In the second place, we have to consider the character of the book which was found. The Reformation ought to show this, because it was Josiah's attempt to put this law into effect. When Josiah sent to inquire

* Kittel estimates twenty-three and a half hours as the least time in which it could be read "at a moderately quick rate" ("History of the Hebrews," I., p. 59).

† See his "Deuteronomy," *Introd.*, p. 65; so Addis, "Documents of the Hexateuch," Vol. II.

of Huldah, he did so because he feared the awful consequence of the violation of the new law: "Great is the wrath of Jahveh that is kindled against us, because our fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book" (xxii. 13).

Now, if one asks what part of the Law declares emphatically God's punishment for disobedience to its precepts, the answer is plainly Deuteronomy. Huldah's message to the king consists largely of Deuteronomic phrases: "They have forsaken me, and have burned incense to other gods, that they might provoke me to anger with all the work of their hands" (v. 17). The king made a covenant to keep Jehovah's "commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all his heart, and all his soul" (xxiii. 3): these also are Deuteronomic phrases.

The first step of the Reformation was to burn the vessels that were used for Baal, Asherah and the host of Heaven (v. 4), and in general Josiah destroyed everything pertaining to the worship of foreign deities; especially he destroyed every altar, including those at the high places, except that at the temple; that is, Josiah put into effect the law that sacrifice can be offered only at the temple in Jerusalem. The Law in Exodus distinctly provides for altars at such places as may be convenient (xx. 24ff.); but Deuteronomy strictly prohibits altar or sacrifice at any place save at the central sanctuary (xii. 5ff). It is perfectly plain that whatever

this book of the Law was, the reformation of Josiah was an attempt to put into practice the prescriptions of Deuteronomy.*

Five years before this time Jeremiah had begun his career as a prophet. Why the king consulted Huldah, who is not otherwise known, rather than Jeremiah, it is not easy to say. But it is certain that this new book of the Law produced a great impression upon the young seer. Moved by the command of God, he travelled about among the cities of Judah preaching the new Law (Jer. xi. 1-8). The passage just cited, in which this part of Jeremiah's life is described, is little more than a collection of Deuteronomic phrases. If one reads Jeremiah attentively, he will find Deuteronomic phrases and ideas scattered all through his book.†

The evidence all points to one conclusion, that the book of the Law found by Hilkiah was the book of Deuteronomy, in whole or in part. There follows, then, this inference: In the year 621 B.C., Deuteron-

* Driver gives a list of parallel passages which show the dependence of Josiah's reforms upon Deuteronomy. He supposes such passages as these to have chiefly impressed the king (Deut. vi. 4f., 14f.; xii. 2-7; xvi. 21f.; xviii. 9-15; xxviii; "Deuteronomy," p. xlv., note. See also "Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian," I, p. 490 ff., where the history of the Reformation is told in connection with the laws commanding the reforms, all the laws coming from Deuteronomy.

† See the list of parallel passages in Deuteronomy and Jeremiah in Driver's "Deuteronomy," p. xciii.

omy was not an inseparable part of a book of the Law like the Pentateuch, but was itself called "the book of the law" (II. Kings xxii. 8), "the book of the covenant" (xxiii. 2), "the words of this covenant" (Jer. xi. 2 ff.). This fixes the latest possible date of the book,* the *terminus ad quem*. Can we also fix the *terminus a quo*? If we read again the account of Josiah's reformation, we are struck with the evident fact that he had never heard of this book before, and in fact the people to whom it was read were equally ignorant of it. If the book had been lost, it had disappeared so long ago that no knowledge of its contents had survived.

But the book itself contains many expressions which throw light upon the time of its origin. First of all is the fact that the last chapter contains an account of the death of Moses. It is generally conceded that this passage (chap. xxxiv.) has been added by a later hand, though we cannot help admiring the stricter consistency of those who, accepting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch on the basis of external authority, held fast to the Mosaic authorship of this passage, too. But if a whole section like this is to be placed in the post-Mosaic age on purely internal evidence, why may

* If only the legal part of Deuteronomy was found by Hilkiyah, the narrative portions would be subsequent additions. Whether the reign of Josiah is the latest date for the whole book in its present form is, therefore, still a matter of doubt.

not other parts, and, if need be, the whole book, be assigned to the same period for like reasons? And there are reasons for doing so which it is not easy to resist.

The book opens with the statement that "Moses spoke these words unto all Israel on the other side of the Jordan." As Moses is stated to have spoken these words on the east of the Jordan, the writer must have been in the land west of the Jordan. This could not have been written, therefore, before the Conquest. We find the same expression, "on the other side of Jordan," used for the east of the Jordan also in i. 5, "on the other side of Jordan, in the country of Moab"; also in iii. 8; iv. 41, 46, 47, 49. In some cases the explanatory "eastward" is added. The same usage is regularly found in other parts of the Pentateuch, and in the following places in Joshua, where the standpoint is indisputably the region west of the Jordan: i. 15; ii. 10; vii. 7; ix. 10; xii. 1; xiii. 8; xxii. 4; xxiv. 8.

On the other hand, the same expression is used for the west of the Jordan in these passages: Deut. iii. 20, 25; xi. 30, in speeches of Moses which are said to have been spoken in the land of Moab, hence the use is appropriate; also in Josh. v. 1; xii. 7 (with the addition "westward"); ix. 1 (where the place is further defined, so as to avoid the natural inference that east of the Jordan was meant). It would seem clear, therefore,

either that Deuteronomy was not written until after the Conquest, or that these passages are later insertions.

There are several expressions in the book which point clearly to the same conclusion. "The sons of Esau . . . destroyed them [the Horites] from before them, and dwelt in their stead ; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which Jahveh gave unto them" (Deut. ii. 12). "The land of his possession" is the country west of the Jordan ; hence that land was in the possession of Israel when those words were written. A similar statement is found in iv. 38: Jahveh brought Israel out of Egypt "to drive out nations from before thee greater and mightier than thou, to bring thee in, to give thee their land for an inheritance, as at this day." It is difficult to see how this could have been said before Canaan was occupied by the Hebrews.

Again, we read that "Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the regions of Argob . . . and called them, even Bashan, after his own name, Havvoth-jair, unto this day" (iii. 14). This statement is presumably based upon Num. xxxii. 41. But a son of Manasseh could not have lived in the Mosaic age. Jair is mentioned in I. Chron. ii. 22 as the possessor of twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead; he is there called the son of Segub, who was a grandson of Machir, the son of Manasseh. But in Judges x. 3ff., we read that Jair,

the Gileadite, was one of the judges, and the thirty cities in the land of Gilead which belonged to his sons were "called Havvoth-jair unto this day." If we admit that Moses or a contemporary might call Jair a son of Manasseh, he could not have confused Gilead and Bashan.* The statement in Judges can be harmonized with that in Numbers only on the hypothesis, highly probable on other grounds, that the conquest of Gilead was not completed until the period of the Judges. Further, the expression "unto this day," which occurs in this verse and elsewhere in Deuteronomy, would scarcely be used by one who was contemporary with the events described.

In iv. 45f., we read that Moses spoke this law before the children of Israel "when they came forth out of Egypt, beyond Jordan . . . in the land of Sihon, whom Moses and the children of Israel smote, when they came forth out of Egypt." The writer makes no distinction between the time of the Exodus and the time, thirty-eight years later, when the land of Sihon and of Og was conquered. It is not easy to suppose that Moses, or any one else in his age, could have been

* In Deuteronomy the places called Havvoth-jair, it should be noted, are in *Bashan*; in Numbers, as in Judges, these are in *Gilead*. Furthermore, it is stated in Deuteronomy iii. 4ff. that this region of Argob was taken by Moses. Driver supposes iii. 14 to be a late interpolation designed to harmonize Deuteronomy with Numbers.

so unmindful of the perspective of time. A much later writer could easily have done so. "The phrase 'when they came forth out of Egypt,'" says Driver ("Deuteronomy," p. 81), "must have sprung from a time when the forty years in the wilderness had dwindled to a point."

It is stated frequently in Deuteronomy that Moses is addressing the very ones who came forth out of Egypt, whereas we are also expressly told that all the adult generation (i. 35ff.) had died during the wanderings in the wilderness: "Jahveh made not this covenant [that is, that made in Horeb thirty-eight years before] with our fathers, but with us, even us, who are all of us here alive this day" (v. 2f.); "I spake not with your children which have not known, and which have not seen the chastisement of Jahveh, your God"—going on to recite the overthrow of Pharaoh, of Dathan and Abiram—"but your eyes have seen all the great work of Jahveh which he did" (xi. 2ff.; xxix. 2ff., *et passim*).

The men addressed by Moses are said to be the same ones who had stood under the mountain, when the mountain burned with fire (iv. 10ff.), though this event took place directly after the Exodus. It is much easier to suppose that a later writer could have made such an identification than that a contemporary could have done so. The matter is not easily disposed of by supposing that many of the people who were with

Moses in the land of Moab had been little children at the time of the Exodus; for the covenant was not made with the children, but with the adults, and certainly the children did not stand under the burning mountain to enter into the covenant.

The law of the landmark shows clear traces of an age long after the settlement in Canaan: "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set, in thine inheritance" (xix. 14). The men of old time who had set the landmarks were obviously the Israelites who had seized and settled the country: We may compare Prov. xxii. 28—

" Remove not the ancient landmark,
Which thy fathers have set."

The word rendered above "they of old time" is used in Lev. xxvi. 45, Psalm lxxix. 8, of the ancestors of the Israelites.

The post-Mosaic age is seen in many other laws, *e.g.*, "and the officers [who are mustering the forces for battle] shall say unto the people, 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" (xx. 5); "When thou' buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof, that thou bring not blood upon thine house, if any man fall from thence" (xxii. 8). These laws could not have originated during Israel's nomadic life.

In xix. iff. Moses directs the people to appoint three cities of refuge in their land when they shall have completely subdued it; and in case their border is enlarged they are to appoint three additional cities. But in iv. 4iff. we are told that Moses himself appointed three cities of refuge on the east of the Jordan. Neither Moses nor a contemporary could have said this; for in Num. xxxv. 9ff. Moses directs that after the Israelites have taken possession of Canaan, they shall appoint six cities of refuge, three on each side of the Jordan. In Josh. xx. 7f. the six cities are named as appointed by the people under Joshua's direction, and the three named for the east of the Jordan are identical with those said in Deuteronomy to have been appointed by Moses. It is needless to multiply instances. These are enough to show that certainly many parts of Deuteronomy indicate a date subsequent to the time of the great law-giver.

Suppose, now, we read the book to see what impression it makes as to authorship. Is there any internal evidence which tends to show that Moses was the author? The book is on the face of it a collection of addresses delivered by Moses to the people of Israel after their conquest of Transjordanic Palestine, and before the crossing of the Jordan, with some historical notes and introductions. Everywhere in the narrative portion—thirty-six times in all—Moses is spoken of in the third person. The book seems on the face of it to

be the production of one who undertook to preserve the last discourses of Moses along with certain connected events, including his death and burial. Thus the book begins: "These are the words which Moses spoke unto all Israel beyond Jordan in the wilderness"; in other places we read: "This is the law which Moses set before the Israelites" (iv. 44); "Moses called unto all Israel, and said unto them" (v. 1); "Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death" (xxxiii. 1); "Moses commanded us a law" (xxxiii. 4)—surely Moses could not have written these last two expressions. We cannot avoid the natural inference from these facts by supposing that Moses, like Cæsar, speaks of himself in the third person; for everywhere in the speeches he uses the first person of himself and the second person for the people. From v. 1 to xxvii. 1 the name of Moses is not once found. The book has no more the form of a work of Moses than the Gospels of a compilation by our Lord, or the Acts that of a work by St. Paul or St. Peter.

In harmony with this conclusion is the retrospective character of the book. In some of the places cited above it appears as if the author were looking back through a considerable space of time to the Mosaic age. There are many other expressions which show a similar point of view: "We took the land at that time out of the hand of the two kings of the Amorites that were beyond Jordan" (iii. 8); but by Moses this

would have been spoken of as a very recent event. The bedstead, or, more probably, the sarcophagus, of Og, was still preserved in Rabbah of the Ammonites (iii. 11); "I commanded you at that time" (iii. 18)—said to the Transjordanic tribes after they had taken possession of Gilead and Bashan. The expression "at that time" is used in Hebrew for an undefined distant period, either in the past or future, and we find it so used frequently in this book.

But there are two or three passages which make it impossible, without great violence, to hold that Moses wrote the whole of Deuteronomy. For we are told that he wrote *certain parts of the book*—a statement which precludes his authorship of the whole. "So Moses wrote this song the same day, and taught it to the Israelites" (xxxii. 22); but we are not told what the song is, unless it is part of xxxii. 1-43, which, however, has an introduction and superscription of its own. In the latter (xxxii. 44) it is stated that Moses and Joshua spoke the song in the ears of the people; in harmony with this, the command to write the song ("write ye this song for you," xxxi. 19), is in the plural. The song, moreover, is a review of the history of Israel as a disobedient nation. Again we read: "Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi" (xxxii. 9); "When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book" (*ib.*, 24). Elsewhere Moses, jointly with the elders, directed the people to write very plainly

the Law upon great stones covered with plaster on the very day they should cross the Jordan, and to set up these stones upon Mount Ebal (xxvii. 1-4, 8).

Surely Josiah and those who were concerned with him in the publication of this Law had no idea that they were dealing with a Mosaic composition, or the name of the great law-giver would have been used to give it additional sanction. In all the references to the new book of the Law in Kings and Jeremiah, the name of Moses is not mentioned, except in a passage manifestly due to the compiler of Kings (II. Kings xxiii. 25). Yet Moses in this time was indisputably looked upon as one of the greatest of God's saints in the past. (See Jer. xv. 1.)

Would that we could stop our investigation at this point! The Book of Deuteronomy might then be regarded as a composition in its present form made long after Moses' time, but consisting chiefly of his speeches, partly exhortations to obey the laws, and partly the laws themselves. But if we resolve to follow the evidence as far as it goes, we cannot stop at this point, for the evidence does not. Some laws have already been cited which are part of the work ascribed to Moses, but which betray a later age. The law concerning the king (xvii. 14ff.) is of this character. A law which shows such connection with the rule of Solomon and his successors cannot easily be assigned to the Mosaic age, even making reasonable allowance for

anticipatory legislation. Moreover, if this law were in existence, why does Samuel, and Jehovah, too, regard the request of the Israelites for a king as sinful rebellion? (I. Sam. viii.) In xxviii. 36, in spite of the future tenses,* an existing king seems to be presupposed.

But the chief law which has been with most confidence assigned to a post-Mosaic date is that of the central sanctuary. In Deuteronomy this law is emphasized again and again. It stands at the very forefront of the Deuteronomic code. The essential parts are here given. "You shall completely destroy all the places where the nations which you shall drive out have served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree; and you shall break down their altars, and dash in pieces their pillars, and burn their Asherim. . . . But unto the place which Jahveh your God chooses from all your tribes to put His name; His habitation shall you seek, and thither shalt thou † come: and thither you shall bring your burnt offerings, and your sacri-

* "Jahveh will bring thee and thy king whom thou settest over thee unto a nation," etc.

† One of the unsolved puzzles of Deuteronomy is the frequent change from the singular to the plural. Steuernagel has used this variation as a basis for the analysis of the book, holding that the "thou" sections are older than the "you" sections. *Das Deuteronomium*, in Nowack's "Hand Kommentar von A. T."; see also Addis, "Documents of the Hexateuch," II., p. 11 ff. The analysis on this basis is far from satisfactory.

fices, and your tithes, and the heave offering of your hand, and your vows, and your free-will offerings, and the firstlings of your herd and of your flock : and there you shall eat before Jahveh your God. . . . Take heed to thyself lest thou offer thy burnt offerings in every place that thou seest ; only in the place which Jahveh chooses in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt offerings" (xii. 2ff., 13f.).

This law was meant to abolish the high places. But the high places were not abolished until Josiah's time, and there is not a single protest against their use until the time of Hezekiah. We might indeed say that disobedience of a law does not necessarily prove its non-existence ; but we shall find but a poor refuge in that negation. For we have to consider not only the fact of the disobedience of a law that is central in the code, but also the absolute silence concerning it. It is not merely the disobedience by the mass of the people, but by the godliest souls that existed between Moses and Josiah. In the book of Kings, which obviously was not compiled before the exile, and which is written from the Deuteronomic point of view, we find the constant lament that even the best kings, who walked after God like David their father, still had this blemish, that they sacrificed in the high places.

Gideon offered a sacrifice under the oak which was in Ophrah by direction of the messenger of Jehovah, and built an altar there which was still standing at the

time the book of Judges was compiled (Judges vi. 19ff., 24); then at God's command he built another altar to Jehovah on the top of the stronghold,* and offered a burnt offering upon it (*ib.*, 25). Micah the Ephraimite may not be regarded as a typical saint even of the early days of Israel. It may not seem strange therefore that out of the refunded money he had stolen he made a graven image and set up a sanctuary of his own; but it does seem strange that the Levite who was the priest of this place was Jonathan the grandson of Moses† (*ib.*, chaps. xvii., xviii). The same Levite afterwards became priest of the sanctuary in Dan.

That Samuel stands out among the greatest of the great men of Israel's history, no one will question. But Samuel, the man of God, sacrificed at such places as suited his purpose. Before the second battle of Ebenezer, he offered a burnt offering at Mizpah (I. Sam. vii. 9), and Jehovah responded to his appeal;

* In accordance with the ideas of the times, the altar was built upon the highest point available. It may be that this is a duplicate narrative, only one altar having been built. See Moore's "Judges," *in loc.*

† R. V. has rightly placed Moses in the text, with the marginal note, "another reading is Manasseh." The printed Hebrew Bibles still show how this corruption came in. Moses and Manasseh differ in Hebrew only by the letter "n." This letter was added above the line, and has remained there to this day. The object of the change is obvious. For further details see Moore's "Judges," *in loc.*

the enemy attacked even while the offering was in progress, and Jehovah thundered against the Philistines and discomfited them. At his home in Ramah he built an altar to Jehovah (*ib.*, 17); when Saul came to consult the seer the latter was preparing for a sacrifice in the high place (ix. 12); he promised Saul that he would join him at Gilgal to offer burnt offerings and sacrifices (x. 8; cf. xi. 15); Samuel went to Bethlehem to anoint David as king under cover of offering a sacrifice (xvi. 2); from which it appears that Samuel was so in the habit of offering sacrifice in various places, that the least suspicious errand in Bethlehem would be the offering of a sacrifice.

A short time after this there was a sanctuary at Nob with a considerable company of priests (I. Sam. xxi. f.). Saul was told, as the most plausible reason for David's absence, that his family were to hold their annual sacrifice at Bethlehem (xx. 6, 29). David offered sacrifices as the ark was removed from the house of Obed-edom, and again after it had been placed safely in the tent which had been prepared for it (II. Sam. vi. 13, 17). He granted permission to Absalom to go down to Hebron to offer a sacrifice there (*ib.*, xv. 7ff). The erection of an altar upon the spot which afterward became so holy was due, speaking after the manner of men, to an accident (*ib.*, xxiv. 16ff.).

Solomon's great vision was in the night after he had offered great sacrifices at Gibeon, which was the chief

high place (I. Kings iii. 4ff.). King Asa (*ib.*, xv. 14) tolerated the high places, though in other things he was a reformer. The good king Jehoshaphat likewise did not disturb the worship at the local sanctuaries (xxii. 43). The like tolerance is seen in Jehoash* (II. Kings xii. 3); in Amaziah (xiv. 4); in Uzziah (xv. 4); in Jotham (xv. 35), to mention only those kings who are said to have done that which was right in the eyes of Jehovah. Though Hezekiah had made an effort to repress the high places, it was wholly ineffective, and the reason probably is that he had no such support for his reform as Josiah had in the book of the Law.†

The early prophets furnish further evidence that the regulations of Deuteronomy were either unknown to them or indifferent to them. Hosea mentions among the things Israel will be deprived of by the captivity, king, prince, sacrifice, pillar, ephod and teraphim (iii 4). The pillar‡ was strictly forbidden in Deuteronomy; "neither shalt thou set thee up a pillar, which Jahveh

* It is more remarkable that Jehoash tolerated the high places, for he was under the influence of the high priest Jehoiada, to whom he owed the throne. The conclusion seems irresistible that neither king nor priest knew any law condemning the high places. It is still more noteworthy that Josiah, whose reformatory measures had begun before the discovery of the book in the temple, apparently had originally had no idea of abolishing the local sanctuaries.

† See W. R. Smith's "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," 2d ed., p. 256f.

‡ Properly a consecrated stone such as Jacob set up, Gen. xxxi. 45.

thy God hateth " (xvi. 22). Isaiah seems to have had no objection to pillars or to a multiplicity of altars, as he said that in converted Egypt there would be an altar to Jehovah, and a pillar to Jehovah (xix. 19). Even Joshua set up such a consecrated stone under the sacred tree by the sanctuary of Shechem (Josh. xxiv. 26). The stone which Samuel set up at Ebenezer was of the same character (I. Sam. vii. 12).

Gathering up the results of the evidence accumulated, it appears: (1) that the book of Deuteronomy was the legal basis of Josiah's reformation; (2) that the book contains many statements which reveal an age later than Moses; (3) that the book has the form of a compilation of Moses' last speeches with historical notes; (4) that a number of the laws belong to an age long subsequent to Moses, in fact some of them carry us down to the age of Josiah (638-608 B.C.). There appears to be some good reason to believe, therefore, that whatever may be the real origin of much of the material in Deuteronomy—some of it is undoubtedly early—the book as a whole was never known to the public before 621 B.C.

It may seem that this conclusion is more radical than the evidence warrants; for the book may really have been lost during the time between Moses and Josiah and found again by Hilkiah. But observe that Josiah plainly acknowledges that his fathers have violated the fundamental principles of this code: "great is the wrath of Jahveh 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" (II. Kings xxii. 13). He himself was entirely ignorant of this law. As the Law itself prescribes that it shall be read aloud to the people every seven years at the feast of tabernacles, and that every king shall possess a copy (Deut. xxxi. 10f.; xvii. 18ff.), there should by this time have been many copies in existence, and a knowledge of the Law must have gained a currency which even a half century of suppression could not destroy. The object of the inquiry of the prophetess Huldah was apparently to know whether the Law should be put into effect. As soon as it was confirmed by Huldah, the king assembled the people and proceeded at once to make the Deuteronomic code the law of the land. The impression is very strong, from a careful study of II. Kings xxii. f, that the book was new to king and people.

This is the point at which the cry of "pious fraud" has so often been raised. Cheyne, in his excellent little book on Jeremiah, asks, "fraud or needful illusion?"* According to the literary ethics of to-day, the insertion of a single law which was not Mosaic in a code of actual Mosaic laws would be a fraud, and not a very pious one, either. But even if Hilkiyah, or a company of priest-prophets were the author, is their work

* "Jeremiah: "His Life and Times," p. 69ff. On the question of fraud see also "O. T. J. C.," p. 363.

to be judged by the standard of the dawn of the twentieth century? The student of the Old Testament finds it necessary constantly to judge the ethics of the Old Testament from the pre-Christian rather than the Christian standard. It is perfectly clear that many imprecatory passages in the Old Testament are at variance with the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is easy to understand how such things could be. We are not so much perplexed because Jeremiah, though a prophet of God, hurled curses at his persecutors, as that St. Paul, an Apostle of Christ, should have cried to the high priest, "God shalt smite thee, thou whited wall" (Acts xxiii. 3). In passing judgment upon actions of the ancient Hebrews, it is only fair that we shall qualify ourselves by historical study to look at the matter from their point of view.

It does not follow, however, that Hilkiyah, or his contemporaries, was guilty of a fraud, even according to our standards. There may have been a genuine Mosaic code which had been amplified, in subsequent years, according to the needs of a more developed civilization.* The one who amplified the Mosaic Law would have seemed to take too much upon himself, though he, too, was a man of God like his great predecessor, if he had substituted his own name for that of

* The Deuteronomic code certainly is an amplification of the so-called Code of the Covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), which was suited to an earlier stage of development,

Moses.* The evidence is strong that the book of Deuteronomy had never been known to the people before Josiah's reformation, but it does not follow that the material of the book all comes from that date. It may be, further, that this law book was an actual find; it may be, as some hold, that the book of Deuteronomy had been written in the latter part of Hezekiah's reign, or in that of Manasseh. It would have been impossible to publish it while the persecutor Manasseh sat on the throne. Before the way was open for the book to appear, its author may have become a victim of Manasseh's zeal for foreign gods, and the book may have been lost and forgotten. This view, which, though supported by no sure evidence, is not inherently improbable, removes all question of fraud.

Whatever conclusion we may reach about the origin of the code, there can be no doubt as to the timeliness of its appearance. The assassination of Amon, the son of the wicked Manasseh, when it appeared that he would walk in his father's footsteps, shows that the best people were weary of religious persecution. Josiah began the purification of the temple, but the people at large could be but slowly led to a pure Jehovah worship, as long as the local high places were tolerated. Those shrines had doubtless served Israel well in the early stages of the national life; but they had become hopelessly corrupt. They had been, for the most part, old

* See also Chap. v.

Canaanite sanctuaries, and some of the Canaanite rites had been preserved. The practice of these foreign rites seems to have increased as time went on, and by Josiah's day the high-place cult was in such a state that it could be purified only by fire.

Hezekiah's attempt at the centralization of worship failed because the people were not ready for such radical measures, and the king was not strong enough to enforce his will. The misgiving on the part of the people is shown in the clever address of Sennacherib's ambassadors. They tried to weaken the courage of the Jewish people so that they would force a surrender of the city. "If ye say unto me," they cried to the soldiers on the wall (II. Kings xviii 22), "we trust in Jahveh our God, is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah has taken away, and has said to Judah and Jerusalem, You shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?"

Josiah found the people more receptive of reforms, and he was wise enough to take them fully into his confidence. His first step was to have the Law read to his assembled people, and then he took a solemn oath himself to obey the Law. It was then natural that the people should follow the example of their king (II. Kings xxiii. 3). Jeremiah's support had undoubtedly a great influence.

The political situation showed the ripeness of the times as well. The nation had passed through a long

era of bloody persecution and political decay. The past misfortune was explained as due to the fact that their fathers had not kept the Law as laid down in the new book. The hope of the future was in a thoroughgoing reform. The religion of Jehovah advanced to a higher plane by the promulgation of the Deuteronomic code, and its rigid enforcement. Except for Josiah's untimely death soon after the completion of his reforms, the whole course of Israel's later history might have been different.

The book of Deuteronomy made a large contribution toward that unification of worship which, in turn, aided in the development of monotheistic ideas among the masses. It is *a priori* improbable that such a radical change in religious practice, as that from many sanctuaries to one, could be the work of a single generation. Deuteronomy fixes as law a usage for which preparation had been going on ever since the erection of the temple by Solomon. That temple so overshadowed the local sanctuaries in the splendor of its appointments that they could not hope indefinitely to maintain a rival position. The acute Jeroboam appreciated the influence of the great temple, and feared that it would wean away the hearts of his subjects; therefore he built the rival sanctuaries at Dan and at Bethel (I. Kings xii. 26ff.).

CHAPTER IV.

The Hexateuch.

2. THE NARRATIVE.

THE narrative of the Hexateuch has been divided by higher critics into three main strata: one a product of the southern kingdom in the ninth century B. C., denoted by the symbol J (Jahvist); the other a product of the northern kingdom from a somewhat later period, denoted by E (Eloh-ist); and the third a product of a Jewish priestly writer later still, denoted by P. It is also contended that just as the present Hexateuch is made up by compilation from pre-existing sources, with a few original additions, so each of these sources contains more or less material that has been incorporated by the writer, though those earlier sources show much less compilation than the later. From this conclusion are derived the really innocent symbols J, J¹, J², E, E¹, E², etc., which have given occasion for so much clever wit on the part of the assailants of the critical results. As J stands for the writing of one particular Jahvistic writer, who is the author of most of the Jahvistic sec-

tions, J^{1,2, etc.}, are used to denote parts of his work, whether earlier or later, which were not composed by him, but were either extracted from earlier writings, or added by later hands.

On purely *a priori* grounds, there is nothing absurd in such a supposition. It would not be strange if there had been three histories of Israel written from three different points of view. There are yet preserved two such parallel histories, Chronicles on the one hand, and Genesis to II. Kings on the other. The Chronicler wrote a history of his people from Adam to the end of Nehemiah's rule, and that from his own point of view. This point of view is so peculiar to himself that his interpretations of the history are not easily understood until his point of view is clearly known. The point of view is, as a matter of fact, so prominent in Chronicles that the book—for originally both books of Chronicles, along with Ezra and Nehemiah, constituted but one book—is about as valuable for the light it throws upon the times of the author as for that it throws upon the periods treated.* The Chronicler does not hint that he is largely compiling extracts from earlier documents; but that is just what he does, nevertheless. His style is so peculiar that it is comparatively easy to separate his own contributions. This is critical analysis, and doubtless the results would be discredited by skeptical minds, except that we have elsewhere in the Old

* See further in Chap. VII.

Testament many of the passages which the Chronicler has incorporated into his book.

We have four Gospels, which are all attempts to preserve an account of the life and teaching of our blessed Lord. Each is written, however, from its own peculiar point of view, and that point of view is easily discerned in the Gospel. Now, if some one had conceived the idea that it was better to have one Gospel than four, it would have been easy to compile one by simply choosing extracts from these four sources; and, in fact, just that thing was done, and has come down to us in Tatian's Diatesseron. Fortunately, however, we have preserved to us the original documents. In this case, in fact, it was the single compilation which was long lost, not the original sources, as is the case in the Hexateuch. Moreover, as Sayce has pointed out (*H. C. M.*, c. ii.), compilation was the rule rather than the exception among Semitic writers.

But even if our present Hexateuch is conceded to be the result of a process of compilation from primary sources which have been lost, many are very skeptical as to the ability of any one to separate the completed thread into its original strands. Literary analysis is, of course, work for experts. We may not know that this verse is due to J and the next one to P, because we have not acquired the necessary knowledge and experience, though we may often perceive the justification of the result when it is explained to us. People who

drink the polluted water of many rivers and wells expose themselves to the danger of typhoid fever. Most of us have never seen the germ of typhoid fever, and should not know one if we did see it. But we know the danger, because those who have the requisite knowledge and experience tell us of it; and we have this confirmation of their statement, that hundreds who drink such water actually contract the disease. Our knowledge is based upon the testimony of experts.

The writer by no means poses as a literary expert; but there is much in the results of those who are literary experts to convince him that their conclusions may not be too lightly brushed aside, even if he is persuaded that analysis is often carried beyond the possibilities of satisfactory demonstration. It is quite possible, moreover, for the most modest student to test the accuracy of the critical judgment.

Another consideration must be given full weight. The more the original narratives which have been combined are alike in general conception and spirit, the more difficult the separation of the compilation, and conversely. The Constitution of the United States, for example, is a composite document, but it is very difficult to distinguish between its original contributors, because they all belonged to the same age, had precisely the same object, and were imbued with the same spirit. But if a history of the Rebellion were compiled

from two *ex parte* sources, the task of analysis would be comparatively simple.

Of the three main sources in the Hexateuch, P is very different in style and conception, if not in age, from J and E. But J and E belong to the same general period; they each deal with history in the prophetic spirit; and therefore the cautious analyst confesses frankly that he is sometimes unable to separate between these two, even when he is sure that the passage in question contains material from both. Consequently, in, *e. g.*, Driver's analysis, we find often JE simply, to indicate the combined product of these sources, though many scholars are bold enough to carry the analysis to completion. In Genesis the task is easier, because in that book E uses the name 'Elohim for God, and J Jahveh.

A few of the more apparent cases in which the analysis rests upon the surest foundation will now be examined, and the result indicated. Comparatively few examples can be exhibited; but they are enough for our purpose, which is not critical analysis, but the test of the general division of the Hexateuch into its primary sources. The reader may be referred to Dr. Gibson's admirable little book* for further evidence of

*"Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch." Philadelphia, 1897. For a fuller treatment, books such as Addis' "Documents of the Hexateuch" and Bacon's "Genesis in Genesis" may profitably be consulted.

the composite character of the Hexateuch. It will be found that I have rarely used the cases cited by him.

I. One of the most striking instances of the composite character of the Hexateuch occurs at the very beginning of the Bible, in the story of creation. The two versions are here placed side by side, that they may be studied comparatively :

J

In the day when Jahveh God made earth and heaven, then there was no shrub of the field on the earth, and no herb of the field had sprouted. For Jahveh God had not yet caused rain upon the earth, and there was no man to till the ground. And a mist went up from the earth, and watered all the surface of the ground. And Jahveh God formed the man of dust from the ground, and he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; so the man became a living soul. And Jahveh God planted a garden

P

These are the generations of the heavens and the earth, when they were created (ii. 4).

1. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was a chaos and a waste, and darkness was upon the surface of the abyss; and the Spirit of God was hovering over the surface of the waters. And God said, Let there be light; and there was light: and God saw the light that it was good. And God made a division between the light and the darkness; and God called the light day, and the darkness he called night.

2. And God said, Let there be an expanse in the midst of the waters, and let there be a dividing between waters and waters. And God made the ex-

in Eden on the east, and he placed there the man whom he had formed.

And Jahveh God caused to sprout from the ground every tree agreeable in appearance and good for food ; and the tree of life in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowing good and evil. And Jahveh God took the man and placed him in the garden of Eden to till it and to guard it. And Jahveh God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayst freely eat ; but of the tree of knowing good and evil thou mayst not eat. For in the day of thy eating of it thou shalt surely die.

And Jahveh God said, It is not good for the man to be alone ; I will make for him a helpmeet. And Jahveh God formed from the ground every beast of the field and every fowl of the heavens, and brought them unto the man to see

panse, and made a division between the waters which were under the expanse and the waters which were above the expanse : and it became so. And God called the expanse heavens.

3. And God said, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered unto one place, and let the dry land appear ; and it became so. And God called the dry land earth, and the gathering of the waters he called seas. And God saw that it was good. And God said, Let the earth sprout forth grass, herb producing seed, fruit trees bearing fruit after its kind, whose seed is in itself, upon the earth ; and it became so. And the earth brought forth grass, herb producing seed after its kind, and trees bearing fruit whose seed is in itself after its kind. And God saw that it was good.

4. And God said, Let there be luminaries in the expanse of the heavens to divide between the day and the night, and they shall be for signs and for seasons and for days and years ; and they shall be for luminaries in the expanse of the heavens to give light upon the earth ; and it became so. And God made the two great luminaries—the greater luminary for the ruling of the day, and the lesser luminary for

what he would call them ; and whatever the man called them, that was their name. And the man called names for all the cattle, and for the fowl of the heavens, and for all the beasts of the field. But for man he did not find a helpmeet.

And Jahveh God caused a heavy slumber to fall upon the man, and he slept. And he took one of his ribs, and closed the flesh in its place. And Jahveh God built the rib which he had taken from the man into a woman, and brought her unto the man ; and the man said, This now is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. To this shall be called woman, for it was taken from man. Therefore a man leaves his father and mother and joins to his wife, and they become one flesh. And they too were naked, the man and his wife, and

the ruling of the night ; also (he made) the stars. And God placed them in the expanse of the heavens, to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and to divide between the light and the darkness : and God saw that it was good.

5. And God said, Let the waters swarm with swarms of living things, and let fowl fly over the earth, upon the surface of the expanse of the heavens. And God created the great sea monsters, and every living thing, the creeping thing with which the waters swarmed after their kind, and every winged fowl after its kind : and God saw that it was good. And God blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters in the seas ; and let the fowl multiply on the earth.

6. And God said, Let the earth bring forth living things after their kind, cattle and creeper and beast of the earth after their kind : and it became so. And God made the beast of the earth after its kind, and the cattle after its kind, and every creeper of the ground after its kind : and God saw that it was good. And God said, Let us make man in our image, according to our likeness, and let them have dominion

were not ashamed (Gen. ii. 4^b-9, 15-25).

over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over the cattle, and over all (the beasts of) the earth, and over every creeper which creeps upon the earth. And God created man in his image, in the image of God created he him, male and female he created them. And God blessed them, and God said to them, Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the heavens, and over every living thing which creeps upon the earth. And God said, Behold, I have given to you every herb yielding seed which is upon the surface of the whole earth, and every tree in which there is fruit of a tree yielding seed, it is yours for food; and to every beast of the earth, and to all the fowl of the heavens, and to every creeping thing upon the earth in which is soul of life, every green herb is for food: and it became so. And God saw all that he had made, and behold, it was very good.

7. And the heavens and the earth and all their host were completed. And God completed the work which he had done in the seventh day; and he rested in the seventh day from all his work which he had done. And God blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it, because in it he rested from all his work which he had done in creation (Gen. i. 1-ii. 4^a).

In J's story I have omitted a short passage unnecessary for my purpose; in P's I have placed ii. 4 where it belongs as the heading, and have omitted the refrain, "and it was evening, and it was morning, day first, second," etc. I have divided P's account according to the scheme of the seven days.

An examination of the narratives shows that each is

a complete account of the creation. The heavens, the earth, vegetable and animal life, including man, were the result of God's creative work. The agreement in the fundamental fact that God was the creator of the world is complete. But the differences of detail are so numerous as to preclude either unity of authorship, or attempts at harmony. It is worth while to examine these differences with some degree of fulness. This is the easier to do as, fortunately, each story has been preserved in its integrity. The compiler, instead of attempting to make an account of the creation by weaving together the two versions before him, simply placed one after the other, each in its complete form.

J uses the divine name, Jahveh 'Elohim*; P uses only 'Elohim (God). J starts with an implication of the creation of the earth and heavens, and proceeds at once to the creation of life upon the earth; P describes the creation of the heavens and earth (P's order as against J's, "earth and heavens") as fully as anything else. J's principal interest is in the creation of man; P's, in each part of the whole. J describes the earth as barren at

* The original author wrote only Jahveh. The "'Elchim" was added by the compiler, perhaps to identify the Jahveh of J with the 'Elohim of P, whose story had been placed just before. It is very probable that the compiler's purpose was to add 'Elohim as an explanatory note; but as he had no diacritical devices, he had to write his note in the text. In many similar cases, notes may have been placed originally on the margin, and then copied into the text by subsequent scribes.

the beginning, because there was no rain ; P describes it as covered with water. In J, man was the first object created as necessary to the production of vegetable life ; in P, man was created last. In J, an individual man was first created, and then, as the last creative act, a woman from his own body as a helpmeet ; in P, the genus man (including both sexes) was created together. In J, the animals were created for man's especial benefit ; in P, though man has dominion over them, he is restricted to vegetable food. P's culminating interest is in the divine institution of the Sabbath day, of which there is no mention in J.

J's conception of God is far inferior to P's. J represents Jahveh making man as an artificer ; P represents Him as accomplishing His will by a fiat. P's story is orderly, precise and repetitious ; it moves along with a consistent plan: first a fiat that a certain thing should be done, then the statement that it was done. In each case also there are the assertions, "and it became so," "and God saw that it was good."

It is difficult to understand how a single writer could be responsible for such diversity of detail.

II. Let us examine next these two passages placed likewise, side by side :

J

Now Esau persecuted
Jacob because of the bless-
ing with which his father

P

And Rebecca said to Isaac, I am
mortally troubled because of the Hit-
ting women. If Jacob take a wife of

had blessed him. And Esau said to himself, The days of the mourning for my father are drawing near: then I will kill my brother Jacob. But Rebecca heard of the words of her elder son Esau; and she sent for her younger son Jacob, and said to him, Behold, thy brother Esau will have revenge upon thee, by killing thee. Now, my son, listen to my voice: Arise, flee thee to Haran, to my brother Laban, and live with him a few days, until thy brother's wrath passes away — until thy brother's anger passes away from thee, and he forgets what thou hast done to him. Then I will send and bring thee from there. Why should I be bereaved of you both at one time? And Jacob departed from Beersheba, and went to Haran (Gen. xxvii. 41-45, xxviii. 10).

such women as these Hittites, the women of the country, what have I to live for? And Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and commanded him and said to him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the women of Canaan. Arise, go to Padan-aram, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father, and thence take a wife, from the women of Laban, thy mother's brother. And may God Almighty bless thee, and increase thee, and make thee many, so that thou shalt be an assembly of nations. And may he give thee the blessing of Abraham, to thee and thy seed with thee, that thou mayst possess the land of thy sojourning which God gave to Abraham. And Isaac sent Jacob away; and he went to Padan-aram unto Laban the son of Bethuel, the Aramean, the brother of Rebecca, the mother of Jacob and Esau (Gen. xxvii. 46-xxviii. 5.)

Are these two independent stories? or are they rather, as modern critics assert, two varying forms of the same original? These are certain facts which should be carefully noted.

The same place is called Haran in one version and Padan-aram in the other. Each narrative distinctly states that Jacob was sent away; but there are two distinct reasons given for his departure: (1) to escape the wrath of his enraged brother; (2) to procure a wife of his own kindred. It might be said that the shrewd Rebecca could not send Jacob off without Isaac's permission, and that she conceals from Isaac her real reason for desiring to get Jacob away, merely inventing the getting of a suitable wife as a pretext. Esau supposes that Jacob had gone away in order to get a wife from his kindred; for he came to the conclusion that Isaac did not like the Canaanite women, and so adds to his harem a wife of Abrahamic descent (Gen. xxviii. 8f., also P). But when we follow Jacob to Syria in J's story, his marriage is only an incident; it does not appear to be the real object of his mission. The two motives are therefore consistently preserved through the narrative.

According to P again, Isaac blesses Jacob before his departure in a way that is truly strange, in view of the trick Jacob had played upon him. The source from which this is taken evidently knows nothing about Jacob's fraud in getting the blessing. Esau, too, is impressed with the blessing of Jacob, as he would not have been if this writer had known of the trick. A bare reading of the narrative reveals unmistakable signs of duplication. The natural conclusion is, therefore,

that these two sources each contained an account of Jacob's departure for Syria ; but each gives a different cause for that journey.

III. We will next separate a passage in which there seem to be three parallel stories :

E

J

P

And he lighted up-
on the place, and
spent the night there ;
for the sun had set.
And he took one of
the stones of the
place, and placed it
by his head. And he
lay down to sleep in
that place. And he
dreamed, and he saw
a ladder set upon the
ground, whose top
reached the heavens.
And he saw the an-
gels of God going up
and down upon it.
And he was afraid,
and said, How terrible
is this place ! this is
no other than the
house of God, and
this is the gate of
heaven. And Jacob

And behold Jahveh
stood by him and
said, I am Jahveh,
the God of Abra-
ham thy father, and
the God of Isaac.
The ground upon
which thou liest
will I give to thee
and to thy seed.
And thy seed shall
be like the dust of
the earth ; and thou
shalt spread west-
ward and eastward
and northward and
southward. And all
the families of the
land shall be blessed
in thee and in thy
seed. And behold
I am with thee, and
will guard thee in
every place thou go-

And God appeared
unto Jacob again
when he came from
Padan - aram. And
God blessed him,
and said to him, Thy
name shall no longer
be called Jacob, but
Israel shall be thy
name. And he called
his name Israel. And
God said unto him,
I am 'El Shaddai.
Be fruitful and in-
crease. A nation
and an assembly of
nations shall come
from thee, and kings
shall come from thy
loins. The land
which I gave to Abra-
ham and to Isaac, I
give to thee ; and to

rose early in the morning, and took the stone which he had placed by his head and set it up for a sacred pillar. And he poured oil upon its top (Gen. xxviii. 11, 12, 17, 18).

And Jacob went to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan (that is Bethel), he and all the people who were with him. And he built there an altar, and called the place El-Bethel; for there God was revealed unto him, when he fled from his brother (Gen. xxxv. 6, 7).

est, and will bring thee back unto this land. For I will not forsake thee until I have done what I have promised thee.

And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, Surely Jahveh is in this place, and I did not know it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but formerly Luz was the name of the city (Gen. xxviii. 13-16, 19).

And Jacob set up a sacred pillar in the place where he spoke unto him, a stone pillar. And he poured a drink-offering upon it, and poured oil upon it (Gen. xxxv. 14).

thy seed after thee do I give the land. And God went up from him in the place where he had spoken with him. And Jacob called the name of the place where God had spoken with him Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 9-13, 15).

Here are surely three accounts of the theophany which gave rise to the name Bethel, whether independent or not. There were two theophanies at Bethel, according to E and J, one before and the other after Jacob's long sojourn with Laban. P knows only one,

and that occurred at the later time. According to J, the name Bethel was given at the first visit, but the consecrated stone was set up at the second. In E, precisely the opposite order of events is given: the consecrated stone was set up at the first visit, but the name Bethel was given at the second. P agrees with E in this last matter, but of course has nothing to say about the sacred stone, for all such things were an abomination to him.

That the narratives are parallel seems manifest. The blessing in P has almost identical phraseology with the blessing of Isaac in xxviii. 3f. J uses the name Jahveh, E 'Elohim, and P'El Shaddai in the blessing (as in xxviii. 3), otherwise 'Elohim. We find here P's account of the origin of the name Israel; but this name has already been accounted for in another source (J). On the night before Jacob met Esau he was left alone by the river Jabbok. There the wrestling angel said to him, in answer to Jacob's demand for a blessing, "Thy name shall not again be called* Jacob, but Israel, for thou hast striven with God and with men, and hast conquered" (xxxii. 28). The giving of this name interrupts the narrative in P's blessing, and is regarded by Dillmann as an insertion by an editor. P always calls the patriarch Jacob, never Israel. At all events, it must be apparent that God did not change Jacob's name twice and at practically the same time.

* A different word is used for "called" in P (Gen. xxxv. 10).

It is to be noted, however, that the stories agree in essential matters: the name Bethel was given to the ancient Luz by Jacob; he so named it after a theophany, and because it appeared to him a place of peculiar sanctity. It should be noticed that J anachronously uses the name Bethel in the history of Abraham (Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 3). The name Luz does not appear before this. Luz is a different city in Judges i. 26, and perhaps in Josh. xvi. 2 (JE); but P repeats the identification, though he retains the older name (Josh. xviii. 13; cf. Gen. xlvi. 3).

IV. As a minor matter, it may be noted that we have two explanations of Joseph's name which are placed directly after each other in our present text, with omissions which are obvious and readily supplied. The sentence in brackets was omitted by the compiler.

E

J

<p>And she conceived and bore a son, and said, God has taken away (Heb., <i>'asaph</i>) my reproach [and she called his name Joseph ("he takes away")] (Gen. xxx. 23).</p>	<p>And she called his name Joseph ("may he add"), saying, May Jahveh add (Heb., <i>yasaph</i>) another son to me (Gen. xxx. 24).</p>
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These two passages are distinguishable by the different name for God, as well as by the different etymology of Joseph's name. The name Joseph in Hebrew could come from either of these two roots. One derives it from *'asaph*, to take away, the other from *yasaph*, to

add. The account of the birth of Jacob is omitted from J, and the naming from E; but there can be no doubt that the compiler has preserved a duplicate derivation.

V. If one reads the story of Joseph's sale to the caravan which took him to Egypt, he is struck with the number of duplicate statements. The matter is cleared up by separating the double narrative.

E

And they said to each other, Lo, yonder master of dreams is coming. Now, come, let us kill him, and cast him into one of the pits, and, we will say, A wild beast has devoured him. Then we will see what will become of his dreams. And Reuben said to them, Do not shed blood: cast him into this pit which is in the wilderness; but do not lay a hand upon him--that he might deliver him from their hand to return him to his father. And when Joseph came to his brothers, they stripped Joseph of his tunic, the long-sleeved tunic, which was on him; and they took him and cast him into the pit. Now the pit was empty, there was no water in it.

J

And Joseph went after his brothers, and found them in Dothan. And they saw him afar off, before he was near them, and they formed a plot to kill him. And Reuben heard it, and delivered him from their hand, and said, Let us not take his life.

And they sat down to eat food. And they looked up and lo, they saw a caravan of Ishmaelites coming from Gilead; and their camels were carrying spicery and balm and myrrh, taking it down to Egypt. And Judah said to his brothers, What is the gain if we kill our brother and cover up his blood? Come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon

And there passed by Midianites, traders, and they (*i. e.*, the Midianites) drew Joseph up out of the pit, and they brought Joseph to Egypt. And Reuben returned to the pit, and behold Joseph was not in the pit. And he rent his clothes, and went back to his brothers and said, The lad is gone, and whither shall I go? And the Midianites sold him in Egypt to Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, the chief of the body guard (Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20, 22-24, 28-30, 36).

him—our brother is our flesh. And his brothers agreed, and they sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver. And Joseph was brought down to Egypt, and Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, the chief of the body guard, an Egyptian, bought him of the Ishmaelites who had brought him down there (Gen. xxxvii. 17^b, 18, 21, 25-27, 28^b. xxxix. 1).

Each of the above narratives is complete, as will easily be seen if each one is read through. They are in perfect harmony as to the main facts. Joseph's brothers hated him and purposed to kill him, but they were dissuaded from doing this by Reuben. A caravan chanced to be passing, which took Joseph and carried him to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar.

But there are some striking differences in detail. In E, the caravan was composed of Midianites, in J, of Ishmaelites; in J, Reuben seems to have been a party to the sale of his brother, contenting himself with saving his life. From E it would appear that the Midianites took Joseph out of the pit where his brothers had abandoned him; that is, the traders did not buy Joseph, but

discovered him themselves, and took him as a captive. Hence Reuben came back to the pit secretly to rescue Joseph, not knowing that he had been stolen while he and his brothers were away. In the same source (E), consistently with this, Joseph told Pharaoh's butler that he had been "stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xl. 15). In J, he was not put into a pit, but sold directly to the Ishmaelites. There is, perhaps, as much harmony as one should expect in ancient narratives like these. At all events, each one by itself is intelligible.

But the composite story as it now stands is not very clear. If we read the passage continuously as we find it, we are struck with the confusion of statements. Joseph's brothers resolved to kill him (v. 18); they proposed to kill him and throw his body into a pit (19); Reuben rescues Joseph from his brothers (21); *after* which we read that Joseph *arrived*, and was placed alive in an empty pit (23). The caravan comes along, and Judah proposes to sell Joseph instead of killing him; the Midianites take Joseph from the pit and carry him away; then his brothers sell him to the Ishmaelites. Finally, Reuben, who had previously had Joseph safely in his hands, returns to the pit, and is surprised to find that Joseph has disappeared. It is highly probable that the compiler in joining together his narratives has occasionally made such omissions that, while sometimes we have to our gain double, or even triple, accounts of the

same events, sometimes, on the other hand, we have no account at all. There is an example of peculiar interest directly connected with the above. After Joseph's brothers, at a later time, had experienced some rough treatment at his hands in Egypt, "they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the distress of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear" (Gen. xlii. 21). It is very likely that the source which contains this (E) had a touching account of Joseph's plea for his life, when his brothers cast him into the pit and abandoned him there.

VI. We will pass to the book of Exodus and examine the account of the institution of the Passover.

JE*

P

<p>And Moses summoned all the elders of Israel, and said to them, Draw away and get you sheep for your families, and kill the passover. And take ye a bunch of hyssop, and dip it in the blood which is in the basin, and touch the lintel and the two</p>	<p>Speak unto all the congregation of Israel, and let them take for them each one a lamb for the head of the house, a lamb for a house. And all the assembly of the congregation of Israel shall kill it at dusk, and they shall take of the blood and place it</p>
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* The symbol JE is used in this and other cases to denote, as explained above, a passage in which it is not possible to separate these two sources accurately. A passage marked JE may be from either J or E entirely, or may be a combination of the two. Some writers venture much further than others in their analysis of JE in Exodus and Numbers.

doorposts with the blood which is in the basin; and not one of you shall go out of the door of his house until morning. And Jahveh will go through to smite Egypt, and he will see the blood upon the lintel and upon the two doorposts, and Jahveh will pass by the door, and he will not permit the destroyer to enter your houses to smite. And ye shall observe this thing for a statute for you and for your sons forever. And it shall be when ye come into the land which Jahveh gives to you, as he has promised, that ye shall observe this ceremony. And it shall be, if your sons say unto you, What is this ceremony to you? that ye shall say, It is the sacrifice of the passover to Jahveh, who passed by the houses of the Israelites in Egypt when he smote Egypt, but saved our houses. And the people bowed down and worshipped (Ex. xii. 21-27).

upon the two doorposts and upon the lintel, upon the houses in which they shall eat it. And they shall eat the flesh in this night. And ye shall let none of it remain until morning. That which may be left until morning ye shall burn in the fire. And ye shall eat it with haste: it is a passover to Jahveh. And I will pass through the land of Egypt in this night, and I will smite all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from man to beast; and I will execute judgment upon all the gods of Egypt. And the blood shall be a sign for you upon the houses where ye are, and I will see the blood, and will pass by you, and there shall be no plague among you for a destroyer when I smite the land of Egypt.

In the house shall it be eaten, thou shalt not take outside of the house any of the flesh (Ex. xii. 1-13, 46, abridged).

It needs but a casual inspection of these two passages to see how probable it is that they are parallel narratives. The essential facts of the feast are the same in each. There was to be a lamb for each fam-

ily—except that P makes provision for a family too small to eat a whole lamb; the blood was to be placed upon the doorposts and lintels as a mark by which the destroyer (which P explains as a plague) would be kept from that house. But there are some noteworthy differences as well. The order of “lintel and doorpost” (JE) is reversed in P. P mentions a single sheep; JE uses the general term flock. P gives numerous specific details which are not in the older narrative.

VII. The account of the institution of the feast of unleavened bread affords another good instance of a duplicate narrative.

JE

And Moses said unto the people, Remember this day when ye went out from Egypt, from the house of bondage. For by strength of hand Jahveh brought you out from thence; and leavened bread shall not be eaten. This day ye were going out in the month Abib. And it shall be when Jahveh shall bring thee unto the land of the Canaanites . . . which he swore to thy fathers to give to thee, a land flowing with milk and honey, then thou shall observe this cer-

P

And this day shall be to you a memorial, and ye shall make it a feast to Jahveh for your generations: ye shall make it a feast by an eternal statute. Seven days unleavened bread shall ye eat. On the very first day ye shall stop leaven from your houses—for any one that eats leavened bread, that soul shall be cut off from Israel—from the first day until the seventh. On the first day there shall be a holy convocation, and on the seventh day there shall be a holy

emony in this month. Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and in the seventh day is a feast to Jahveh. Unleavened bread shall be eaten for seven days; and leavened bread shall not be seen of thee, nor shall leaven be seen in all thy borders. And thou shalt inform thy son at that time, saying, Jahveh enjoined this to me when I came out of Egypt. And it shall be to thee for a sign upon thy head and for a memorial between thy eyes, that the law of Jahveh may be in thy mouth; for with a strong hand Jahveh brought thee out from Egypt. And thou shalt keep this statute for its season from year to year (Ex. xiii. 3-10).

convocation to you. No work shall be done in them; only that which any one must eat—that alone may be prepared for you. And ye shall keep the [feast of] unleavened bread; for on that very day I brought out your hosts from the land of Egypt; and ye shall keep this day for your generations by an eternal statute. In the first month, (from) the fourteenth day of the month, at evening, ye shall eat unleavened bread until the twenty-first day of the month at evening. For seven days leaven shall not be found in your houses. For every one that eateth leavened bread, that one shall be cut off from the congregation of Israel, whether a stranger or one born in the land. Ye shall eat no leavened bread. In all your dwellings ye shall eat unleavened bread (Ex. xii. 14-20).

The two versions of this ordinance agree very closely. The feast has the same peculiarities, lasting for seven days, and being observed by eating only unleavened bread. The rite was in commemoration of the exodus from Egypt. The earlier narrative calls the month by its old name *Abib*, rather than by the later Babylonian

name Nisan, but does not specify the day. The later narrative adds the penalty of ex-communication for eating leavened bread in this time. The closeness of agreement makes it all the clearer that the narratives are duplicate versions of the same thing. It is quite inconceivable that one writer would repeat an account of an ordinance with a few variations.

VIII. The story of the spies sent to the land of Canaan affords an interesting case of duplicates.

JE

P

And (Moses) said unto them, Go up now into the south, and go up into the mountain, and see what the land is, and whether the people who dwell in it are strong or weak, few or many. And they went up into the south, and they came to Hebron. And there were Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmi, offspring of Anak. And they came to the valley Eshcol, and cut down from there a branch and a cluster of grapes; and they carried it between two men upon a staff. (And they returned) to Kadesh, and brought back word unto them, and showed them the fruit of the land. And they said, We went to the land where thou didst send

And Moses sent them from the wilderness of Paran to spy out the land of Canaan. So they went up and spied out the land from the wilderness of Zin into Rehob, to the entering in of Hamath. And they returned from spying out the land at the end of forty days. And they went and came to Moses, and to Aaron, and to all the congregation of Israel, unto the wilderness of Paran. And they brought up an evil report of the land which they had spied out unto the Israelites, saying, The land, through which we have gone to spy it out, is a land that devours its inhabitants. And all the congregation lifted up

us, and truly it flows with milk and honey, and this is its fruit ; but the people that dwell in the land are strong, and the cities are fortified and are very great. And moreover we saw the offspring of Anak there. Amalek dwells in the land of the south ; and the Hittites, and the Jebusites, and the Amorites dwell in the mountain ; and the Canaanites dwell by the sea, and along by the Jordan.

And Caleb stilled the people for Moses, and said, Let us go up at once, and possess it ; for we are well able to do it. But the men who went up with him said, We are not able to go up against this people ; for they are stronger than we are. All the people that we saw in it are men of great stature. And there we saw the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who are of the Nephilim ; and we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and so we were in their eyes. Wherefore doth Jahveh bring us into this land to fall by the sword ? Our wives and our little ones will be a prey : is it not better for us to return to Egypt ? And they said one to another, Let us appoint a chief and return to Egypt (Num. xiii. 17^b, 18, 22^a, 23^a, 26^b-31, 32^b-33 ; xiv. 3, 4).

their voice and cried ; and the people wept that night. And all the Israelites murmured against Moses and against Aaron ; and the whole congregation said unto them, Would that we had died in the land of Egypt, or would we had died in this wilderness.

Then Moses and Aaron fell on their faces before all the assembly of the congregation of the Israelites. And Joshua the son of Nun, and Caleb the son of Jephunneh, who were of those that spied out the land, rent their clothes ; and they spake unto all the congregation of the Israelites, saying, The land, which we passed through to spy it out, is an exceeding good land. But all the congregation said to stone them with stones (Num. xiii. 3^a, 17^a, 21, 25, 26^a, 32^a ; xiv. 1, 2, 5-7, 10^a).

There are many points of agreement in these narratives which are apparent at first sight; but there are more striking differences. In P the spies start from Paran and return to the same place; in JE they return to Kadesh and apparently started from that place (see Num. xxxii. 8; Deut. i. 19). In P they spy out the whole of Canaan to the far north; in JE they go only to Hebron and the region about there. In P the report is unfavorable, the land eats up its people, *i.e.*, is not able to sustain them; in JE the land is good, but the people are too strong for the Israelites to dispossess.

In both versions the people are discouraged by the report of the spies, but in P Joshua and Caleb encourage the people, and, therefore, these two are excepted from the penalty of dying in the wilderness (xiv. 30, 38); in JE Joshua is not mentioned, Caleb alone bringing in a hopeful report, and he alone is excepted from the penalty (xiv. 24). The omission of Joshua's name in JE is very singular. If he had shared with Caleb the hopes of an easy conquest, it is difficult to understand why his name does not appear. This position of Caleb is the same in other passages of JE.

IX. The story of the tribes to which the land on the east of the Jordan was assigned shows an unmistakable duplication. Reuben and Gad, we are told, asked for the pasture lands across the Jordan, because their

tribes were possessed of much cattle. The story continues thus :

JE

And Moses said unto them, If ye will do this thing, if ye will equip yourselves before Jahveh for the war, and every armed one will get you over Jordan before Jahveh, until he has driven out his enemies from before him, and the land be subdued before Jahveh : then afterward ye may return and be innocent from Jahveh, and from Israel ; and this land shall become your possession before Jahveh. But if ye will not do so, behold, ye will sin against Jahveh : and know ye that your sin will find you out. Build your cities for your little ones, and folds for your sheep ; and do that which has proceeded out of your mouth.

And the sons of Gad and the sons of Reuben spake unto Moses, saying, Thy servants will do as my lord commands. Our little ones, our wives, our property, and all our cattle, shall be there in the cities of Gilead ; but

P

And Moses commanded concerning them Eleazar the priest, and Joshua the son of Nun, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes of the Israelites. And Moses said unto them, If the sons of Gad and the sons of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, every one that is armed for the war, before Jahveh, and the land shall be subdued before you ; then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession. But if they will not pass over with you armed, they shall take possessions among you in the land of Canaan.

And the sons of Gad and the sons of Reuben answered, saying, What Jahveh has said unto thy servants, that will we do : we will pass over armed before Jahveh into the land of Canaan, and the possession of our inheritance shall remain with us beyond Jordan (Num. xxxii. 28-32).

thy servants will pass over before Jahveh for the war, every armed man of the host, as my lord says (Num. xxxii. 20-27).*

The resemblance between JE and P is here so close as to preclude the idea that independent events are described. The passages are two very similar versions of the same story. A single writer would not have indulged in such a repetition. It may be, as Bacon holds ("Ex" p. 242), that P is here dependent upon JE. P has a different version of the penalty if the tribes of Reuben and Gad failed to cross over Jordan with their brethren; but it is not easy to see how it could be carried into effect after their tribes were once established in fenced cities.

X. As the book of Joshua will come before us in another connection, but a single specimen of its analysis will be exhibited here. We take a case from the story of the cunning trick of the Gibeonites, by which they secured a treaty of peace from Joshua.

JE

P

<p>And Joshua made peace with them, and made a covenant with them to let them live. And it was at the end of three days after they had made a covenant with them, and they heard that they were near by them, in fact that they dwelt in their</p>	<p>And the princes of the congregation took an oath unto them. And the Israelites departed and came unto their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, and Kephirah, and Beer-oth, and Kiriath-jearim. And the Israelites smote them not</p>
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* Prof. Bacon assigns verse 24 to E, and all the rest to J.

midst. And Joshua sent for them, and spoke unto them, saying, Why have ye deceived us, when ye dwell in our midst? Now cursed are ye, and there shall never fail to be among you bondmen, both hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of my God.

And so did he unto them, and delivered them out of the hand of the Israelites, and so they did not kill them. And Joshua made them on that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Jahveh unto this day (Josh. ix 15^a, 16, 22f, 26f).

because the princes of the congregation had taken an oath unto them by Jahveh, the God of Israel. And all the congregation murmured against the princes. But all the princes said unto all the congregation, We have taken an oath unto them by Jahveh, the God of Israel: now we are not able to touch them. This we will do to them, and let them live, that there shall not be an outbreak upon us, because of the oath which we took unto them. And the princes said unto them, Let them live. . . . So they became hewers of wood and drawers of water unto all the congregation, as the princes spoke unto them (Josh. ix. 15^b, 17-21).

The reading of these passages is a sufficient justification of the separation. The part assigned to JE is complete and consistent. In P's account there is but one lacuna (marked by the periods); but the lacuna is there just the same, whether we accept the analysis or not. The closing statement, "as the princes spoke unto them," shows that the princes must have told the Gibeonites that they were to become hewers of wood and drawers of water. There are several expressions

common to the two narratives which are characteristic of P rather than JE. In the final revision some of P's favorite words have been placed in the earlier story of JE.

The narratives agree in the most important points. The Hebrews—Joshua in one case, the princes in the other—made a treaty of peace with the Gibeonites, believing them to be a distant people. When the fraud was discovered, the people were resolved to visit their lies upon their heads, but Joshua (or the princes) insisted that the treaty should be respected, even though secured by misrepresentation. The trick is discovered after three days, and then the Gibeonites are reduced to servitude.

The differences in detail are no less striking. In JE a covenant is made by Joshua; in P an oath is taken by the princes. In JE news is brought of the deception after three days; in P the Hebrews discover the deception themselves by coming upon the Gibeonites in their cities after a three days' march. In P the reduction to servitude was made to satisfy the people, who clamored against the princes; in J it was done by Joshua of his own motion, because they had deceived him. In JE a covenant or treaty was made with the Gibeonites; in P a solemn oath was taken to them in the name of Jahveh. In P the princes were restrained from executing the Gibeonites on account of the sanctity of the oath of the princes; in JE we are not told what impelled Joshua to save their lives.

If the analysis of the Hexateuch is not justified by a careful reading of the passages cited above, it is not likely to be on any evidence. This kind of evidence can be multiplied many times; but beyond a certain point the increase of cases would not affect the verdict. There is enough here to satisfy any one that the analytical results are right or wrong

There are two important questions which remain: What bearing does this analysis have upon the value of the documents as historical sources, and upon the authorship of the Pentateuch? I say Pentateuch here, for, though the analytical study of Joshua is included, the delicate question of authorship concerns the books of the Pentateuch only; for the Book of Joshua could never be regarded as a work of Moses.

Sayce is very positive in regard to the former question. I quote from his most recent book on the "Early History of the Hebrews," p. 103f.:

"It is clear that if the modern literary analysis of the Pentateuch is justified, it is useless to look to the five books of Moses for authentic history. There is nothing in them which can be ascribed with certainty to the age of Moses, nothing which goes back even to the age of the Judges. Between the Exodus out of Egypt and the composition of the earliest portion of the so-called Mosaic law, there would have been a dark and illiterate interval of several centuries. . . . For the Mosaic age, and, still more, for the age be-

fore the Exodus, all that we read in the Old Testament would be historically valueless."

If this assertion is a correct representation of the conclusions of the critics, or the necessary consequence of their conclusions, it would indeed be a serious matter. But Sayce's statement is anything but an accurate representation; and his opinion of the effect of criticism is utterly groundless. A very large number of modern critics who hold the analytical view nevertheless believe the documents to be historical. Prof. Bacon has gone as far as any critic in the analysis, but of the historicity of the sources he speaks thus, in his "Triple Tradition of the Exodus":

"When we consider the broadly national character of J's great poems, Blessings of Noah, Isaac, Jacob, Balaam, Moses; Songs of Lamech, Moses, Joshua, Deborah and Barak, David, Solomon; and the fragments of similar lyrics which form the nucleus of a large proportion of his narratives, and compare with these the general spirit of the document, it does not seem an improbable supposition that the *Book of Jashar-Israel* underlies the history of J throughout its whole extent, and that it suggested to its author the form of his history of Israel, J impressing upon it its *religious* character" (Introd., p. xliii.f.). J, then, instead of drawing upon his imagination for his material, uses throughout pre-existing written sources. But this use of older material is not confined to J.

The same writer says further : "E seems to have had at command a collection of national lyrics to some extent parallel to J's" (*ib.*, p. xlv.).

The existence of the Books of Jashar and of the Wars of Jehovah show that the early history of Israel, like that of the Greeks, was in the form of songs sung in praise of the tribal or national heroes. These songs are historical sources of the greatest importance. How much we learn of Saul and David's relation to him by David's song, preserved in the Book of Jashar (II. Sam. i. 19-27). We have at least one instance which proves clearly that such poems were used as historical sources. When the compiler of the Book of Judges was collecting his materials, he found two sources for the rising against Sisera—one the ancient Song of Deborah (Judges v.), the other a prose narrative (Judges iv.) which had been written with the poem as its source of information. The compiler fortunately incorporated both documents in his book.

It is very true that many modern critics do not accept all parts of the Pentateuch as historical. But the analysis of the books into their component parts had nothing to do with forming their opinion. The Book of Jonah is not generally regarded as historical ; but this view is not based on a supposed composite structure, but upon its evident didactic purpose and allegorical character. Moreover, the analytical theory is applied to Joshua as much as to the preceding books, and what higher

critic doubts the historicity of the Conquest? The Books of Samuel are also composite; but they are good historical sources nevertheless. The Books of Kings are confessedly largely extracts from the state archives; but no one regards that origin as impairing their value as historical sources, even though the book was not compiled for some centuries after the events described in the first part.

It is difficult to see on what ground the belief in the composite character of a book is connected with belief in its historicity. Very few intelligent people of the present day regard the story of creation as historical, even though they may believe that Moses was the author of both accounts. If we turn back to the Bethel story, our opinion of the historicity of the event will not be injuriously affected by the discovery of the fact that we have three versions of the origin of that name instead of one. On the contrary, it seems clear that the independent testimony is the strongest kind of confirmation.

The historicity of these ancient documents is not in the least invalidated by variation in details. It is a well-known fact that competent and honest eye-witnesses to the same fact will rarely agree in regard to all the particulars. Greenleaf, who was in his day a great authority on the laws of evidence, says with reference to the varying statements in the Gospels: "If these different accounts of the same transactions were

in strict verbal conformity with each other, the argument against their credibility would be much stronger." As evidence of the importance of such variations, he says: "There is enough of discrepancy to show that there could have been no previous concert among them." *

The question remains as to the age to which the composition of this history is to be assigned. But a brief treatment is possible here. We shall look at some of the expressions in the narrative portions of the three books, Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, to see what light they throw upon the date.

The most cursory reading of the books shows us a number of expressions which betray a time later than that of the great lawgiver. "The Canaanite was then in the land" (Gen. xii. 6); "the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled then in the land" (xiii. 7)—are expressions which presuppose the extermination of the Canaanites after the Conquest; for the occupation of the land by the Canaanites is looked upon as a thing of the distant past. "Abram pursued as far as Dan" (Gen. xiv. 14; cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1); but the name Dan was given to the city of Laish (or Leshem, as it is called in Josh. xix. 47), after the capture of that city in the period of the Conquest (see Judges xviii. 29). "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before

* "An Examination of the Testimony of the Evangelists," p. 32f.

there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31)—this statement presupposes the monarchy as already established in Israel.

In this passage, "they were very wroth because he had wrought folly in Israel" (Gen. xxxiv. 7; cf. Deut. xxii. 21), the name Israel is applied to the land of Canaan; this presupposes a later time than that of Moses (see II. Sam. xiii. 12, "no such thing ought to be done in Israel"). "I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. xl. 15)—this name could not have been applied to Canaan before the Conquest. The words, "the children of Israel journeyed and pitched in the plains of Moab beyond the Jordan at Jericho" (Num. xxii. 1), must have been written on the west of the Jordan, hence after the Conquest. We find the same expression in Num. xxxiv. 15, "the two tribes and the half tribe have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward toward the sunrising." "Jair the son of Manasseh went and took the towns thereof, and called them Havvoth-jair" (*ib.*, xxxii. 41), a passage already alluded to, describing an event which took place during the Conquest (Judges x. 4).

In Num. xxi. 14 we have a quotation from the book called "the Book of the Wars of Jehovah." It is obvious that a book with such a title could not have been in existence in Moses' time, before the Israelites had waged any wars other than the unimportant struggles with the desert tribes. The word regularly used for

south in Hebrew (*negebh*) means the district in the southernmost part of Palestine. But we find this word used for the "south" in the Pentateuch as well as elsewhere.* The most common term for *west* (*yam*) means *seaward*. The sea was the Mediterranean, and because this sea was the western boundary of Palestine, the term was used for "west"; this usage could scarcely have arisen before the occupation of Canaan. Nevertheless, this usage prevails in the Pentateuch,† in fact, it is the only word used for "west" in the Pentateuch, or in any other pre-exilic writing.

There are some of these passages which may be regarded as glosses of a later date; but all of them cannot be so conveniently disposed of; and there is, it must be confessed, considerable evidence tending to show that the origin of these books must be placed in the time subsequent to the Conquest. The evidence, moreover, comes from all the sources, and, therefore, it is good for each of the main documents, as well as for the Pentateuch as a whole. The fact that all these sources are also traceable through Joshua, and even, it is claimed, into Judges, Samuel and Kings,‡ confirms

* In Gen. xii. 9; xiii. 1, 3, 14; xx. 1; xxiv. 62; xxviii. 14. Ex. xxvi. 18; xxvii. 9; xxxvi. 23; xxxviii. 9; xl. 24. Num. xiii. 17, 22, 29; xxi. 1; xxxiii. 40; xxxiv. 3f; xxxv. 5. Deut. i. 7; xxxiv. 3.

† *E.g.*, Gen. xii. 8; xiii. 14; xxviii. 14. Ex. x. 19; xxvi. 22. Num. ii. 18; iii. 23; xxxiv. 6; xxxv. 5. Deut. iii. 27; xxxiii. 23.

‡ See Bacon's "Triple Trad.," *Introd.*; Moore's "Judges," *Introd.*

this conclusion as to the date. It is generally agreed that J and E were both composed before 750 B.C., and, as some place one or the other as early as 950 B.C., this is the period within which it is most probable that these two sources were composed.

It is a grief to some to reach a conclusion which invalidates the claim that Moses is the author of these books. But it must be borne in mind that the books nowhere claim to be productions of Moses. The titles which we find in our English Bibles, "the first, second, etc., Book of Moses," are not found in the Hebrew text, and are productions of a time later than the Christian era. The claim is not made in the books that Moses is their author, in fact, statements are made which are not easily reconcilable with his authorship. In the narrative portions Moses is always spoken of in the third person, and, as Dillmann says, "sometimes in a way in which he would not have spoken about himself."* It certainly would be strange for Moses to write at the end of a genealogy, "These are that Aaron and Moses, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from the land of Egypt. . . . These are they (*i.e.*, Moses and Aaron) which spoke to Pharaoh King of Egypt. . . . These are that Moses and Aaron" (Ex. vi. 26f.). No less surprising would it be for him to write, "Moreover, the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt" (*ib*, xi. 3); or "Now the

* "Num., Deut., Josh.," p. 593.

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

A strong argument already applied to Deuteronomy is equally applicable here. Moses is said to have written certain specific portions, so that his authorship of the whole is excluded. If the heading of the Song of the Sea implies authorship, then we have the same difficulty of explaining a joint production as in the Song of Deborah—"Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto Jahveh, and they said" (Ex. xv. 1). But we have these express statements: "And Moses wrote all the words of Jahveh" (*ib.*, xxiv. 4), *i. e.*, the book of the covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.; cf. xxiv. 7); "And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys" (Num. xxxiii. 2), *i. e.*, a list of the stations in the wilderness; "And Jahveh said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book" (Ex. xvii. 14), *i. e.*, the divine purpose to destroy Amalek; "And Jahveh said unto Moses, Write thou these words" (Ex. xxxiv. 27), *i. e.*, the so-called little book of the covenant (Ex. xxxiv. 12-26).

Nowhere in the Old Testament do we find a statement that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. We find many references to "the law of Moses," or the "book of the law of Moses,*" but all in late

* Josh. viii. 31f.; xxiii. 6. I. Kings ii. 3; II. Kings xiv. 6 (fairly exact quotation of Deut. xxiv. 16); xxiii. 25. II. Chron. xxiii. 18; xxx. 16. Ezra iii. 2; vii. 6. Neh. viii. 1. Dan. ix. 11, 13. Mal. iv. 4.

sources, not one of them belonging to the pre-exilic period. We also find "book of Moses,"* and once "the book of the law of Jahveh given by Moses" (II. Chron. xxxiv. 14); but these obviously refer to the same thing. It is evident that in the post-exilic period there was a book of laws which was ascribed to Moses; but as this is invariably referred to as *law*, and never as history, it is obvious that the authorship of Moses was connected with the Torah, and not with the completed Pentateuch.†

There are portions of the Pentateuch which may be ascribed to Moses without repudiating plain evidence. But that the whole was the production of the great lawgiver has an accumulation of evidence against it which is not easily set aside. If one who studies this evidence is not convinced that the modern theory is correct, he must at least admit that modern critics are not carried away by conjectural theories, but have some good evidence upon which to base their conclusions.

* II. Chron. xxv. 4; xxxv. 12. Ezra vi. 18. Neh. xiii. 1.

† See further on this distinction, Delitzsch, "Com. on Genesis,"
Introd.

CHAPTER V.

The *Pentateuch*.

3. THE LAW.

IT IS perfectly evident that there are three parts of the law in the *Pentateuch*. The divisions are quite independent of any theory of date or authorship. There are : 1. The code of the covenant (Ex. xx.-xxiii.), to which the little code of the covenant (Ex. xxxiv. 12-26) is a parallel. 2. The Deuteronomic code (Deut. xii.-xxvi., xxviii.). 3. The so-called Priest-code, filling a large part of Ex. xxv.-xl., the whole of Leviticus, and considerable portions of Numbers.

That each of these is homogeneous, and each one possessed of clear features which mark it off from the others, is obvious from the contents. The first is very simple, dealing chiefly with the social fabric of a simple community living upon the produce of their lands and herds ; the second deals with the same conditions more elaborately, and has a larger number of regulations in the religious sphere ; while the third, though not ignoring social matters altogether, is chiefly concerned with the sacrificial rites, and related matters ; it is

the Priests' law book, containing regulations by which the Priests ruled the community; hence it is called the Priest-code. The questions which we wish to consider are, whether all these codes are likely to have come from the same person, and whether all, or any of them, can reasonably be assigned to the Mosaic age.

It should be noted at the outset that the first code is said to have been given to Moses at Sinai immediately after the Exodus from Egypt; the second is said to have been spoken by Moses in the land of Moab after the conquest of Gilead and Bashan, therefore some forty years later; while the third was given at various times; that in Ex. xxv. ff. in the third month after the Exodus (Ex. xix. 1f.; xxiv. 15ff.); that in Leviticus after the tabernacle was set up, in the first month of the second year; that in Numbers in the second month of the same year. Hence the first and third were given within a year directly after the Exodus, while the second was the last work of Moses, shortly before his death. Therefore the code of the covenant, and, on the assumption of the authorship of Moses, the Priest-code, should show the initial stages of the Mosaic legislation, and Deuteronomy should be its most developed product.

It often happens that the same subjects are dealt with in all three codes. Driver has given a useful table of the Deuteronomic law, with the parallels from the other codes (L. O. T.⁶, p. 73ff.; "Deuteronomy," p. iv.-vii.).

He classifies the Deuteronomic code (D) under sixty-six subjects. In twenty-six of these cases D stands alone; in eight it has parallels with the code of the covenant (JE) only; in fifteen with the Priest-code (P) only; while in seventeen it has parallels with both JE and P. D has therefore parallels with JE in twenty-three cases, and with P in thirty-two cases. There is one part of the Priest-code (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.) which has marked features of its own. It has, besides, features in common with Deuteronomy, and still more with Ezekiel, though not enough to destroy its individual character. It is generally called the “Law of Holiness,” and denoted by the symbol H. A study of Driver’s table justifies the statement that most of the parallels of D with P are in this small section.

Much light is thrown upon the whole question of the laws by such a comparative study as this table affords convenient material for. We shall offer some of the results of such comparative study.

I. THE LAW OF THE TITHE.

P	D	P
And to the sons of Levi behold I have given all the tithes in Israel for an inheritance, the portion for their service which they do—the service of the tent of meeting. And the Israelites shall not again ap-	Thou shalt surely tithe all the produce of thy seed, which the field yields each year. And thou shalt eat it before Jahveh thy God in the place where he chooses to	And the tithe of the land, of the seed of the earth, of the fruit of the tree, is Jahveh’s; it is

proach unto the tent of meeting, committing thus a mortal sin. But the Levite shall do the service of the tent of meeting, and they shall bear their guilt—an eternal statute for your generations ; and among the Israelites they shall have no inheritance. For the tithe of the Israelites, the offering which they offer to Jahveh, I have given to the Levites for an inheritance ; therefore I said to them, Among the Israelites they shall have no inheritance.

And Jahveh spoke to Moses, saying, And unto the Levites thou shalt speak, and thou shalt say unto them, When ye receive from the Israelites the tithe which I have given to you from them for your inheritance, then ye shall offer of it an offering to Jahveh, a tenth of the tithe. And your offering shall be reckoned for you, as the corn from the

place his name ; the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, of thy oil, and the firstlings of thy herd and of thy flock ; in order that thou mayst learn to fear Jahveh thy God all the days. And if the way be too long for thee, because thou art not able to carry it [the tithe], since the place where Jahveh thy God chooses to place his name is far from thee, because Jahveh thy God has blessed thee, then thou shalt exchange it for money ; and thou shalt bind the money in thy hand, and thou shalt go unto the place which Jahveh thy God chooses. And thou shalt exchange the money for anything which thy soul desires, cattle, sheep, wine, strong drink,

holy to Jahveh. And if a man wish to redeem any of his tithe, he shall add a fifth to it. And all the tithes of the herd and of the flock, all which pass by under the rod, a tithe shall be holy to Jahveh. He shall not distinguish between good and bad ; he shall not change it. But if he does exchange it, then that which is exchanged shall also be holy to Jahveh : it may not be redeemed

threshing-floor, and as the overflow from the wine fat. So shall ye also offer the offering of Jahveh from all your tithes which ye receive from the Israelites; and ye shall give of it Jahveh's offering to Aaron the priest. From all your gifts ye shall offer every offering of Jahveh, from all its fat, that which is holy of it. And thou shalt say unto them, When ye offer the fat of it, then it shall be reckoned to the Levites, as the produce of the threshing-floor and as the produce of the wine fat. And ye shall eat it in every place, ye and your households, for it is your wage, the portion of your service in the tent of meeting. And ye will not commit sin by it, if ye offer the fat of it; and the holy things of the Israelites ye shall not profane; then ye shall not die (Num. xviii. 21-32).

or anything which thy soul demands; and thou shalt eat it there before Jahveh thy God, and thou shalt rejoice, thou and thy household. And the Levite who is in thy cities thou shalt not neglect: for he has no portion nor inheritance with thee. (Lev. xxvii. 30-33).

At the end of three years thou shalt bring out all the tithe of thy produce for that year, and place it in thy city. And the Levite, since he has no portion nor inheritance with thee, and the stranger, and the orphan, and the widow, who are in thy city, shall come in and eat to the full; that Jahveh thy God may bless thee in all the works of thy hands which thou doest (Deut. xiv. 22-29).

D provides that a tithe of the produce of the land, such as corn, wine, and oil, along with the firstlings of the herd and of the flock, shall be eaten yearly (except in the third year) at the central sanctuary as a joyful feast. The Levite is to be invited to share this feast. Every third year, however, the tithe is to be stored up for the benefit of the poor. If the sanctuary is too far to carry the tithe thither, it may be sold, and the money used to purchase the supplies for the feast.

P (in Leviticus) declares that the produce of the flocks, as well as the produce of the land and of the tree, is to be tithed by taking every tenth animal, whether good or bad, as they pass in single file under the rod; and this tithe belongs to Jahveh, that is, it is to be given to the priests. The tithe could only be redeemed by adding one-fifth to its value. In Numbers P prescribes that the tithe should be given to the Levites, who in turn should give a tithe of their tithe to the priests. Those tithes were a return for the service of the Levites and of the priests at the sanctuary.

The difference here is of a most radical kind. The scope of the tithe is enlarged in P to include the flocks. But the important difference is that in the one case the offerer is to eat the tithe himself as a joyful feast, the Levite receiving a share only as a charitable gift; in the other the tithe belongs entirely to the Levites and priests. It is to be further observed that (according to the traditional arrangement) D is the

later code. A full discussion of the tithe and of the attempts to reconcile these passages may be found in Driver's "Deuteronomy," p. 168ff.*

2. THE LAW OF THE SABBATH YEAR.

This law is found in all three codes as follows :

JE	D	P (H)
<p>And for six years thou shalt sow thy land, and gather its produce; but the seventh(year) thou shalt let it lie fallow. Thou shalt let it rest, that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave, the beast of the field shall eat. Likewise shalt thou do to thy vineyard and to thy oliveyard (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11).</p>	<p>At the end of seven years thou shalt make a release; and this is the manner of the release: Every creditor who has made a loan to his neighbor shall release it; he shall not exact payment of his neighbor and his brother; for Jahveh's release is proclaimed. He may exact payment of the alien, but what thou</p>	<p>And Jahveh spoke unto Moses in Mount Sinai, saying, Speak unto the Israelites and say unto them, When ye come into the land which I shall give you, the land shall keep a sabbath to Jahveh. Six years shalt thou sow thy field, and six years thou shalt prune thy vineyard, and thou shalt gather its produce. But in</p>

* The difficulty has long been felt. Tobit (i. 7) tries to explain the difference in a way that has often been followed: "The tenth part of all mine increase I gave to the sons of Levi, who ministered at Jerusalem; and the second tenth part I sold away, and went, and spent it each year at Jerusalem; and the third I gave unto those unto whom it was meet." But there is no hint in Deuteronomy of a second tithe. Tobit's third tithe is apparently the tithe of the third year of Deuteronomy.

hast against thy brother, thou shalt release.

If there shall be among thee a poor man, one of thy brethren, in one of thy cities, in thy land which Jahveh thy God gives thee, thou shalt not harden thy heart, nor withdraw thy hand from thy poor brother; but thou shalt surely open thy hand to him, and shalt freely lend him sufficient for his need—whatever need he may have. Guard thyself, lest there be an evil thought in thy heart to say, The seventh year, the year of release, draws near; and thy eye be evil towards thy poor brother, and thou give not to him; he will cry to Jahveh against thee, and it will be sin in thee. Thou shalt freely give to him, and thy heart shall not be evil when thou givest to him; for because of this thing Jahveh thy God will bless thee in all thy work and in all to which thou puttest thy hand. Because the poor will not cease from the land, therefore I command thee saying, Thou shalt surely open thy hand to thy brother, to the lowly and to the poor in thy land (Deut. xv. 1-3, 7-11).

the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of sacred rest for the land, a sabbath to Jahveh. Thy field thou shalt not sow, and thy vineyard thou shalt not prune. The natural growth of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, and the grapes of thy unpruned vine thou shalt not gather; it shall be a year of sacred rest for the land. And the sabbath yield of the land shall be food for you, for thee and for thy servant and for thy maid and for thy hireling and for thy visitors who sojourn with thee; and for thy cattle and for the beast which is in thy land—all its produce shall be food (Lev. xxv. 1-7).

JE provides that the land shall lie fallow every seventh year, the natural produce of that year being free

to the poor. The produce of the vineyard and oliveyard were not to be gathered in that year, but likewise were left for the poor. P is in close agreement with this provision in one respect; namely, that no cultivation was to be carried on in the seventh year. But the institution is given a sacred character, "the land shall keep a sabbath unto Jahveh"; and though there was to be no harvesting in that year, the natural yield might be eaten in the field by the owner of the land and his dependents, and by the domestic and wild animals. There is not a word about the poor. D has nothing to say about the land; the release has to do only with debts and slaves (for the latter, see below). All debts from one Hebrew to another were outlawed in that year, but the debts of a foreigner were not affected. The law recognizes the practical difficulty which at once arises,* and warns the people that they must not refuse to lend to the poor because the year of release was at hand.

It does not follow that D does not know any sabbath year for the land, though it speaks of the year of release (v. 1.) as a new institution. But Exodus and Leviticus certainly deal with the same institution, and it

* All modern laws for outlawing debts are based upon this code. Six years is the usual period during which an ordinary debt is collectible. But the difficulty suggested above is avoided by counting the year of release from the time the debt is contracted. The Hebrews enjoined this method of reckoning for the release of slaves.

is very difficult to explain these two codes if they are the work of the same man and were issued at virtually the same period.

3. LAWS OF SLAVERY.

JE

D

P(H)

When thou shalt buy a Hebrew slave, he shall serve thee for six years ; and in the seventh year he shall go forth free, without r a n s o m. If with his body (*z. e.*, alone) he came in, with his body he shall go forth ; if he had a wife, then his wife shall go forth with him. If his master give him a wife, and she bear to him sons or daughters, the wife with her children shall belong to her master, and he shall go forth with his body. But if the slave shall say, I love my master, and my wife and my children ; I will not go forth free : then shall his master bring him to the judge, and shall bring him to the door

If thy brother, a Hebrew man or woman, be sold to thee, he shall serve thee for six years ; but in the seventh year, thou shalt let him depart from thee free. And when t h o u lettest him depart from thee free, thou shalt not let him depart empty : thou shalt load him from thy flock and from thy threshing floor and from thy wine fat — of whatever J a h v e h thy God has blessed thee, thou shalt give to him. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt, and Jahveh thy God r a n s o m e d thee :

And if thy brother (who is) with thee become poor, and is sold to thee, thou shalt not put upon him the service of a slave. Like the hireling, like the sojourner, he shall be with thee. Unto the year of jubilee he shall serve with thee ; then he shall go forth from thee, he and his children with him ; and he shall return to his family, and to the possession of his fathers he shall return. Since they are my servants whom I brought forth from the land of Egypt, they shall not be sold as the sale of a slave.

or to the doorpost, and his master shall bore his ear with an awl; and he shall serve him for life.

If a man shall sell his daughter for a slave, she shall not go forth as the men slaves do. If she is evil in the eyes of her master, who has espoused her to himself, then he shall let her be ransomed; he shall have no right to sell her to a foreign people, in that he has deceived her. And if he shall espouse her to his son, according to the custom of daughters shall he do to her. If he take to him another wife, her food, her clothing, and her marital rights he shall not decrease. And if he does not provide these three things for her, then she shall go forth ransom - free, without money (Ex. xxi. 2-11).

therefore I command thee this thing to-day. And it shall be if he says to thee, I will not go forth from thee, because he loves thee and thy household, having found it well to be with thee, then thou shalt take an awl, and place it in his ear and in the door, and he shall be thy slave for life. And thus thou shalt do also to thy maid-servant. It shall not be hard in thy eyes, when thou lettest him depart from thee free; for with double the hire of a hireling he has served thee six years, and Jahveh thy God will bless thee in all thou doest (Deut. xv. 12-18).

And thy slaves, male and female which thou hast of the nations, who are round about you, of them shall ye buy slaves. And also of the sojourners who abide with you, of them and of their family which is with you, which they have borne in your land, shall ye buy, and they shall be a possession for you. And ye may bequeath them to your sons after you, to get a possession, for life ye shall get service of them. But your brethren the Israelites, each one with his brother, thou shalt not rule over him with rigor (Lev. xxv. 39-46).

D connects with the year of release of debts the manumission of Hebrew slaves. But there is this important distinction, that the year of release came for each slave at a different time; that is, he was set free after he had served six years. Perpetual slavery for debt was not to be permitted except it was voluntary. When the slave was freed the law required that he be furnished with such things as would be necessary for the re-establishment of an independent life.

This is a great restriction upon the earlier code which released only Hebrew *men* in the seventh year. The woman who was sold as a slave could only be released in case her master had married her,* and then failed either in respect to food, clothing, or duties of marriage. There is a further provision that if a master gives a wife to a slave who is single, the wife and children are not released in the seventh year.

The Levitical law is markedly different. The master is forbidden to exact bond service of Hebrews. This law aims virtually to abolish the slavery of Hebrews. They are to be dealt with as hired servants. Contrary to Exodus, the children are to be released with their fathers, but the release is in the year of jubilee, the fiftieth year instead of the seventh. It is not easy to see by what harmonistic ingenuity these codes

* This passage (Ex. xxi. 8) is very obscure; I have given the generally received reading, which seems to me most probably right.

can be assigned to the same author, and to the same era.

4. THE FIRST-BORN OF ANIMALS.

JE	D	P
<p>So shalt thou do with thy oxen and with thy sheep; seven days it (<i>i. e.</i>, the first-born) shall be with its dam: on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me (Ex. xxii. 30; cf. xiii. 11f., xxxiv. 19—both in JE).</p> <p>chooses. But if there be in it any blemish, lameness or blindness, any evil blemish, thou shalt not sacrifice it to Jahveh thy God; in thy city thou shalt eat it, the unclean and the clean alike (may eat), as (thou eatest) the roebuck and the gazelle. Only its blood thou shalt not eat; upon the ground thou shalt pour it like water (Deut. xv. 19-23).</p>	<p>Every firstling which is born in thy herd and in thy flock, the males, thou shalt dedicate to Jahveh thy God. Thou shalt not work the firstling of thy oxen, nor shear the firstling of thy sheep. Before Jahveh thy God thou shalt eat it, thou and thy household, year by year, in the place which Jahveh</p>	<p>But the firstling of thy oxen, or the firstling of thy sheep, or the firstling of thy goats, thou shalt not redeem; they are holy. Their blood thou shalt sprinkle upon the altar, and their fat thou shalt burn—a fire offering for a sweet savor to Jahveh. But their flesh shall be thine, like the wave breast and like the right thigh it shall be thine (Num. xviii. 17, 18).</p>

The first male born to every cow or sheep was to be taken from its dam on the eighth day and given to the Lord, according to JE. D is more explicit, and adapted to a more advanced social order. As the sacrifice could only be eaten at the central sanctuary, the regu-

lation about seven days is abolished; but the animal was not to be used as a source of profit. D expressly states that these firstlings are to be eaten as a sacrificial feast at the central sanctuary. Only in case the animal had a blemish, and so was unfit to serve as a sacrifice, was it permitted to be eaten at home.

P forbids the redemption of these firstlings, and provides that their blood must be sprinkled upon the altar, the fat burned for a fire offering—all this by priests; but the flesh belonged to the priests. That the layman was to have nothing to do with the firstling it made clear in Lev. xxvii. 26, "Only the firstling among beasts, which is made a firstling to Jahveh, no man shall dedicate it; whether it be ox or sheep, it is Jahveh's." This distinctly contradicts D, which says that each man shall dedicate his own firstlings.

5. THE PILGRIM FEASTS.

JE	D.	P
Three times in the year thou shalt keep a feast to me. The feast of unleavened bread thou shalt observe. Seven days shalt thou eat unleavened bread as I have commanded thee, at the fixed	Observe the month Abib, and prepare a passover to Jahveh thy God; for in the month Abib Jahveh thy God brought thee out of Egypt by night. And thou shalt sacrifice for the passover of Jahveh thy God sheep and cattle in the place where	These are the feasts of Jahveh, holy convocations which ye shall convoke in their season. In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month, between the evenings, is Jahveh's passover. And on the fifteenth day of that

time of the month of Abib; for in it thou camest out of Egypt. None shall see my face empty. And the feast of the harvest, the first-fruits of thy labor, which thou sowest in the field. And the feast of the ingathering, at the end of the year, when thou gatherest thy labor from the field. Three times in the year all thy males shall appear before the Lord Jahveh (Ex. xxiii. 14-17).

Jahveh thy God chooses to place his name. With it thou shalt not eat leavened bread; seven days thou shalt eat with it unleavened bread, the bread of affliction—for in haste thou wentest out of the land of Egypt—that thou mayest remember the day of thy going forth from Egypt all the days of thy life. And leaven shall not be seen to thee in all thy borders for seven days. There shall not remain till morning any of the flesh which thou sacrificest in the evening of the first day. Thou shalt not be allowed to sacrifice the passover in one of thy cities which Jahveh thy God gives thee; but at the place where Jahveh thy God chooses to place his name, there shalt thou sac-

month is Jahveh's feast of unleavened bread; seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread. On the first day ye shall have a holy convocation, ye shall do no kind of work. And ye shall bring near Jahveh's fire offerings seven days; on the seventh day is a holy convocation, ye shall do no kind of work.

When ye come into the land which I give you, and reap its harvests, then shall ye bring in the first sheaf of your harvest to the priest; and he shall wave the sheaf before Jahveh for your welfare; the day after the Sabbath the priest shall wave it.

And ye shall reckon you from the day after the Sabbath, from the day of your bringing the wave sheaf, seven

rifice the passover Sabbaths in full number, until the day after sunset, the time of thy the seventh Sabbath going out of Egypt. ye shall reckon fifty days; and ye shall And thou shalt cook days; and ye shall and eat in the place bring near a fresh vegetable which Jahveh thy God offering to Jah-chooses. And in the veh. From your morning thou shalt dwelling ye shall bring return to thy home. Six two wave loaves—two days shalt thou eat un- tenths of an ephah leavened bread; and of fine meal they shall on the seventh day is be—they shall be a holy assembly to Jah- baked with leaven as veh—thou shalt do no first-fruits to Jahveh. work.

Seven weeks shalt [With this were to be sacrificed seven lambs, thou reckon—from the one bullock, and two beginning of cutting rams, as a burnt offering the corn thou shalt be- ing to Jahveh; also a gin to reckon seven goat and two lambs as weeks. And thou shalt a peace offering.]

prepare a feast of But on the tenth of weeks to Jahveh thy this seventh month is God; after the measure the day of atonement; of the free-will offering it shall be a holy con- of thy hand, which vocation to you; ye thou shalt give, as Jah- shall humble your-veh thy God blesses selves, and bring near thee. And thou shalt a fire offering to Jah- rejoice before Jahveh veh.

thy God, thou and thy On the fifteenth day

son and thy daughter, and thy manservant and thy maidservant, and the Levite who is in thy city, and the stranger and the orphan and the widow, who are among thee—in the place where Jahveh thy God chooses to place his name. And thou shalt remember that thou wast a servant in Egypt, and thou shalt observe to do these statutes.

The feast of booths thou shalt prepare for thee seven days, when thou gatherest from thy threshing - floor and from thy wine fat. And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou and thy son and thy daughter, and thy manservant and thy maidservant, and the Levite and the stranger, and the orphan and the widow, who are in thy city. Seven days thou shalt

of this seventh month is the seven days' feast of booths to Jahveh. On the first day is a holy convocation, ye shall not do any kind of work. Seven days ye shall bring near a fire offering to Jahveh; on the eighth day ye shall have a holy convocation: ye shall bring near a fire offering to Jahveh. It is a holy festival, ye shall not do any kind of work.

But on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when ye have gathered the produce of the land, ye shall keep a feast to Jahveh seven days. On the first day shall be a sacred rest, and on the eighth day a sacred rest. And on the first day ye shall take you the fruit of good trees, branches of palms, and boughs of

keep a feast to Jahveh thy God in the place which Jahveh chooses; for Jahveh thy God will bless thee in all thy produce and in all the labor of thy hands, and thou shalt be joyful. Three times in the year shall all thy males see the face of Jahveh thy God in the place which he shall choose—in the feast of unleavened bread, and in the feast of weeks, and in the feast of booths; and he shall not see the face of Jahveh empty; each one according to the gift of his hand, according to the blessing of Jahveh thy God which he gave thee (Deut. xvi. 1-17).

thickly-foliaged trees, and of brook willows, and ye shall rejoice before Jahveh your God seven days. And ye shall keep it as a feast to Jahveh seven days in the year—an eternal statute for your generations—in the seventh month ye shall keep it.

In the booths ye shall live for seven days—every native in Israel shall live in the booths, that your descendants may know that I made the Israelites live in booths when I brought them from the land of Egypt—I Jahveh your God (Lev. xxiii. 4-11, 15-17, 27, 34-36, 39-43).

In JE, the three annual pilgrim feasts* are the feast of unleavened bread, the harvest festival—when the first-fruits were offered—and the feast of ingather-

* Heb., *hag*, a festival for whose celebration the people went on pilgrimages to sanctuaries.

ing. All the males were to keep these feasts before Jahveh, *i. e.*, at any sanctuary that might be convenient. In Ex. xxxiv. 22, we find the feast of weeks named instead of the harvest festival; but it is evident that the same thing is meant, as it is connected in both cases with the first-fruits. The identity of phraseology in the two sections of JE (Ex. xxiii. 14-17; xxxiv. 18, 20, 22-25) offers material for reflection to the observant student.

D calls the feast of unleavened bread the Passover, and gives much more detailed regulations for its observance. The Passover festival must be kept at the central sanctuary. This law is evidently dependent upon JE's account of the institution of the two festivals. The harvest festival, or that of the first-fruits, is in D the feast of weeks. The time is fixed by the ripening of the corn; but the feast is kept seven weeks after the corn is ripe. And this reference to the ripening of the corn is the only hint of first-fruits in this code. In place of the feast of the ingathering we have the feast of booths or tabernacles. The time is fixed but vaguely, after the harvest is gathered. There is no explanation of the booths. Both these festivals are to be joyous occasions, and are to be characterized by liberality toward the widow, the fatherless, and other poor. The Deuteronomic code does not precisely fix the date of any of the festivals; even the Passover is left with no more definite date than the month

Abib.* All the festivals were to be observed at the central sanctuary.

P (in Leviticus) makes a distinction between the feasts of the Passover and unleavened cakes, and prescribes the exact day for each. The date of the feast of weeks is more exactly determined than in D. The first sheaf of the harvest was to be given to the priest to be waved before Jehovah on the day after the Sabbath. Seven weeks after this day is the feast of weeks. The name feast of weeks is indeed not used here ; but the details are given as to the offerings, which are both animal and vegetable. The feast of weeks is fixed by P upon the fifteenth day of the seventh month. There is an appendix to the feast regulations which gives still another version of the law for the feast of booths : fruits, boughs and branches were to be used as symbols of joy, and the people were to dwell in booths for seven days. There the feast is given an historical connection, being derived from the Exodus.

* In the early codes the feasts were movable, because they were connected with the harvests, and the time of observance was dependent upon the ripening of the harvest. In P they have become fixed (see Addis, " Documents of the Hexateuch," II., p. 176). Our Thanksgiving Day is left to the civil authorities to fix according to the time the harvests are ripe, and this would be different in different years and in different parts of the country. But in actual practice the date has become fixed at a time when the harvests of the whole land have been gathered.

In Num. xxviii, xxix.,* P is chiefly occupied with the regulations for the sacrifices to be offered on each day of the feasts. JE and D have no regulations about these. Leviticus prescribes only that a fire offering be made each day for the feasts of unleavened bread and of booths; but for the feast of weeks, two loaves of bread, seven lambs, one bullock, two rams, one goat and two lambs (a peace offering) are to be offered. Numbers requires two bullocks, one ram, seven lambs, and one goat, for each of the seven days of the feast of unleavened cakes, besides the regular daily offering of the morning: for the festival of the first-fruits, two bullocks, one ram, seven lambs, one goat, are prescribed; while during the feast of tabernacles there was a total of seventy-one bullocks, fifteen rams, one hundred and five lambs, and eight goats. This law is concerned with the priestly celebration, and has little concern with the people's use of the festival.

It is very difficult to explain how one individual, at one time, could be responsible for such a varying ecclesiastical year as that prescribed in these various codes. The variations are perfectly natural if we suppose the three codes to be products either of three different periods in Hebrew history, each code adapted to the peculiar conditions of its period, or of different

* I have not deemed it necessary to quote this elaborate, repetitious passage; the summary of its contents given here is quite sufficient for my purpose.

schools within the Jewish Church. It is especially difficult to understand, in this and other cases, how Deuteronomy could have been a later law than the Priest-code.

6. PRIESTLY REVENUES.

D

There shall be no portion nor inheritance for the priests, the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi; the fire offerings of Jahveh and his inheritance they shall eat. But he shall have no inheritance among his brothers; Jahveh is his inheritance as he spoke to him. And this shall be the due of the priests from the people, from those offering sacrifices, whether cattle or sheep: he shall give to the priest the shoulder and the cheeks and the maw; the first of thy corn, thy wine, and thy oil, and the first fleece of thy flocks, thou shalt give to him. For Jahveh thy God has chosen him from all thy tribes to stand to minister in the name of Jahveh, he and his sons all the days.

And if the Levite shall come from one of thy cities, from any part of Israel where he sojourns,

P

And the right shoulder from the sacrifice of your peace offerings ye shall give to the priest as a heave offering. Whoever of the sons of Aaron shall offer the blood and the fat of the peace offering, to him shall belong the right shoulder for a share. For the wave breast and the heave shoulder I have taken from the Israelites, for the sacrifice of their peace offerings, and I have given them to Aaron the priest and to his sons from the Israelites by an eternal statute (Lev. vii. 32-34).

And Jahveh said to Aaron, Thou and thy sons and thy father's house with thee shall bear the guilt of the sanctuary; and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the guilt of your priesthood. And also thy brethren the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou near with

and shall come in all the desire of his soul to the place which Jahveh chooses, then he shall minister in the name of Jahveh, as the rest of his brethren the Levites who stand there before Jahveh; like portions shall they eat, besides his sellings (Deut. xviii. 1-8).

thee, that they may attach themselves to thee and minister to thee; but thou and thy sons with thee shall be before the tent of testimony.

And Jahveh said to Aaron, Behold, I have given thee the charge of my heave offering, all the holy things of the Israelites, to thee and to thy sons have I given them as a holy due by an eternal statute. This shall be

thine from the holiest things from the fire: every holy gift, every vegetable offering, every sin offering, and every guilt offering, which they shall render to me—the holiest things shall be for thee and thy sons. Of the holiest things thou shalt eat, every male shall eat it, it is holy to thee. And this is for thee: their heave gift, all the wave offerings of the Israelites; to thee and to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee have I given them by an eternal statute; every clean one in thy house may eat it. All the best oil, and all the best wine and corn, their first-fruits which they give to Jahveh, to thee have I given them. The first-born of everything which is in their land, which they bring to Jahveh, is thine; every clean one in thy house may eat it. Every devoted thing in Israel is thine. Every first-born of all flesh, of man or beast, which they bring near to Jahveh is thine; but the first-born of man thou must redeem, and the first-born of unclean cattle thou shalt redeem. And their redemption—thou shalt redeem from a month old—at thy valuation shall be five shekels of silver—the holy shekel which is twenty gerahs. But the first-born of oxen, or the first-born of sheep, or the first-born of goats, thou shalt not redeem: they are holy; their blood thou shalt sprinkle upon the altar, and their fat thou shalt

burn, a fire offering, a sweet savor to Jahveh. And their flesh shall be thine : like the wave breast and the right shoulder, it shall be thine. All the holy wave offerings which the Israelites offer to Jahveh, I have given them to thee and to thy sons and to thy daughters with thee by an eternal statute, an eternal covenant of salt it is before Jahveh, to thee and to thy seed with thee.

And Jahveh said to Aaron, In their land thou shalt not inherit ; and thou shalt have no portion among them : I am thy portion and thy inheritance among the Israelites (Num. xviii. 1f., 8-20).

In D, priest and Levite are synonymous, that is, every Levite is *ipso facto* a priest, and he is not to be denied priestly duties and revenues if he comes from the country districts to the sanctuary at Jerusalem. The shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw of all animals offered in sacrifice, the first-fruits of all vegetable produce, and the first fleece of the sheep shall be given to him. The Levite who came from the country districts, who had been serving presumably at the local sanctuaries, was to have a full share of the priestly dues in addition to whatever else he might possess. The expression, "besides his sellings," is hopelessly obscure. We cannot tell what is referred to precisely ; but the term must cover some property of the Levite apart from that coming from the temple service.

In Numbers we find a still more developed condition. The sons of Aaron only are the priests, and the other Levites are subordinates, restricted in their service at the sanctuary. The revenues of the priests are now the whole of the offerings, the heave offerings, the veg-

etable offerings, sin offerings, guilt offerings, besides the best of the oil, of the vintage, of the corn, and all the first-fruits. All the first-born belong to the priests, and the people were required to pay redemption money for the first-born of man and of unclean animals.

It is noteworthy that in the earliest code (JE), though priests are mentioned, there is not a word about any priestly revenues.

7. A most instructive case, which shows very clearly the independent origin of the two earlier codes, is found in the Decalogue. Every one knows that we have two recensions of the Ten Words, but every one does not appear to appreciate the significance of the fact. If in any part of the Old Testament we should expect a standard and unvarying text, reaching back to the days of its origin, it would be in the case of the Decalogue. It is said of both codes that they were written directly by God (Ex. xxxi. 18; xxxiv. 1, 4, 28; Deut. x. 4). While it is presumably true that no one interprets this expression literally, still it cannot be denied that the statement shows the high reverence in which these tables of the law were held. Yet we find that the authors or editors of the different books did not scruple to put forth versions which do not agree.

The most radical difference is in the law of the Sabbath, but there is considerable variation also in the law against covetousness. The two versions of these two

laws are placed side by side, the more notable differences being put in italics in the Deuteronomic version.

EX. xx.

Remember the Sabbath day to make it holy. Six days thou shalt labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of Jahveh thy God. Thou shalt do no work, thou and thy son and thy daughter, thy manservant and thy maidservant, and thy cattle, and thy guest who is in thy gates. For in six days Jahveh made the heavens and the earth and the sea, and all that is in them; and he rested on the seventh day. Therefore Jahveh blessed the Sabbath day to make it holy.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant nor his maidservant, nor his ox nor his ass, nor anything which is thy neighbor's (Vs. 8-11, 17).

his field, nor his manservant nor his maidservant, nor his ox nor his ass, nor anything which is thy neighbor's (Vs. 12-15, 21).

DEUT. v.

Keep the Sabbath day to sanctify it, *as Jahveh thy God commanded thee*. Six days thou shalt labor and do all thy work. But the seventh day is the Sabbath of Jahveh thy God. Thou shalt do no work, thou and thy son and thy daughter, *and* thy manservant and thy maidservant, *and thy ox and thy ass and all* thy cattle, and thy guest who is in thy gates; *in order that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou. And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that Jahveh thy God brought thee out from there by a strong hand and by an outstretched arm.* Therefore Jahveh thy God *commanded thee to make* the Sabbath day.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's *wife*. Thou shalt not *desire* thy neighbor's *house*,

There is a radical difference here in that the divine

institution of the Sabbath is placed on different grounds: in the one case man is to do no labor because God rested from His creative work on the seventh day, in the other that the servants might have rest as well as their masters. Both of these might indeed be reasons for observing the Sabbath; but they could not both be the ground of its divine institution. It is certainly quite inconceivable that Moses should have been responsible for both of these versions.

If one examines the peculiarities of the Deuteronomic version it will be seen that the additions are quite in the spirit of the Deuteronomic writer. His interest is always on the side of the weak as against the strong. It is but natural, therefore, that he should place the institution of the Sabbath on humanitarian grounds. The version in Exodus is connected with the earliest code of law. But the institution of the Sabbath is based on the account of the creation in six days; and this account is the later version of the creation story—that ascribed to the priestly writer. It may seem at first sight as if this is a case in which modern criticism comes to grief. In fact, however, it shows the manner in which these variations originated.

Let us suppose that the original form of this law was simply, "Keep the Sabbath day to make it holy." The author of Deuteronomy not only states what the laws are, but delights also to make appeals for their observance, and to give reasons for doing so. The

most common reason for observing the laws was to him the divine deliverance from Egypt. This deliverance would therefore be brought into connection with the Sabbath law. There had already grown around the ancient law some details of its application. The Deuteronomist makes his characteristic addition.

The later writer who told the story of the creation connected the institution of the Sabbath with that event (Gen. i. 1–ii. 4^a). To him the Sabbath was older than Moses, as old, in fact, as man himself. He therefore added to the earlier code of the law a reason for its institution in agreement with his conception of the creation of the world. This may seem to be a mere supposition; but it has this value, that it explains the facts before us. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that all of the commandments in their original form were terse prohibitions and injunctions, and the promises and detailed explanations were additions made later for their better understanding. The student of New Testament times knows that such additions to the law continued up to that period, though, of course, these did not get a place in the canon.

Our Lord's statement that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, would seem to have its basis in the Deuteronomic version; and it is a great pity that it is not that version which is in common use in the Christian Church. If God did not create the world in six days and rest on the seventh,

the ground of the institution as given in Exodus disappears. No discovery, and no criticism, can ever invalidate the ground given in Deuteronomy, because it is based on that eternally valid law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Enough cases have now been cited to make it evident that the theory that the whole body of law in the Pentateuch is the work of one man, in one age, is beset with the most perplexing difficulties.* The difficulties would not be much less if we were to enlarge our investigation and consider the many cases in which the laws in the parallel codes are in close agreement. The facts which a comparative study of these laws reveals are the more perplexing to the student who is disposed to accept the verdict of the Anglican bishops, that external evidence is to be given due weight; for there is no doubt that the laws were generally ascribed to Moses. We have already seen that while the Pentateuch as a whole cannot be regarded as a Mosaic work, even on the ground of the Hebrew tradition, yet that same tradition does ascribe the law to Moses. The difficulty is therefore of a disagreement of the contents of the laws with the opinion as to their origin held by those who incorporated the laws into their narratives.

* Prof. G. L. Robinson has published an article in *The Expositor*, Am. Ed., November, 1898, in which he seeks to show that there are no serious discrepancies or contradictions in these codes. It cannot be said, however, that he has made out a very strong case.

The laws in JE (Ex. xx.-xxiii., xxxiv.) are the simplest and the earliest. It may be well to examine them to see what aid we can get from their contents to fix the date of this particular code. It is desirable to keep in mind the fact that these laws are said to have been given directly after the successful flight from Egypt. There was then gathered at the mountain a large company of nomads, many of whom had been engaged in slave service but a few weeks before.

Now, there are many features in these laws which disclose a very different situation. The slave who elects to stay with his master was to stand up against the *dor* or *doorpost* to have his ear pierced (Ex. xxi. 6). Manifestly, this expression presupposes houses as dwellings, not tents. The appointment of a place of refuge (xxi. 13) presupposes a life with a fixed habitat. The laws concerning the compensation for a destroyed field or vineyard, or standing corn (xxii. 5, 6) presuppose agricultural life as an existing institution. So also do the offering of the first-fruits and of the liquors (xxii. 29; xxiii. 19), and the Sabbath year in which the land is to lie fallow (xxiii. 10ff.), the feasts of harvest and of ingathering (*ib.*, v. 16).

Not only do such details as these indicate that these laws were put into their present form for a people who had already passed from the purely nomadic to the agricultural stage of life, but the whole tenor of the laws suggests that the people for whom they were formu-

lated were in a settled state of life in a fixed place of abode. The state of bondage in Egypt is looked upon as a condition of the distant past. The attempt to explain these facts on the ground that the laws were given by Moses, not for the present condition, but for the future condition, when the Israelites should be established in Canaan, and are therefore anticipatory, breaks down at the start. For it has been pointed out that the laws presuppose agricultural life as already existing.

But there is a still more serious difficulty. The anticipatory theory applies with much more reason to the Deuteronomic and priestly codes, where, in fact, we frequently read that such and such is to be the law when the people shall have entered into their land. Now one anticipatory code we could readily understand, coming from a man with the foresight and forethought of Moses; but three anticipatory codes, often at variance with each other, only remove the difficulty to another sphere; and certainly such an explanation does not testify to the fulness of Moses' inspiration. The establishment of a new law without repeal of an existing law, or even a reference to it, is difficult to conceive; and in the canon all these laws stand on the same plane, though it is not possible that all should have been put into effect at the same time.

Are we then reduced to the alternatives of holding to the Mosaic authorship of these laws in spite of the great

difficulties involved, or else of holding that their ascription to Moses by the compiler is either an inexcusable error or a deliberate misrepresentation of facts? By no means. The Jewish tradition which represents Moses as the author of all Hebrew law has unquestionably a solid basis of fact. Moses appears at the outset as the great judge. Before the reputed delivery of the law to Moses, we find Jethro visiting his son-in-law, and finding him so engrossed with the adjustment of the disputes of the Hebrews that he was likely to break down (Ex. xviii.). Now it is well known that the first and highest form of law is the decision of the chief judge. In the United States, a decision of the Supreme Court has a greater legal authority than an Act of Congress. In fact this Court has often set a legislative act aside, and frequently there is great uncertainty about an ordinance; for until this court has passed upon an Act of Congress no one knows whether it will stand as law or not.

There is preserved in the Bible an illustration of the manner in which the laws of Moses probably first originated. Zelophehad, a Manassite, had died leaving daughters, but no sons. His daughters demanded that a possession be given to them. Moses took the case before Jehovah and decided that their claim was just, and from that established the law of inheritance (Num. xxvii. 1-11): with this further restriction, that daughters who inherited property un-

der this law should forfeit the property if they married outside of their tribe (Num. xxxvi.).

The history of David furnishes us with a similar case. He decided that the two hundred who had been too exhausted to go to the end of the pursuit after the Amalekites should have as full a share of the booty as the others: "And it was so from that day forward, that he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel, unto this day" (I. Sam. xxx. 25).

The decisions of Moses, sitting as the supreme judge, were the basis of Hebrew law; but there must have been a continual development, as further decisions of new cases came up before the successors of the first and greatest judge. If a code of laws had been formulated soon after the Hebrews were settled in their possessions in Canaan, the groundwork of that law must have been Mosaic, however it was developed to meet new conditions. The basis of the code of the covenant may therefore be Mosaic, even though it did not take its present form until long after Moses' time.

When the Jahvist was writing his history of Israel, how could he do otherwise than ascribe the existing code of laws to the great law-giver?

The laws of Deuteronomy are based upon the code of the covenant. They are at many points more elaborate and definite, and new laws to meet the new requirements of a more developed life find their place. These additions are the result of a long accumulation

of judicial decisions ; but the final codifier would have seemed intolerably arrogant to his contemporaries if he had associated any other name than Moses with those laws.

The student of Hebrew uses to-day the twenty-sixth edition of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar. It has been many years since the book received its last revision at the hand of its author. The present grammar contains a large amount of material of which Gesenius knew nothing. These additions and changes have been necessary to keep the book abreast of the times. But one reading the book has no means of knowing what belongs to the original author, and what is the result of successive editings. Nevertheless, he feels that he is committing no sin when he calls the book Gesenius's Grammar ; and that is, as a matter of fact, its usual designation.

The Priest-code offers much more serious difficulties. It not only is not consistent with the other codes, but, as we have seen, is not always consistent with itself. These inconsistencies are, however, easily explained on the probable hypothesis that the Priest-code, like the civil code, was the result of a long growth, there being no pains to reconcile the earlier and the later portions. Some portions of P may be as early as Moses. But the date of the completed code, as we now have it, is not so easily ascertainable, and it is not easy to find a satisfactory Mosaic basis for it. While it is true

that a large number of critics at the present day regard this code in its present form as a post-exilic product, there are some who adhere to the view of Dillmann that it is pre-exilic. It does not fall to us to attempt to decide this question ; but it is desirable to set forth some of the facts which any one must reckon with who attempts to settle the date of this code.

The attitude of the greatest of the pre-exilic prophets is extremely hard to reconcile with the theory of the Mosaic origin of the Priest-code. On the face of it there seems to be a strong antipathy toward the ceremonial law as such. The following passages will repay careful consideration :

“ I hate, I scorn your feasts, and I delight not in your sacred assemblies. If ye offer to me burnt offerings and your vegetable offerings, I will not favor them, and your fat peace offerings I will not regard. Take away from me the noise of thy songs, and the melody of thy viols let me not hear ” (Amos v. 21-23).

“ For I desire mercy, and not sacrifice : knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings ” (Hosea vi. 6 ; cf. I. Sam. xv. 22 ; Matt. vii. 21ff. ; ix. 13 ; xii. 3ff.).

“ With what shall I come before Jahveh ? With what shall I bow down to the high God ? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves a year old ? Will Jahveh be pleased with thousands of rams, with myriad streams of oil ? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul ? O man, he has made known to thee what is good : and what does Jahveh demand of thee but to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ? ” (Mich. vi. 6-8).

“Why is there to me the multitude of your sacrifices, saith Jahveh? I am satiated with burnt offerings, rams, and fat beasts: and I like not the blood of bullocks and rams and goats. When ye come to see my face, who has asked this of your hands—to trample my courts? Bring me no more empty offerings; incense is an abomination to me; new moon and sabbath, the convoking of assemblies—I cannot endure sin and sacred assembly. Your new moons and your fixed feasts my soul hates; they have become a burden upon me, which I am weary of bearing” (Isa. i. 11–14).

“Why now does incense from Sheba come to me? and sweet cane from a distant land? Your burnt offerings are no delight, and your sacrifices are not agreeable to me” (Jer. vi. 20).

It is true that these passages are often explained as referring to the abuse of the sacrificial system. Undoubtedly it was abused in the time of the prophets, as in the time of our Lord. But if the Priest-code had been known by these prophets to be a work of Moses, a work of divine sanction and authority, would they have spoken in such a way as to leave in doubt, to say the least, their meaning? There are, however, two passages which are not susceptible of such an easy explanation.

“Did ye bring me sacrifices and offerings the forty years in the wilderness, O house of Israel?” (Amos v. 25)—evidently implying a negative answer. “Thus saith Jahveh Sabaoth the God of Israel: Add to your sacrifices and eat flesh; for I did not speak to your fathers, nor did I command them, in the day of my bringing them from the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifice” (Jer. vii. 21f.).

These statements are quite at variance with the priestly conception of the law as originating at the very dawn of the sojourn in the wilderness.

It must be remembered that the substance of the priestly code is fairly summed up in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "without shedding of blood there is no remission of sins." It is quite impossible to ascribe such a doctrine to the prophets quoted above. This is a case, and by no means the only one, where Jewish tradition has put an unnecessary burden upon the Christian conscience, in that it represents the prophets as assailing the institutions of Moses. If the Priest-code is a product of the post-exilic age, the difficulty at once disappears of itself. The voice of prophecy died out in that period. In Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, the voice is feeble as compared with Isaiah and Amos. In the age of the Maccabees the people lament that there is no prophet to tell them what to do with the stones they had pulled down from the altar (I. Mac. iv. 46 ; cf. ix. 27). But their conception of the prophet shows how little they understood the greatness of their own prophets of the past. Prophecy as a divine institution belongs to the pre-exilic and the exilic age. The religion of the Jews in the post-exilic age became from the start sacerdotal. The Priest-code got a hold then, and kept its hold, and was in full force at the advent of our Lord.

There is no reason to doubt that the sacerdotal sys-

tem of the Jews was of divine origin. But the priestly and prophetic find no reconciliation in the Old Testament; whether they waged war in the same period, as Jewish tradition requires us to hold, or were the products of successive ages, as modern criticism holds, the two systems find a harmonious place side by side only in Christianity. It certainly is easier to believe that God gave to each age what was best for it—so the prophets to one age, and the priests to another—than that He at one time raised up both prophets and priests at warfare with each other.

The nearest approach in the Old Testament to a reconciliation between these two religious institutions is in the prophet Ezekiel. He was priest and prophet both. He belonged to the highest family of priests, that of Zadok. Jeremiah was a priest, too, but the prophet in him buries the priest entirely out of sight. But in Ezekiel, while he was a real prophet, though not a great one, the priest, too, is always in evidence. If therefore any prophet would have had a veneration for a priestly law dating back to Moses, Ezekiel would have been that one. But the fact is that this prophet by the Chebar drew up a priestly law of his own, and that quite different from the Priest-code. This is not less remarkable when we recall the circumstances under which this prophet formulated his law.

After the fall of Jerusalem, Ezekiel, in confident expectation that the exiles would be restored to their

own land, drew up a constitution for the new state. His interest was largely in the ceremonial fabric. Ezekiel marks a transition from the prophetic code of Deuteronomy to the Priest-code. We have already seen that in the former every Levite is at least potentially a priest, while in the latter, only the family of Aaron are priests, the mass of the Levites doing the common service at the sanctuary. Ezekiel explains the transition. The Levites had served as priests at the local shrines, the high places, and for this offence they are reduced, having oversight at the gates of the house, and ministering in the house: "They shall slay the burnt offering and the sacrifice for the people" (Ezek. xlv. 11).

The offering for the day of atonement in Ezekiel (xlv. 18ff.), is a young bullock, whose blood is to be placed upon the doorposts of the temple, upon the four corners of the ledges of the altar, and upon the posts of the gate of the inner court. Moreover, in Ezekiel, this day of atonement comes twice a year: on New Year's day, and on the first day of the seventh month.*

In Lev. xvi. we find a very elaborate ritual for this day, which is the *tenth* day of the seventh month. Besides the bullock there were two goats, one the scapegoat, the other a burnt offering. The blood of

* Adopting in Ezek. xlv. 20 the more probable text of the LXX: see Davidson, "Camb. Bib.," *in loc.*

the bullock and of the goat was to be sprinkled upon the mercy-seat and upon the horns of the altar.

Ezekiel forbids a priest to marry any divorced woman, or any widow save that of a priest (xliv. 22). He makes no allusion anywhere to a high priest. In Leviticus the priests are forbidden to marry a harlot or any one divorced; but they are permitted to marry widows (xxi. 7); the high priest, however, is permitted to marry no one but a Jewish virgin* (v. 14).

Many other indications point to the late date of this law. There is no evidence in the pre-exilic history or literature of the existence of this code, while there are many things done which are at variance with its regulations. Kings offer sacrifice; many served as priests who were not even of the Levitical stock; both Joshua (Ex. xxxiii. 11) and Samuel (I. Sam. iii. 3ff.) performed functions in the sanctuary which this code permits only the Levites to do; the Ark was taken into battle, and when it was carried back, Uzzah, who was neither priest nor Levite, was its guardian.†

On the other hand, when we come into the age after Ezra we find the regulations of this code coming to the front; and it made its way until the hierarchy became predominant; and in the time of our Lord this code was the norm of religious practice.

The caution cannot be too often expressed that a

* See further Davidson, "Camb. Bib.," p. liii.

† See further on the date of P, L. O. T.⁶, p. 135ff.

careful distinction must be made between the date of priestly institutions and the date of the completed form of the priestly law. The latter only has been the subject of our investigation. A system of sacrifices can be clearly traced from the beginning of Hebrew history. At times, also, it appears that there were clearly understood regulations, as, for example, in I. Sam. ii. 12ff.; but it is not certain that the system was at this time governed by a written law. Certain parts of the priestly law, even in its written form, may go back to an early date; but this admission does not settle the question as to when the present law took its final shape.

CHAPTER VI.

The Historical Books.

THE analysis of the books of the Old Testament goes much beyond the Hexateuch. It is and must be carried to the historical books as well.

In fact, some of them, notably Judges and Kings, are, on their face, compilations for a distinct purpose. It is apparent that we shall be unable to understand the real facts of the history without analyzing the books as far as possible into their original parts, and interpreting the facts accordingly. There are some parts of the historical books which are peculiarly illuminated by this analysis. The first case to be considered is, however, not one involving so much the analysis of a book as the comparison of stories which have been preserved for the most part in different books.

The story of the Conquest of Canaan begins in Joshua, and ends properly in Samuel. But for our purpose we need at present to consider only the books of Joshua and Judges. There is similar evidence for the analysis of Joshua as for the other books already considered. But that analysis is not material for the purpose in view, which is to consider the Conquest in a general review. The book of Joshua falls into two

parts, chaps. i.-xii., containing the story of the Conquest, and chaps. xiii.-xxiv., the assignment of the land among the tribes, with Joshua's farewell discourses. The story told in chaps. i.-xii., in the main, moves along consistently. We must follow briefly the fortunes of Israel as there outlined.

After many years of the hard discipline of the wilderness, Joshua is called upon to move forward across the Jordan. The tribes to whom land had been assigned on the east of the Jordan were summoned to join the forces of Israel. Like a prudent general, Joshua sent spies within the enemy's fortifications, so as to know accurately their strength. The spies barely escaped capture, but were enabled to report that the Canaanites were in great alarm at the approach of the Hebrews. With this encouraging news, Joshua led his forces across the Jordan, Reuben and Gad in the van, and went into camp at Gilgal. At this place the rite of circumcision was reinstated and the Passover celebrated.

Joshua had realized in advance that Jericho was the necessary base of operations in Canaan, and he soon turned his attention to that city. At first he appears to have tried a siege, but soon made a successful assault.*

With this advantageous point gained, Joshua pro-

* The capture of this city Sayce does not attempt to explain; he says simply that it was "invested and captured in spite of its strong walls" ("Early History of the Hebrews," p. 250).

ceeded to Ai. But the first success had made the people too confident. Acting on the advice of the spies who had investigated the place, but a small force was sent to the attack, and it was easily repulsed with considerable loss. Realizing the disastrous effects of a defeat at this time, in that it would depress his own forces and encourage the enemy, Joshua hastened to repair the damage. By a clever ambush the men of Ai were drawn out of the city, to a point where the divided Israelites attacked their front and rear. The inevitable victory was soon gained.

The cities of Canaan, like the cities of ancient Greece or mediæval Germany, were independent. But as they came to realize the grave danger from the invading hosts, there were two confederacies formed, one in the north and the other in the south.

There was one people among the tribes of Canaan who preferred diplomacy to war. The Gibeonites refused to fight, and in fact put themselves under Joshua's protection. Joshua learned of the siege of Gibeon by the confederates, who were determined to punish this tribe for their surrender, and made a forced night march to the rescue. The battle was long and bloody, but a hailstorm at a timely moment spread confusion among the allies, and the whole of Southern Palestine was opened to the invaders by the crushing of these armies and the slaughter of the five kings. The cities of Libnah, Lachish, Hebron, Debir, and

others, fell into Joshua's hands. The story of the campaign ends with this summary statement: "So Joshua smote all the land, the hill country and the south, and the lowland, and the slopes, and all their kings; he left none remaining. And Joshua smote them from Kadesh-barnea even unto Gaza, and all the country of Goshen, even unto Gibeon. And all these kings and their land did Joshua take at one time, because Jahveh, the God of Israel, fought for Israel. And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, unto the camp at Gilgal" (Josh. x. 40f.).

The northern alliance which confronted Joshua on his second campaign was very formidable. "The kings went out, they and all their host with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many" (Josh. xi. 4). With his usual clever generalship, Joshua succeeded in taking this vast army by surprise, and routed them completely before they could recover.

The brief account of this campaign closes with a summary of the victories, saying that it extended now on the north as far as Hermon. Moreover, it was a war of extermination, the inhabitants being invariably put to the sword. At the end it is said that "Joshua took the whole land, according to all that Jahveh spake unto Moses: and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel according to the divisions by their tribes. And the land had rest from war" (Josh. xi. 23).

Thirty-one kings, including the King of Jerusalem, who is not before mentioned, fell a prey to the sword of Joshua.

The enemies remaining were the Philistines on the west, and various other tribes far to the north and to the south. But all the main part of Canaan was cleared of the enemy. As Joshua was now advanced in years, he assigned the conquered land to the various tribes, and they proceeded to occupy their several allotments.

The material in the narrative on which the above sketch is based is, as has already been said, of varying date, some being early and some late. But the early narrative has been in large part so edited that the story in its general outline is consistent and straightforward. It should be added, however, that most of the sweeping statements about Joshua's great successes are due to a later editor. There are two obvious features of the campaign as thus described. (1) The whole body of Israel, including the trans-Jordanic tribes, fought in one body under Joshua, and (2) the sword was not sheathed until the conquest of the land afterwards occupied by the Hebrews was absolutely complete. In the second part of the book, chaps. xiii.-xxiv., in the midst of lists of cities, etc., we find frequent notices not easy to reconcile with the situation above described.*

*Thus in Josh. xv. 14 it is stated that Caleb took Hebron, whereas it is stated in Josh. x. 36 that Joshua took it, and in Judges i. 10, that Judah took it (cf. i. 20). In Josh. xv. 63 we have a statement

When we turn to the first chapter of the book of Judges, we find a complete, though brief, account of the Conquest, which no human ingenuity has ever been able to reconcile with the above story. It is there stated that, after the death of Joshua, the Israelites inquired of Jehovah who of them should first go up against the Canaanites, and the reply was, Judah. This is evidently a very different situation. Though the time is given as after the death of Joshua, the conquest of Canaan has not yet been begun; the Israelites are still at Jericho (Judges i. 16). Instead of a campaign of united Israel, Judah is the first tribe to attempt to get a foothold in Canaan. Simeon was induced to go with Judah, and it is stated that in the course of the cam-

that the children of Judah could not drive the Jebusites from Jerusalem (cf. Judges i. 21); but Jerusalem was one of the places said to have been subdued by Joshua (Josh. x. 1ff., xii. 10). We read that the Ephraimites did not drive the Canaanites out of Gezer, but that they remain "to this day," having been reduced to taskwork (Josh. xvi. 10; cf. Judges i. 29); but we are told that Horam, King of Gezer, came to the help of Lachish, "and Joshua smote him and his people until he had left him none remaining" (Josh. x. 33). We learn that the Manassites could not drive the inhabitants from the towns of Bethshean, Ibleam and Dor, but in later years reduced them to servitude (Josh. xvii. 11-13); while, according to Josh. xii. 23, Dor had been conquered by Joshua.

It will appear from an examination of these passages that many of the scattered statements in the second part of Joshua are identical with those in Judges i.

paign these tribes took Jerusalem, Hebron and Debir, cities which were said to have been taken under Joshua. But in verse 21 we are told that "the Benjamites could not drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem: but the Jebusites dwelt with the Benjamites in Jerusalem, unto this day." The story goes on to relate the conquest of Bethel by the tribe of Joseph; but most of the other tribes are said to have been too weak to take towns. They secured a foothold in the retreats in the mountains, from which they gradually advanced against the Canaanites, though we are expressly told that the original inhabitants were not exterminated, but reduced to servitude.

It appears clearly, therefore, that there are two separate accounts of the conquest of Canaan. According to one (Josh. i.-xii.) Joshua led the combined forces to victory after victory until the possession was made complete by the capture of the important cities, and the extermination of the inhabitants. According to the other (fragments in Josh. xiii. ff., and Judges i.), the conquest was effected by the various tribes operating for the most part independently; the struggle lasted a long time, and in the end the Canaanites were not exterminated, but reduced to servitude.

The true history of the conquest can be written only by a diligent study of these two sources. That in Judges is the earlier, but the other, though later, must always be considered. An important characteristic of

the later source is the disregard of perspective. Looking back through a long period of time, events which covered several generations are all placed in the age of Joshua. It is manifest that some of the events described in Judges i. took place before the death of Joshua. In the Book of Joshua, as we have seen, many of these events are connected with the great leader's career.

But if Joshua did not lead the forces of Israel through a long, almost unbroken series of victories,* his part in the conquest was by no means small. He was a great general, making the most of the opportunity he had. Doubtless the tribes moved to their tasks under his direction, and the great tribe of Ephraim, perhaps at times with others associated with it, was led by him in the great struggle for a central position in the land.

Another passage in the early history of Israel which is obscure and difficult until the sources are subjected to a critical analysis, is the account of Saul's accession to the throne of Israel. As the narrative now stands, there are passages not easily brought into harmony. In one case we read that the people ask for a king,

* "Joshua was not the conqueror of Canaan in any exact sense of the term. . . . In Canaan itself the amount of territory won by Joshua was practically confined to the passage over the Jordan and the mountainous region of the centre. Few of the Canaanish cities were captured by him" (Sayce, "Early Hist.," p. 248).

much to the displeasure both of Samuel and of Jehovah (I. Sam. viii. 4ff.) ; in another, that Jehovah was graciously moved to raise up a king to deliver His people from the Philistines, because He had heard their cry of distress. According to one account, Samuel tried to dissuade the people from their purpose, while in the other he enters heartily into the divine purpose, and aids Saul to secure the sovereignty over the people. Even after Samuel had anointed Saul by divine commandment (x. 1), he accused the people of rejecting God by their request for a king (xii. 12). In one case Jehovah points out Saul to Samuel privately as the destined king (ix. 16); in the other case he was selected by lot in a great assembly at Mizpah (x. 20ff.). After Saul had been thus publicly elevated to the throne, and had retired with the army (x. 26), we find him quietly plowing in the field (xi. 5).

If now there had been a king on the throne of Israel the men of Jabesh-Gilead would naturally have gone directly to him, instead of sending through all the borders of Israel for such succor as they could find. Even when the message telling of the straits of their kinsmen was known in Saul's city, no one went to him; he learned of the situation by inquiry. Saul does not then send out orders as an accredited king, but sends a threat as an individual.

We read further in Samuel's address to the people that an invasion of Nahash the king of Ammon was

the occasion of the people's demand for a king (xii. 12), whereas the king in another place is said to have been publicly proclaimed before this invasion (x. 17ff.). As the story stands, moreover, Saul was first anointed privately, then chosen by lot at Mizpah and declared to be the king chosen of Jehovah, and then again at Gilgal "they made Saul king before Jahveh, with sacrifices and great rejoicings" (xi. 14f.).

It must be evident from these considerations that this event, as it now stands, is by no means free from serious difficulties. The faculties of the harmonist have been tried at this passage repeatedly, but not with a success that has won confidence. The discovery that there are here two parallel accounts, enables us at all events to understand the course of events. The older account is found in ix. 1-x. 16; xi. 1-11, 14, 15; the later version is in viii., x. 17-27, xii. These are each preserved with considerable completeness, as will readily be seen by any one who will take the trouble to read the two groups of passages separately. The oldest story of the establishment of the monarchy may be briefly told.

Israel had long been under the heel of the dreaded Philistines. As in the time of the Judges, so now their distressful cry reached the ears of Jehovah. Instead of raising up now, as in the past, a temporary deliverer, Jehovah reveals to His prophet His purpose to raise up a permanent king for His suffering people. In the

giant Benjamite, who comes to ask the seer about the strayed asses, Samuel perceives the one whom Jehovah had chosen. After showing Saul high honor at a public sacrifice, Samuel detains him for the night at Ramah, doubtless to lay before him the matters of which his heart was full. In the morning he anointed Saul, and declared him to be the king of Israel, giving him signs to prove that his choice was of God's will, and parting from him with the injunction to do as occasion served him—a veiled statement meaning that Saul was to seize an opportunity to get possession of the throne.

A suitable occasion for the showing of his hand soon arose. As he came from the field one evening he heard a wail in his city. Upon inquiry, he learned that messengers had arrived imploring aid for Jabesh-Gilead, a city across the Jordan, whose people had agreed to surrender to Nahash, and allow him to put out their right eyes, unless they found succor within seven days. When he heard of the plight of his kinsmen “the Spirit of God came mightily upon Saul, and his anger was kindled greatly.” He sent a message to all the Israelites threatening them with punishment unless they rallied to the rescue. Three hundred and thirty thousand men quickly responded to his call. This force marched to Jabesh in three divisions, and at dawn attacked the besieging Ammonites on all sides. The besiegers were taken completely by surprise, and were quickly put to rout.

Saul had won the right to be the head of the nation. Samuel, who had apparently accompanied the host, seizes the favorable opportunity, and musters the people at the old centre at Gilgal, where Saul is crowned as the king of Israel.

This story is complete and consistent. The first king of Israel could scarcely have secured the throne except by such an exhibition of leadership. The judges of an earlier age won the right to temporary rule by their prowess in war. After Gideon had expelled the Midianites the crown was offered to him. David himself was finally received as the king of the North because he had been the real deliverer from Philistine oppression (II. Sam. v. 2). Saul won the crown by showing his ability to be the head of the people.

This earlier story is probably the more correct version, though the other may preserve some true details. The analysis is based very largely upon the clear indications of a double narrative; but the differences of style are very marked, and the separation of the composite structure very easy. It is apparent that while the two versions differ in various details of more or less importance, they agree in all that can be regarded as fundamental. In both the prophet Samuel selects the king; Saul is the divine choice; he is gladly accepted by the people because of his great power as a leader in war.*

* In the earlier version this is shown by his relief of Jabesh; in

Another case of a similar kind is found also in I. Samuel, the story of David and Goliath. It must be apparent to any one who reads this story that as it now stands it presents difficulties of a most perplexing kind. Thus when Samuel goes down to anoint a son of Jesse as king to take the place of the rejected Saul, David is said to be the youngest son, and so was left in charge of the sheep, while his older and more stalwart brothers went to Samuel's sacrifice. Further it is said that "he was ruddy, and, withal, of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look upon" (I. Sam. xvi. 11f.). David had nothing in his outward appearance to commend him as a king. Samuel expected to find the right one among the older sons, but he was admonished that the decision was not to be based upon external appearances, or the height of the stature, "for man looks on the outward appearance, but Jahveh looks on the heart" (xvi. 7).

Directly afterward we read that Saul's counsellors advise the king to secure a cunning player on the harp as a cure for the king's mental aberration, and they recommend David as "cunning in playing, and a mighty man of valor, and a man of war, and prudent in speech, and a comely person" (xvi. 18). David was taken to Saul's court, and his military ability seems soon to have overshadowed everything else, and he was by

the later he is said to be "higher than any of the people from his shoulders and upward" (x. 23).

arrangement with Jesse permanently attached to Saul's court in the high position of royal armor-bearer.

We next hear of David as a shepherd going to and fro to feed his father's flock at Bethlehem (xvii. 15). He is sent by his father to carry supplies to his three brothers * who were in Saul's army. His oldest brother reproves him because he has left the sheep and come down, with natural boyish curiosity, to see a battle. When David proposed to do battle with Goliath, Saul discourages him: "Thou art but a youth." David admits this, but says that during his shepherd life he has rescued sheep from lions and bears. Saul puts his armor upon David; but a shepherd lad knows nothing about the use of armor, and David realizes that it will be only an impediment. As a matter of fact he goes out against the mighty Philistine equipped only with his shepherd's staff and his sling. The giant disdained him because "he was only

* The original form of this narrative only knows of four sons of Jesse. The three eldest are with Saul, and David, the youngest, is the only one left (xvii. 14); for when he goes to the scene of battle he leaves the flocks with a keeper (xvii. 20). So his brother asks in surprise, "With whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?" (xvii. 28)—a question without occasion, if there were yet four brothers at home. The statement, "and he had eight sons" (xvii. 12), is a gloss, based on xvi. 10; it is out of place where it stands, besides being in disagreement with the narrative following; so too is verse 15.

a youth, and ruddy, and, withal, of a fair countenance" (xvii. 42; cf. xvi. 12). After the battle, Saul took David and would let him go no more to his own home, "and Saul set him over the men of war" (xviii. 2, 5). David's fame as a soldier soon became so great that he was praised more than Saul, and so the demented king's jealousy was aroused.

It is evident that we have two Davids in this narrative. One is the ruddy shepherd lad, ignorant of war and warlike implements, although with a brave heart and a deep religious spirit. In the other, David is a man of war and a man of proved valor. It is true that the ruddy shepherd lad might become a man of war; but this is not the order of the narrative. After he wins a position at Saul's court as a man of war, he again is represented over and over again as the youth. Moreover, when called to the court of Saul he had already achieved a wide reputation as a man of war; for his fame was known among the men of the North, though he belonged to a poor family in an obscure village of Judah.

We notice another serious stumbling block in the story. Though David had been attached to Saul's court as minstrel and armor-bearer, later, when he came into the presence of the king, it appears that they are entire strangers to each other (xvii. 33f.). Saul afterwards inquired of Abner whose son the youth was, and Abner did not know. Abner was bidden to in-

quire, but does not appear to have succeeded, as the king only learns who David was by asking him upon his return from his victorious combat (xvii. 55ff.). The too easy harmonistic devices will not clear up this difficulty. Thus one may say that Saul did not recognize David because of his mental malady. But Abner, whose head was all right, did not know David either. Besides this is only one of several discrepancies.

The story contains abundant other evidence of its composite character. In xvii. 12ff. we have an introduction to Jesse and his family which is entirely superfluous after chapter xvi. This introduction shows that originally this narrative at least did not follow chapter xvi.; for Jesse and his sons are here assumed to be entirely unknown. The compiler, or some subsequent scribe, realized that there was lack of harmony between the statement that David was attached to Saul's court, and that he was a shepherd lad in Bethlehem, and adds a parenthetic note (verse 15) to explain the difficulty. But it does not after all clear up the situation. Moreover, in xvii. 21, the two armies are about to engage in a general conflict; while in xvii. 4, the Philistines proposed to settle the matter by single combat, a method much in vogue among ancient peoples.

The Greek version throws welcome light upon this matter, light which is peculiarly welcome to those who are distrustful of internal evidence. The best MSS. of

the Septuagint lack two large sections of this story, xvii. 12-31, 41, 50; xvii. 55-xviii. 5.

This removes the chief redundancies and discrepancies. The joining of verse 32 with verse 11 makes a clear connection. Goliath challenges Israel to settle the war by single combat, and David, who is with the army as an attaché of Saul's court, promptly accepts the challenge. The questions about David's identity are removed also. But this text does not remove the chief difficulty; for the two Davids remain.

The question now demands consideration how we are to explain the shorter recension of the LXX. Did the Greek translators omit these passages because they saw the hopeless discrepancies? or did the Hebrew text from which they translated lack these passages? The translators of the Greek version have left no statement about the principles which guided them, and yet we are not left altogether without witness for the answer to this question. If on critical grounds the translators attempted by the simple device of omission to harmonize conflicting stories, it would be strange that they had done this only in one case. As we have already seen, there are other cases to which the pruning knife might have been applied as well as here; but this is the only case of the kind found in the Old Testament. It is clear, therefore, that the Hebrew text used by these translators also lacked the passage. There is abundant evidence that the Hebrew

Bible from which the Greek version was made differed in many important respects from that which the Jews finally adopted as the standard. In this case the Jews adopted the larger recension. It is entirely possible that additions were inserted in this narrative after the Greek version was made. It may be well to remember in this connection that the Greek version was that used by our Lord and His Apostles.

But let us now see what light critical analysis has to throw on this passage. The Jews themselves appear to have had two versions of the story of David's introduction to Saul. In one he came as a minstrel, and won his way rapidly to higher rank; in the other he came by chance into the army at a lucky moment, and won a place in Saul's court by his slaughter of the Philistine giant.

Now we must not lose sight of the fact that the Hebrew records are not in accord, even in crediting David with the victory over Goliath. The following passages furnish material which may not be disregarded:

I. SAM. XVII. 4, 7.

II. SAM. XXI. 19^b.

I. CHRON. XX. 5^b.

And there came out a champion from the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath, of Gath, . . . and the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam.

And Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.

And Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam.

There is good reason for identifying the Goliaths in the first two passages. The second story is told in an appendix to the history of David which consists of events scattered all through his reign. In both cases, the name is the same, the city is the same, and the description of the spear is the same. The passage in Chronicles looks very much like a harmonistic device. A comparison of the two passages in Hebrew shows that they are more nearly alike than appears in English.*

The Books of Samuel therefore leave the matter in uncertainty whether David or Elhanan slew Goliath, and between these two statements it is not easy to choose. The records in II. Sam. xxi.-xxiii. seem to be taken from old archives, while I. Sam. xvii. does not show the marks of an early record. On the other hand, there are references to David's victory over Goliath in other parts of I. Samuel (xix. 5; xxi. 9).

* The Hebrew reads as follows (the upper line is from II. Sam.):

וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יַעֲרִי אֲרָנִים בֵּית הַלְחָמִי אֶת גִּלְיָת הַגִּתִּי וְעַץ חֲנִיתוֹ	
	כַּמְנֹר אֲרָנִים
וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן יַעֲרִי	אֶת לְחָמִי אֲחִי גִלְיָת הַגִּתִּי וְעַץ חֲנִיתוֹ
	כַּמְנֹר אֲרָנִים

The first אֲרָנִים is an error of the text creeping in from the end. Chronicles contains the correct name of Elhanan's father, Jair; the consonants are the same, a single letter being transposed. Chronicles has made אֶת out of בֵּית and אֲחִי out of אֶת. Chronicles may have had some justification for its error in an obscure text.

The oldest part of this narrative is xvi. 14-23, David's attachment to Saul as minstrel and armor-bearer. The sequel to this narrative is found in xviii. 6ff. The connection is obscured in the Hebrew unless we read in xviii. 6, as Revised Version (margin), "When David came from the slaughter of the Philistines." But the LXX. probably has the true text of this verse, "And the singing women came out to meet David from all the cities of Israel." Between these two parts there must originally have been a section describing David's campaign against the Philistines, unless, indeed, xviii. 5 contains the necessary information, xviii. 5ff. being the direct continuation of xvi. 14-23.

The account of Samuel's anointing David belongs to the later stratum of the books. Though David is said to have been anointed as king in the presence of his father and brothers, there is no reference to this in the subsequent history. Eliab would scarcely have chided David as he did if David had been king. David refuses to stretch forth his hand against Jehovah's anointed (I. Sam. xxiv. 6); would he have felt thus if he had been anointed to succeed Saul? David in fact recognizes Saul's right as king everywhere, and puts to death the lying messenger who brought the tidings of slaughter, because he had stretched forth his hand against Jehovah's anointed (II. Sam. i. 14).

The place of xvii. 1-xviii. 5 (or 4) is not so easy to fix. I have stated grounds above for doubting that this was

originally a unit, as the combat in xvii. 1-11 is not the same as that in verse 19 ff.,* though it finds its continuation in verse 32ff. The settlement of the place of this narrative depends upon our conclusion as to whether David or Elhanan was the champion who slew Goliath. It is not easy to explain either story as a historical error. We may, perhaps, rest the case with Kent's conclusion: "It is by no means impossible that in some one of the many forays of the Philistines into Judah, the youthful David slew the champion of the Philistines. The memory of the act was preserved among David's kinsmen, the Judæans, until at last it found a place in the prophetic history which is our great source for the period. Certainly some such deed or deeds he performed before he gained the reputation of being 'a mighty man of valor,' which he bore when introduced to Saul's court. This subsequent record confirms this conclusion."†

The books of Samuel show their composite character in many other places. There is one instance of a somewhat different character, in which we seem to have two different versions of the same story, though the two accounts are separated in our present books. If one reads chaps. xxiv. and xxvi. of I. Samuel, he is struck

* Note that verse 19 contains a statement that is entirely superfluous after verse 2; in fact is almost a verbal repetition of it. Verse 24 is also a repetition of verse 11.

† "A History of the Hebrew People," I., 105.

with the remarkable similarity of the two stories. At the same time, the variations are so numerous that it may seem difficult to decide whether they are two accounts of the same event, or two independent occurrences. The question can only be decided by taking into consideration, not only the several points of agreement and disagreement, but also the character of these points.

The argument or plot of the event described in chap. xxiv. may be thus stated: Saul is informed of David's hiding place in the wilderness of Judah; he gathers three thousand picked men and goes to seek David and his band. David surprises Saul, and has the opportunity to kill him, and is urged to permit his men to take Saul's life; but he refuses on the ground that he dare not lift his hand against Jehovah's anointed, and that Jehovah would accomplish Saul's downfall. He takes some of Saul's belongings as evidence that he had spared the king's life when it was in his power, and afterwards, from a safe point, calls to Saul, exhibits the proof of his mercy, appeals to Saul against the calumnies which have aroused the king's hostility, professes the unworthiness of the object of the king's pursuit, he being but a flea. To this Saul replied: "Is this thy voice, my son David?" (xxiv. 16; cf. xxvi. 17) and professed his regret at his own folly and his appreciation of David's magnanimity; he further expressed his conviction of David's future greatness,

and departed homeward with his forces. David and his men returned to their camp in the hold.

It appears now that this framework of the one story is equally good for the other. Every detail stated above is equally found in the other story in chap. xxvi. It must be acknowledged, also, that this outline contains all the essential points in the narrative. The important details in which the narratives are not in agreement can be best shown by reverting again to the method of parallel columns.

CHAP. XXIV.

David, Saul was told, was in the wilderness of Engedi.* Saul went into a cave, in the recesses of which David and his men were hidden; thus David discovered that Saul was in pursuit.

David came forward, and, without Saul's knowledge, cut off the skirt of his robe.

David followed Saul out of the cave and cried out to him, showing him the skirt of his robe.

David took an oath not to cut off Saul's seed after him.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Ziphites told Saul that David was in the hill of Hachilah, before the desert. David sent spies from the wilderness, and learned that Saul had come in pursuit of him.

David and Abishai went down to the camp of Saul at night; the latter, by David's direction, takes Saul's spear and the cruse of water, and they return to their camp unobserved, because Jehovah had sent a deep sleep upon Saul and his host. David goes to the top of a mountain not far from Saul's camp

* Engedi and Hachilah are near each other in the wilderness along the western coast of the Dead Sea.

and calls to Abner, reproaching him for his failure properly to guard his master, and showing the spear and water cruse. Saul recognizes David's voice and bids him return, assuring him that he will do him no harm.

Besides the differences indicated in this bare outline, there is the great difference of phraseology, which can only be fully appreciated by reading the chapters throughout.

In favor of the view that these are but different versions of the same event, there is this further consideration. The second story makes no reference whatever to the first. This silence would be very singular if David had twice had Saul's life within his power. At the beginning we should confidently have looked for some reference to a similar occurrence which had happened previously. David would scarcely have lost such a forceful argument in his effort to show his good intentions toward the king. And at the close of the story some reference to the former event would greatly have strengthened the position of David.

But it may be asked how it is possible to explain the numerous variations in the two stories if they are duplicates. The answer is found in a fact which every observant person knows. There is a tendency for stories which are handed from person to person to vary greatly in local coloring and other details. Before the David stories were reduced to writing, they may have

assumed such divergent forms that in a case like this the compiler was led to incorporate both versions.

But little need be said as to the priority of one or the other version. Without stating any reason, Driver holds that chap. xxvi. contains "the more original version."* But before there can be any final pronouncement on this question, further attention needs to be given to the possible relation of chap. xxiii. 19ff. to these two stories. The details of this latter passage are singularly like those of chap. xxvi. The same Ziphites carry information to Saul at Gibeah about David's hiding place, and the same place is mentioned, namely, Hachilah. In this case Saul is drawn away from his hostile purpose by news of a Philistine invasion. This story fits in much better with chap. xxiv. than with chap. xxvi. After the Philistine invasion Saul learned that David had sought a new asylum, and went in pursuit. It may be that many of the details of chap. xxvi. are the more correct. But, however this may be, the duplicate version gives us peculiar assurance as to the main facts which are contained in the argument above.

These specimens are sufficient to show how the student who attempts a thorough study of Hebrew history is dependent upon the results of the higher criticism. This science furnishes him with the basis for all

* "Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel," p. 158.

his work. He may not be an expert critic himself, but he cannot afford to disregard the results achieved by the labors of other competent scholars in this field. The principles of historical criticism, which have done so much to make the history of other nations intelligible, must be applied also to the history of Israel.

CHAPTER VII.

Biblical History.

BEFORE we can fully comprehend the facts of Hebrew history there is another important consideration which demands our attention. In order properly to understand any historical writing it is necessary to know the writer's point of view. A history which merely narrated facts would be intolerably dry. Many school histories have been a weariness to the flesh of school children because they consisted of but the dry bones of history, dates, and other like matter. The demand made of the modern historian is that he shall not only state the facts, but also that he shall place them in their proper relations. In other words, philosophy must be introduced into historical study. The essential thing is not merely the facts, but the meaning of the facts. Indeed, the accomplished historian seeks rather to conceal his facts in the interest of his philosophy. Even the daily newspaper responds in a measure to this demand. The news columns not only state the facts, but attempt to interpret their significance. The editorial columns are simply philosophical adjuncts to give a more intelligent

and sober interpretation of the facts of the news columns.

The amount of interpretation which enters into a historical writing varies greatly, according to circumstances. In some cases we find just enough interpretation to make the facts intelligible; in others, interpretation is so predominant that facts are suppressed, or sometimes even invented, in the interest of theories. A judicial temperament is, therefore, an essential element for the historian. Above all, he must be free from partisan bias, so as to include all the facts, before he attempts to make deductions from them.

The truth is, however, that comparatively few historians have this perfect judicial temperament. Inevitably the personal equation enters in; and allowance has to be made for this by the careful reader. The more this personal equation appears, the less trustworthy the result as a source of historical facts. Yet one might easily go too far in discrediting partisan history. In courts of law it is found that the best way to get at the actual facts is to give both prosecution and defence the widest liberty to present their case from their own widely divergent assumptions.

A partisan history is sometimes the best place to learn the real truth; provided, of course, one is able to read with sufficient discernment. There are many people in the North who have no correct conception of the true motive of the South in the great Civil War,

because they have never read what has been written from the Southern point of view, and have not discerned the bias in the books they have read. It is profitable for the Biblical student to read Prof. Green's books as well as Prof. Cheyne's. We should have both sides of a case before a final conclusion is attempted. One who has read only one history of any period is but poorly furnished; for he may have only a one-sided presentation. Often, however, we may have enough independent knowledge to enable us to estimate the true facts from a single interpretative presentation.

This interpretative character of history has come into great prominence in modern times, as a sound judicial spirit has become more common; but this character is found in ancient history as well as in modern. The question which concerns us now is whether this characteristic is found in Biblical history, and how far it must be considered by the student of the Bible. There may be difference of opinion as to its extent, but there can be none as to its existence. In fact, there are many perplexing problems which virtually solve themselves by the recognition of this fact. Some of these will be considered in the present chapter.

The extent to which interpretation has entered into the Biblical history varies greatly in different parts. In some cases it is very slight; in others it is so predominant that it is difficult to determine what the true facts

are. In some cases the interpretation is found in the introductory statements; in others it is part of the warp and woof of the narrative. Modern criticism has done nothing which is more helpful to a reasonable faith than the making clear the distinction between facts and theories in Biblical history.

The Book of Judges shows us plainly the interpretative character of Biblical history. That book consists, in the main, of a collection of stories of the heroes of the age between the death of Joshua and the rise of the monarchy. But the stories are told with a religious purpose. That purpose is shown in the general introduction in chap. ii., as well as in the special introductions to the various stories. In the former we read thus: "The Israelites did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh, and served the Baalim: and they abandoned Jahveh, the God of their fathers; . . . and they provoked Jahveh to anger; . . . and the anger of Jahveh was kindled against Israel, and he gave them into the hand of spoilers, and they spoiled them; and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about, so that they were no longer able to stand before their enemies; . . . and they were sore distressed. . . . And Jahveh raised up judges and they rescued them from the hand of their spoilers. . . . And when Jahveh raised them up judges, then Jahveh was with the judge, and rescued them from the hands of their enemies all the days of the judge;

for Jahveh repented because of their groaning by reason of their oppressors and their troublers. But it came to pass when the judge was dead, that they turned back and dealt more corruptly than their fathers. . . . And the anger of Jahveh was kindled against Israel" (ii. 11ff.).

One specimen of the special introductions to the several narratives will suffice for all: "The Israelites again did that which was evil in the sight of Jahveh; and Jahveh strengthened Eglon, the king of Moab, against Israel. . . . And he went and smote Israel. . . . And the Israelites served Eglon king of Moab eighteen years. And the Israelites cried unto Jahveh, and Jahveh raised them up a deliverer, Ehud, the son of Gera. . . . And Moab was subdued that day under the hand of Israel. And the land had rest eighty years" (iii. 12-15, 30).

These statements, which are due to the compiler, show the purpose of the book, and they reveal its interpretative character. The bare facts are that in the early days, when the tribes were struggling to maintain themselves in their newly conquered land, their possession was disputed at different times by the various nations about them.* These nations invaded the land while the tribes were disorganized, while they were without tribal federation or strong leaders, and

*On the character of the age of the Judges, see a chapter by the writer in "The Bible as Literature." T. Y. Crowell & Co. 1896.

held the tribes in oppressive subjugation until a hero arose who led the people of Israel in successful revolt.

But these facts seemed to the historian to require explanation. God had promised the peaceful possession of the land and the promise did not seem to be fulfilled. Gideon doubtless voices a common sentiment when he said to the angel of Jehovah: "If Jahveh be with us, why, then, has all this befallen us? and where be all his wondrous works which our fathers told us of?" (vi. 13).* The compiler of the book connects every period of oppression with a period of apostasy on the part of Israel. As soon as they come to Jehovah with penitent prayers, He raises up one to succor them. The period of Israel's fidelity is coterminous with the life of the divinely sent hero.

It is implied, for example, in the compiler's statement † that Israel served Jehovah all the days of Gideon, that is, for forty years; whereas we are told distinctly that Gideon, at the end of his campaign, made an ephod of the spoil, after which all Israel went a whoring (viii. 27). It is sufficiently evident now that the

*It is worthy of note that the angel does not explain the fact which troubled Gideon as the compiler does. His reply means that God will even now show a continuation of His mighty works. He does not attribute Israel's plight to their sins.

† "And it came to pass, as soon as Gideon was dead, that the Israelites turned again, and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God" (viii. 33).

stories of the heroes are one thing, and the interpretation which is placed upon this age is quite another thing. The interpretation may be right. The theological explanation of the defeats and victories of this age, for such it is, may be true; it certainly does contain elements of profound truth; but the facts of the history do not stand or fall with the correctness of the compiler's point of view. So it would be possible that the theology might be correct, even though the supposed facts were the work of the imagination. The doctrine in our Lord's parables does not depend upon facts in the narrative. The facts are freely invented to serve as a vehicle for the great truths conveyed.

Moreover, the question of the correctness of the facts and of the interpretation belong to different spheres of science. The determination of the former belongs to historical criticism, that of the latter to dogmatics. If the critic feels that he has a grievance against the theologian because he judges his results from the point of view of his theological opinions, the theologian in turn may well feel a grievance against the critic because he has attempted to solve theological problems with a purely critical apparatus. The question whether the narratives in the Book of Judges are historical or not must be answered by the expert in historical criticism; but the question whether the interpretation is sound or not rests with the theologian. Historical criticism has scrutinized and analyzed these

narratives most searchingly, and the verdict is that the matter is historical. The question as to the interpretation may well be left for the theologian to determine.

It may be stated here, however, that the theology by which the compiler explains the varying fortunes of Israel is found also in many other parts of the Old Testament, and belongs to the very difficult subject of "Special Providence." All that is contended for here is that a distinction must be drawn between the historical facts and the writer's interpretation of facts, as both are found in Old Testament history, and that they do not stand or fall together. It would not be strange if an ancient Hebrew author did not say the last word about a deep subject of theology, although he has laid his hand on a great truth; but his failure to do that would not vitiate the historic facts which he uses to illustrate his theory.

A passage which has caused the greatest perplexity to many devout readers is that describing the execution by command of David of seven descendants of the house of Saul. The story briefly is as follows: The land of Israel was visited by a severe famine, which lasted for three years. David inquired of Jehovah the cause of the trouble, and was told that it was a punishment because Saul had put Gibeonites to death in contravention of the oath of Joshua.* David sum-

* Or perhaps of the people; see Josh. ix. 15, 18; II. Sam. xxi. 2, and p. 107ff.

moned the Gibeonites and asked what atonement would satisfy them so that they would "bless the inheritance of Jehovah." They refused any terms except blood for blood. Seven "sons of Saul" were handed over to the Gibeonites, "and they hanged them in the mountain before Jahveh." Rizpah, Saul's concubine, whose two sons were among those executed, stood guard over the bodies all the long time they were hanging exposed to birds and beasts of prey. David was so moved by her devotion that he had the bones of those who had been hung buried along with the bones of Saul and Jonathan.* Then we read that "after that God was entreated for the land" (II. Sam. xxi. 1-14).

It appears from another statement in the passage that the famine was broken by the fall of rain at the usual time in the autumn. The narrative is by no means

* The LXX. has several readings which are different from the Hebrew. To verse 11 it adds this very obscure statement: "And they loosed them, and Dan the son of Joa seized them from the descendants of the giants." The Hebrew does not say that the bones of those who were hung were buried with the bones of Saul and Jonathan, but the LXX. does. The Hebrew and the best MS. of the LXX. say that the men of Jabesh-Gilead had stolen the bones of Saul and Jonathan (Cod. Alex. says instead that they *buried* them). But in I. Sam. xxxi. 12 we read that the Jabesh-Gileadites valiantly recovered the bodies of Saul and his sons from Bethshan to stop the shame of exposure, and burnt them in Jabesh, afterwards burying their bones.

clear of textual difficulties, as has been shown in the critical note. But the meaning of the story as it now stands is clear. God punished Israel because Saul had slain the Gibeonites. He was appeased by the execution of Saul's sons, and sent the rain which ended the famine.

It is evident that there is a good deal of interpretation in this passage. The facts are easily determinable. There is no doubt that there was a famine; that Saul had put some Gibeonites to death; that David permitted the execution of Saul's sons; that Rizpah kept her faithful watch; and that rain finally came to the relief of the famished land. But whether the historian has traced correctly the relation of cause and effect in this matter may be open to very grave doubt. That Saul's execution of unoffending Gibeonites was a sin in the eyes of God, is beyond question. But that God sent a famine to the people who had been no party to the wrong as an express punishment for this sin, and still more that He should be appeased by the execution of the innocent descendants of the perpetrator of the wrong, is not easily reconcilable with the Christian conception of the character of God. It should be noted that according to the narrative the rain which relieved the famine came six months after the execution, and that at the usual wet season of the autumn.

It was natural, however, that the Jews should have interpreted the events as they did. The act of Saul in

putting to death those who were protected by the oath of the people was regarded as peculiarly heinous. The Jews looked upon every misfortune as the special punishment of God for some specific sin. The famine year after year was a fact which could be explained easily by their beliefs. There must be some sin resting upon the nation. Saul's great crime, though committed several years before, was the most prominent one in the people's consciousness. The principle of blood revenge, which has always been so prominent among Semitic peoples, suggested the remedy. Even though the rains were delayed for six months after the act of atonement, the Hebrews could not but believe that their course was justified by the event.

This is in accord with the ideas of the time. If it is not in harmony with the higher truths taught by the Lord Jesus, it is not surprising. The student of the Biblical history must discriminate between the facts and the interpretation. The facts are not discredited, even though the interpretation of them is imperfect. It is true that many attempts have been made to explain the difficulty so as to give greater value to the interpretative element; but they do not afford relief to the real trouble.*

Christian faith has often been sorely perplexed by what have been called the moral difficulties of the Old Testament. Some of them are indeed serious; for

* A brief view of these attempts may be found in the Cambridge Bible, on II. Sam., p. 234f.

they compel us to choose between a perfect record and a perfect God. The Bible is the product of the labors of inspired men. Whatever view we may hold of inspiration, we must recognize a human element. Man has a faculty of leaving the marks of his mortality upon everything he touches. The "immortal works" of man is all right as a rhetorical expression, but it does not express a literal truth. But in God we must assume infallibility in character as well as in knowledge. The Christian conception of God leaves no room for the slightest imperfection. The Christian runs no risk in unhesitatingly rejecting anything which militates against his idea of God. He does not have to worship the sacred Book; but he must worship God, and the more he recognizes his own frailty, the more insistent he is that the Being to whom he bows down must be without blemish.

There are passages in the Old Testament that are scarcely consistent with this idea of God. We find one in the history of Moses. "And the Israelites did according to the word of Moses; and they asked from the Egyptians jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and clothing. And Jahveh placed the favor of the people in the eyes of the Egyptians, so that they complied with their request; and they spoiled the Egyptians" (Ex. xii. 35f). If this spoiling* of the Egyptians were

* This spoiling or plundering shows how impossible is the apologetic explanation that the Hebrews demanded and received the jewelry and clothing as due in lieu of wages.

the work of Moses alone, it would not be a serious matter ; but we must look a little further. In Ex. iii. 21f. we read : “ And I will place the favor of this people in the eyes of the Egyptians; and it shall be when you go out you shall not go out empty ; but each one shall ask of her friend and of the visitor in her house jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and clothing, and you shall put them upon your sons and upon your daughters, and you shall spoil the Egyptians.” In xi. 1f. we find this similar statement : “ And Jahveh spoke to Moses. . . . Speak now in the ears of the people, that they ask each man of his neighbor, and each woman of her neighbor, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold.”

It appears therefore that Moses was acting, according to this narrative, by the command of God. Is this a fact, or the interpretation of a fact ? If the former, then on one occasion God directed His servant to violate the eighth commandment ; if the latter is the true explanation, we have only to perceive that the writer supposed every act of the man of God was by express commandment of God.

A similar case is found in the history of Samuel, though in one of the later sources of that history : “ And Jahveh said to Samuel, How long wilt thou grieve about Saul, when I have rejected him from ruling over Israel ? Fill thy horn with oil, and come, I will send thee to Jesse the Bethlehemite ; for I have seen

among his sons a king for me. And Samuel said, How can I go? Saul will hear of it, and put me to death. And Jahveh said, Take a young calf with thee and say, I have come to sacrifice to Jahveh" (I. Sam. xvi. iff.). Did Jehovah actually direct Samuel to accomplish by a subterfuge what he dare not do openly? Or is this, too, an interpretation of Samuel's course due to the writer? I have heard the incident justified by saying that our Lord, too, dissembled. Such an explanation is intolerable. We might be forced to believe that even an inspired writer had interpreted wrongly; we cannot be forced to believe that God has acted wrongly.

Another example of the relief which a recognition of the interpretative character of Hebrew history offers may be found in connection with the campaign against Ai already referred to. The first attack on this city by a small force was unsuccessful. The cause of the disaster was found in the sin of Achan, who had purloined some of the booty which had been put under the ban. After the sin was detected and the criminal put to death, another attack was made, and this second assault was successful. There is a double thread of interpretation in the narrative, due probably to its composite character. We have, in fact, two explanations of the defeat. We are told that for the first assault but three thousand men (Josh. vii. 4) were sent, and they

were easily repulsed. On the second assault thirty thousand* men were placed in ambush, while Joshua led the rest of the army in a direct attack. Then, again, we are told that the first repulse was due to the sin of Achan.

It is easy here, as elsewhere, to separate the actual historic facts from the interpretation, and to judge each by itself. The historic facts are not to be mixed up with the theology of the narrator. The two explanations of the failure to take the city at the first attempt show the difference between looking at the matter from the military and from the religious point of view.

The theological explanation of the writer is not free from difficulties for the earnest student. It was certainly a severe penalty for the sin of a single individual, who was not representative, that the whole people should suffer a serious defeat, involving doubtless the lives of many brave Israelites. The fact that Achan was the only offender bears strong testimony to the righteousness of the people as a whole. Booty was a

* According to Josh. viii. 3f., thirty thousand men were placed in ambush behind the city, while, according to verse 12, five thousand men were sent to the ambush. Verse 13 clears up the discrepancy by explaining that there were two ambushes, contrary to the rest of the narrative. The LXX. lacks verse 13 entirely, and all of verse 12 except the words, "and the ambush of the city was on the west," and so is consistent. Verse 13 may be explained as the compiler's reconciliation of the discrepant numbers.

chief object in war. Joshua's strict command that no plunder be taken, even supported by the religious sanction of the ban, was not easy to carry out ; for it would seem very foolish to the conquerors to destroy so much stuff which would be useful to a poorly equipped people. Nevertheless, God may punish innocent nations for the sin of guilty individuals. The social fabric is a unity in some sense, and when one member sins all parts are affected more or less.

But God's punishments are not usually of an arbitrary character. God lets His people bear the natural consequences of their sins ; as St. Paul so happily expressed it, " whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap " (Gal. vi. 7). But the serious question is one that belongs to theology, and may be left with theologians. The higher criticism, however, must not be charged with the responsibility for its determination, as it is a question with which this science has nothing whatever to do.

Such interpretations have little value for the student of history ; but they have a very great value for the student of the history of theology. If the bare facts had been told, if we had only the military explanation of the defeat at Ai, we should never be able to determine the religious point of view of the Hebrew historian. As it is, we know from such narratives as the above, not only the Hebrew conception of God's providence in history, but also the intense religious spirit of the Hebrew peo-

ple. There were no phenomena; even in the material fortunes of these people, which did not seem to have their direct causes in God. If they were right in their fundamental proposition, they may easily be excused for mistaking sometimes the direct causes of their misfortunes. The true cause of the failure at Ai is clearly enough indicated in the sacred story. The over-confidence of the people, resulting from the easy conquest of Jericho, as already stated, led the Hebrews to exaggerate their own powers, and to underestimate the strength of the enemy. This was the sin which God punished with its natural and so corrective penalty.

In cases like those just discussed, the interpretative element, though troublesome enough to the thoughtful reader, is, nevertheless, a comparatively small matter, and the true historical narrative is easily separated from it. There are other cases in which the interpretation occupies so prominent a place that it in fact constitutes the *raison d'être* of the writing. This is notably the case with the Book of Chronicles, and therefore that book constitutes a very serious problem to the devout student who desires to know the facts. It is true that many do not find any trouble with this book; but the reason is not that the troublesome problems are not there, but that they have never made a thorough study of the book. To know just what the Book of Chronicles is, it must be studied comparatively. It is a version of the history of Israel from Adam to

the Restoration. It is therefore parallel to the historical portions of the books from Genesis to Kings inclusive. It deals with the same events, but in a vastly different way. It is significant by its omissions, its additions, and its parallels. No extensive treatment of the book will be attempted here; but some of its phenomena will be presented under each of these three divisions. The peculiar material of the book and its peculiar character will thus be clearly seen.*

One important fact should first be noted. The place of Chronicles in the Hebrew canon is very different from that in the English canon. In the latter it is placed after Kings, at the end of the section of historical books, and before the poetical books and the prophets; in the Hebrew canon it is the very last book of all. This has a meaning. The book was one of the latest to obtain canonical recognition. There is abundant evidence that its composition was late. It could not possibly be earlier than 400 B.C., and was probably a century later. Its tardiness in finding a place in the Hebrew canon can only be satisfactorily attributed to its

* A convenient source for the comparative study of Chronicles is found in "The Hebrew Monarchy," by Andrew Wood, M.A. (London, 1896). The notes are, however, of minor value. The problems of the Book of Chronicles are ably discussed in "Inspiration and Inerrancy," by H. P. Smith. A useful synopsis will be found in Driver's "Introduction," p. 519ff.

peculiar character, that is, to its marked divergence from the earlier history in Genesis to Kings.

1. *Omissions.* The first section of the book (i. 1-ix. 34) consists, for the most part, of genealogical matter. These tables are based mainly on the genealogical material in the earlier books.*

The history proper begins with I. Chron. x. We find no account of the establishment of the monarchy, though the genealogy of Saul's house is twice given (ix. 35ff.; viii. 29ff.). Chronicles lacks the history of David's crowning in Hebron, and the steps by which the kingdom of the house of Saul was overthrown; it states that Saul and all his house were slain in the battle of Gilboa, and so the whole kingdom was at once† turned over to David (x. 13f.). As the Chronicler's assumption is that the house of Saul was extinct, all reference to David's dealings with Mephibosheth, or Meribaal, is omitted. The infliction of childlessness on David's wife, Michal, is omitted; David's cruelty to the Moabites, his sin with Bathsheba and all the events connected with it

* There are many significant omissions in this part. The tribe of Judah occupies a foremost place; in giving the families of other tribes, the tribe of Levi takes the most prominent place. But these need not be considered here.

† In spite of this we find in I. Chron. xxix. 27 an excerpt from I. Kings ii. 11, stating that David reigned seven years in Hebron and thirty-three years in Jerusalem; but this passage implies that in Hebron he ruled over all Israel. The fuller details are given in II. Sam. v. 4f.

are lacking. So, also, are the rebellion of Absalom and all the circumstances leading up to it, Amnon's incest, his murder, the exile of Absalom; so, also, is the minor rebellion of Sheba, and the more important one of Adonijah. There is no mention of the execution of Saul's sons to appease the Gibeonites; of David's narrow escape from death at the hands of a Philistine giant (II. Sam. xxi. 15-17); of the vengeance upon his personal enemies which he bequeathed to Solomon; and of the infirmity of his old age which led to the introduction of Abishag to the court.

It is evident, therefore, that the David of Chronicles is quite different from the David of Samuel. Nearly everything is omitted which is derogatory to David's character or to the glory of his reign. So one reading the history of David from Chronicles only will have no difficulty about reconciling the king after God's own heart with the facts of this king's life.

In the history of Solomon's reign we find a number of omissions. The story of his marriage with the Egyptian princess is lacking, though there is allusion to her as the king's wife (II. Chron. viii. 11); Chronicles is generally silent about his polygamy and idolatry. There is no record of his wisdom in judgment, as shown in the case of the two women claiming the same child. Chronicles lacks also the long account of the organization of the kingdom and the king's wise sayings (I. Kings iv.); also the account of the con-

struction of his palace and other buildings. Chronicles contains no record of the anger of God at Solomon, His declaration that He would rend the kingdom from the hands of his son, and the series of revolts by which the empire was stripped of much of the territory which David had acquired by conquest (*ib.*, xi. 9-40).

In the history of the period following the reign of Solomon we come to the most striking omissions. Chronicles contains no history of the northern kingdom, except in those cases where it is indissolubly bound up with the history of Judah, such as Jehoshaphat's joining Ahab in the campaign against Ramoth. For his part in this affair, however, he was, according to the Chronicler, sharply rebuked by Jehu the seer (II. Chron. xix. 2). As a consequence of this principle of ignoring the kingdom of Israel, we find nothing in Chronicles of the stories of Elijah and Elisha, which occupy so large a place in the book of Kings. Elisha is not mentioned at all, and Elijah only once (*ib.*, xxi. 12), where it is said that Elijah sent a letter to Jehoram the king, telling him that, because of his departing from the ways of Jehoshaphat his father, a great plague would fall on him and on his people.

In the history of Judah there are some minor omissions, and some of important matters. There is no mention of the altar which Ahaz had made at Jerusalem after a pattern he saw at Damascus (II. Kings xvi. 10 ff.); nor is there any account of Hezekiah's sickness,

and the consequent visit of the embassy from Mero-dach-Baladan, the king of Babylon, except the barest mention (II. xxxii. 24, 31).

The purpose of the Chronicler may be clearly seen from these facts. He had no concern with the kingdom of Israel, because in the post-exilic period it was not existent, and the present and future of his people centred in Judah alone. The Chronicler desires to make the history of Judah appear to the best advantage, so that a veil is drawn over some of the worst vices of the great heroes.

2. *Additions.* These are very numerous and very considerable in extent ; and they deal with subjects of several kinds. Only a partial list of additions can be given here. Enough will be given, however, to show that there is much original matter in Chronicles, and to indicate the character of that material. Chronicles gives a religious reason for Saul's death* (I. x. 13f.); it contains a long list of warriors who are said to have joined David at Ziklag, and of those said to have joined him at Hebron to turn over to him the kingdom of Saul (I. xii.); we find there also a list of Levites, some nine hundred in all, whom David gathered to carry the ark to Jerusalem ; an account of the ceremony and a Psalm which was sung on the occasion (I. xv., xvi.). There is one large section in I. Chronicles which has

* His failing to keep the word of the Lord, and his consulting a woman with a familiar spirit.

no parallel in Samuel, viz., chaps. xxii.–xxix. There we find David's preparations for the building of the temple, the charge to Solomon, the duties of the Levites, who are said to have numbered thirty-eight thousand, the courses of the priests, the singers, the gate-keepers, the temple treasurers, the divisions of the army, the princes of the tribes (except those of Gad and Reuben); David's ministers, his last message to the princes, officers, *et al.*, a list of offerings for the temple made by David and by his officers; his prayer before all the people, and the crowning of Solomon as king.

In II. Chronicles the additions are less numerous, and usually consist of but short passages. There is a list of the cities which Rehoboam built to strengthen his kingdom; an account of the immigration of the Levites and others who were led to Judah on account of the temple; of Rehoboam's family, and of his decline (xi. 5–23). The Chronicler tells us how the king and princes humbled themselves when Shishak the king of Egypt invaded the land, and gives the promise of deliverance (xii. 2ff.). There is an account of a battle between Abijah of Judah with 400,000 chosen men, and Jeroboam of Israel with 800,000 men; Abijah addresses the Israelites, denouncing their rebellion, and appeals to them not to fight against Jehovah, the God of their fathers. Jeroboam had placed a part of his army in Abijah's rear, and began to attack him; but God smote Jeroboam, and the people of

Israel fled, Abijah and his men pursuing until they had slain 300,000 men of Israel (xiii.).

In the reign of the good king Asa the Chronicler places an otherwise unknown battle with the Ethiopians. Asa, with 300,000 Judeans and 280,000 Benjamites, all mighty men of valor, met Zerah with 1,000,000 Ethiopians and 300 chariots; again Jehovah struck a decisive blow in aid of Judah so that the Ethiopian force was annihilated. There follows a message of a prophet who is called Azariah the son of Oded [also Oded alone], commending the king for his fidelity to Jehovah, and assuring him of success if he continued in the right way (xv. 1-8). Then Asa assembled the people of his kingdom, with many refugees from the north, renewed the altar of Jehovah, and offered in sacrifice 700 oxen and 7,000 sheep, entering into a covenant to put to death those who did not serve Jehovah (xiv. 6-xv. 15). The Chronicler relates that Hanani the seer rebuked Asa for making an alliance with Syria against Baasha, king of Israel; that Asa in anger put the seer in prison and "oppressed some of the people" (xvi. 7-10).

There are some notable additions to the history of Jehoshaphat, especially of such matters as tended to magnify his greatness. We are told that his army numbered 1,160,000 men under four commanders (xvii.); that his land was invaded by a great host which was destroyed by Jehovah in answer to the king's fervent

prayer (xx.). There is also an account of Jehoshaphat's legal reforms, his institution of teachers and judges under the general direction of Amariah the chief priest (xvii., xix.).

In Chronicles alone we find an account of the apostasy of Judah after the death of the priest Jehoiada; the prophecy of Zechariah the son of Jehoiada that Jehovah had forsaken the wicked people; the stoning of this prophet by the command of king Joash (xxiv. 15-22). We find also a notice of Amaziah's hiring 100,000 mercenaries from Israel for a hundred talents of silver, who were sent back, however, by the urgent counsel of a man of God (xxv. 5-10). There is an account of the victories of Uzziah, by which the kingdom was greatly strengthened, and also of the great military preparations inaugurated in his reign. There we have the memorable account of Uzziah's conflict with the priests. The king went into the temple to burn incense. The eighty priests under Azariah withstood him, declaring that priests alone were competent to burn incense, and ordering the king out of the sanctuary. The king was very angry, but was helpless, because Jehovah had smitten him with leprosy (xxvi. 5-20). In the history of Manasseh's reign there is an important addition. According to the Chronicler, Manasseh was carried in chains to Babylon. The king cried to Jehovah, and he was delivered and restored to his kingdom. Then he strengthened the fortifications of Je-

rusalem, and suppressed the idolatrous worship which had been the cause of his ruin (xxxiii. 11ff.).

In these additions we notice the tendency to magnify the kingdom of Judah, the prominence of the priests and Levites, the frequency with which prophets are introduced to commend kings when they are faithful to Jehovah, and to condemn them when they are apostate. The victories of Judah are due to the power of Jehovah, and are given as an answer to the kings' prayers. We note, also, the extraordinarily large numbers of the men of war in these additions.

3. *Parallel Passages.* It is not easy to give in a short space an adequate idea of the difference of treatment between Chronicles and the earlier history upon which it is in part based. Many sections of the earlier history are incorporated bodily into Chronicles; but it is not often that we find a verbatim agreement. Many of the minor differences may be due to textual corruption; but many are certainly intentional. As we follow the parallel passages we find that the Chronicler frequently makes small omissions and additions, besides stating things differently from the earlier historians.

The Book of Kings gives invariably as its sources of information two records: "The chronicles of the Kings of Israel," always quoted for the history of Israel, and "the chronicles of the Kings of Judah," always quoted for the history of Judah.*

* The only exception that I have noted is I. Kings xi. 41, where

In Chronicles the sources are never distinguished in this way. Once there is "the commentary [or midrash] of the book of the Kings" (II. xxiv. 27; cf. II. Kings xii. 19); most frequently the source is called "the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," or "Israel and Judah," *e.g.*, II. xvi. 11; xxv. 26; xxvii. 7. Then we have several sources not mentioned elsewhere, the parallel to which in Kings is the books named above. I. Chron. xxix. 29, "The acts of David the king . . . are written in the history (literally 'words') of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer." II. Chron. ix. 29, "The acts of Solomon . . . are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and in the visions of Iddo the seer?" (cf. I. Kings xi. 41). *Ib.*, xii. 15, "The acts of Rehoboam . . . are they not written in the histories of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of the genealogies." xiii. 22, "The acts of Abijah . . . are written in the commentary of the prophet Iddo." xx. 34, "The acts of Jehoshaphat . . . are written in the history of Jehu the son of Hanani, who is mentioned in the book of the Kings of Israel." xxvi. 22, "The acts of Uzziah . . . did Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, write." xxxii. 32, "The acts of Hezekiah . . . are written in the

the unwritten part of Solomon's history is said to be contained in "the book of the acts of Solomon"; cf. II. Chron. ix. 29.

vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." *Ib.*, xxxiii. 18f., "The acts of Manasseh and his prayer unto his God . . . are written among the acts of the Kings of Israel. His prayer, also, and how God was entreated of him, and all his sins and his trespass . . . are written in the history of Hozai."*

Some cases of parallelism may be best shown by again resorting to parallel columns.

And the king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there; for that was the great high place (I. Kings iii. 4).	And Solomon and all the assembly with him went to the high place which was at Gibeon; for there was God's tent of meeting, which Moses the servant of Jahveh had made in the wilderness (II. Chron. i. 3).
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The Chronicler says indeed that Solomon worshipped at the high place in Gibeon; but the odium of worshipping at such a place is removed by his explanation that the tabernacle was there.

* It might seem at first sight that the Chronicler had sources of information which were unknown to the author of Kings, or, at all events, unnamed by him. There is this difficulty in the theory of the genuineness of these sources: the additional material in Chronicles is always in a peculiar style, whereas the excerpted portions are quoted in their original form, and have a style easily distinguished from the Chronicler's. For a critical discussion of these sources reference may be made to Driver, *L. O. T.*^o, p. 527 ff., and to the other Introductions.

And again the anger of Jahveh was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah (II. Sam. xxiv. 1). And Satan stood up against Israel, and moved David to number Israel (I. Chron. xxi. 1).

This passage shows the theological development in the time of the Chronicler, the idea of Satan being of late origin. There are some other interesting differences in this story. The Israelites, according to Chronicles, number 1,100,000, against 800,000 in Samuel; the Judeans 470,000, against 500,000; in Chronicles David is offered three years' famine, in Samuel seven years'; according to Chronicles David paid six hundred shekels of gold (about \$6,000) for the threshing floor of Araunah, but according to Samuel fifty shekels of silver (\$30). The Chronicler explains that David sacrificed at the newly erected altar because he could not go to Gibeon, where the tent of meeting was, because he was afraid of the sword of the angel of the Lord.

Hiram king of Tyre aided Solomon with timbers of cedar and with timbers of cypress and with gold, according to his full desire. Then king Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee (I. Kings ix. 11). The cities which Hiram had restored to Solomon, Solomon built them up, and caused the Israelites to dwell there (II. Chron. viii. 2).

It must be noted here that according to Chronicles the cities were given by Hiram to Solomon. "The

Chronicler follows later and erroneous tradition, which would not permit the immeasurably rich Solomon to cede any cities.”*

But when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Him also. They smote him in the chariot at the ascent of Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there. And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre with his fathers in the city of David (II. Kings ix. 27f.).

(now he was hiding in Samaria), and they brought him to Jehu, and slew him; and they buried him, for they said, He is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought Jahveh with all his heart (II. Chron. xxii. 7-9).

Now the destruction of Ahaziah was of God, in that he went unto Joram; for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram unto Jehu the son of Nimshi, whom Jahveh had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab. And it came to pass when Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab, that he found the princes of Judah, and the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah, and he slew them. And he sought Ahaziah, and they caught him

The radical difference between these two narratives is obvious. The variations are partly to be explained as due to different traditions, partly to the peculiar ideas of the Chronicler. The visit to the northern king was, in the eyes of the Chronicler, so grave a sin that its proper punishment was death.

* Oettli, "Com. on Chronicles," *in loc.*

And his servants arose, and made a conspiracy, and smote Joash at Beth-Millo, which goes down to Silla. And Jozacar the son of Shimeath, and Jehozabad the son of Shomer, his servants, smote him, and he died; and they buried him with his fathers in the city of David (II. Kings xii. 20f.).

And when they were departed from him (for they abandoned him in great diseases), his own servants conspired against him for the blood of the sons of Jehoiada the priest, and they slew him on his bed, and he died; and they buried him in the city of David; but they buried him not in the sepulchre of the kings.

And these are they that conspired against him: Zabad the son of Shimeath an Ammonitess, and Jehozabad the son of Shimrith a Moabitess (II. Chron. xxiv. 25f.).

The Chronicler finds the moral cause of Joash's assassination, and because of his sin denies the statement of Kings that he was buried with his fathers. Or the reason for his burial apart from his fathers may be that he died of a contagious disease. Chronicles contradicts Kings also in regard to Uzziah, who died a leper, saying that he was buried "with his fathers in the field of burial which belonged to the kings" (II. Chron. xxvi. 23; cf. II. Kings xv. 7). This is one of the many places where the Chronicler reads into earlier history the ideas of his own day.

There are some cases in which the Chronicler places events in a different sequence from Kings. Thus he places Josiah's destruction of the Asherahs, images, altars of Baal, etc., in the early part of his reign, six years

before the discovery of the book of the Law. Substantially the same thing is placed in Kings after the book of the Law is found, and the reformation is described as an attempt to put the new law into execution.

The facts in regard to the Book of Chronicles have been sufficiently exhibited, although the incompleteness of the exhibit is freely acknowledged. But a fuller showing would only strengthen the evidence that the Book of Chronicles is written with a purpose other than purely historical. As a historian, the defect of the Chronicler is his lack of perspective. The institutions of his own day are by him supposed to have existed all through the history. He depreciates the Northern Kingdom, judging it purely by its final results, and on the other hand idealizes the kingdom of Judah. Hence we notice the uniformity of the immense numbers of men mustered, the magnificent victories gained by the pious kings of Judah, the absence of such a humiliation of a righteous king as Hezekiah's surrender to Sennacherib.

The interpretative element is so prominent in Chronicles that it is not a first class historical source, especially with respect to the origin of institutions. But if it offers little aid in determining the religious institutions of the age, say, of David, it is of the greatest importance in determining those of the Chronicler's own

time. Hence the book is of great value to the Biblical student; but its value depends upon his knowing the point of view of the author, and using it accordingly. Harsh judgments on Chronicles have often been made, but the ground of the condemnation shows its injustice. The Chronicler has been condemned for not being other than he was. As soon as his work is perceived to be apologetic rather than historic, the ground of the unfavorable criticism is taken away.

There are other cases where needless controversy has raged because the interpretative character of a sacred writing was not recognized. Take the account of creation in Gen. i. 1-ii. 4^a. For centuries that was interpreted as a historical document pure and simple. Scientific researches showed the impossibility of statements there made, and there was a tendency on the one side to a hasty condemnation of the document as worthless; in its downfall was involved a depreciation of the value of the Scriptures generally, and indeed of the Christian religion as well. On the other side there was an unreasoning, passionate defence of the indefensible.

It is evident now that the interest of the author of that story was not in the facts of creation, but in the divine obligation of the Sabbath Day. The purpose is didactic, not historical. The story of creation is idealized so as to fit in with the facts of the divine institution of the holy Sabbath. The modern scientific spirit

does not favor such compositions ; but that story of the creation was not written from the modern point of view, nor under the guidance of modern literary canons. The writer was consumed with his zeal for the religious institutions which God had established for His people.

The evidence everywhere shows that the inspired writers of the Old Testament had other interests than the mere recital of facts. The author of Kings significantly refers to places where facts may be found. This implies that he has another purpose in view ; if any one wants mere facts, let him go to the dry records in the book of the chronicles of the Kings of Judah and of Israel. The writer's purpose is higher ; he desires to show the religious meaning of Israel's history, so that the present generation may learn the lessons of the past. If one reads his book merely as history, he cannot hope to understand it, or to be religiously helped by it. To derive full benefit from the sacred writers we must meet them on their own ground, not try to force them to meet us on ours.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Prophets.

THE largest contribution to the development of a higher spiritual religion among the Jews was made by the prophets. The number of these was very large. From the time of Samuel, who established prophetic schools or guilds, until the fall of Jerusalem, the prophets were a large and influential class, contributing much to the development of the State and of the Church. But those who did most for the nation were the solitary voices crying in the wilderness. The great mass of prophets were not moved by the disinterested purpose which constrained Amos to continue his God-given message, even when enjoined to silence by priest and king, and Jeremiah to persist in his pleas for righteousness in the face of hard punishment and at the risk of his life ; yes, even when his own desires prompted him to silence. The spirit of these great prophets is a sufficient guarantee that they were not deluded in their belief that they were sent by God.

But they were ever in a minority. There was only one Micaiah to protest against the false utterances of four hundred prophets of Baal. Jeremiah stood alone,

when the prophets and priests, vigilantly watching an opportunity, dragged him before a court demanding his death on the charge that he had spoken blasphemy. The effect that these prophets produced upon their own age was, therefore, but slight. They could not save their country from ruin, because their warning went unheeded. In the age of the restoration prophecy passed away, and the priesthood became the predominant religious factor. But the great prophets lived in the literary age of Israel. For one reason or another* many of their messages were put into written form, and so have become the heritage of the Christian Church.

But what use has the Church made of these prophecies? Has it taken account of that which was the chief thing with their authors, the establishment of righteousness in the nation? Or has it rather laid chief stress upon the apologetic aspect of prophecy, especially in connection with the Messianic element? The pre-

* We are not often given the reason for the writing of a prophecy. We have, however, most important testimony in the case of Jeremiah. Some twenty years after he had begun to prophesy, when he was apparently constrained from speaking orally to the people, he dictated his past utterances to Baruch, his secretary, hoping that in this more enduring form they would move the people to righteousness. King Jehoiakim ruthlessly destroyed this whole work, but Jeremiah immediately set about the preparation of a second edition. (See Jer. xxxvi.)

dictive part of prophecy is that which has chiefly influenced the Christian Church. Now that the apologetic value of prophecy is seen to be quite different from what was formerly supposed, the prophetic writings are to many Christians books without purpose or meaning, at least for this day.

To recover the prophets, it is only necessary to go back to their own age, and read them in the light of their times. The historical setting is absolutely essential for the right and full understanding of these God-sent preachers of righteousness. Modern criticism has been engaged in the task of determining both the particular age to which each prophecy belongs, and also the true historical conditions of that time. Its work has, therefore, been chiefly constructive and conservative. It takes prophecies from false positions to true ones, and preserves the canonical prophets as a vital part of the Christian heritage. This would seem to be no mean service to the Christian religion. It is possible now to read the prophets in the full light of their times, and with a clear understanding of the prophetic motive. The object of the present chapter is to show some of the results of this criticism, and especially the ground upon which the results are based. No attempt will be made to cover the whole field of prophecy, as such a treatment would require a volume by itself; but enough will be presented to show the method of literary criticism, to enable the

reader to judge of the validity of the results, and to appreciate their value to the Christian student.

No other prophetic book has been subjected to such searching criticism as the Book of Isaiah. There was a time when the whole sixty-six chapters were generally regarded as the product of Isaiah, the son of Amoz, who prophesied in Jerusalem 740-701 B.C. First, the long excerpt from the Book of Kings, chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix.; then the larger section, chaps. xl.-lxvi., commonly called II. Isaiah, were taken away from this author; finally other passages of greater or less extent went too, until the question could fairly be asked whether we should not soon have such a host of Isaiahs, that in reality we should have none at all.

The greatest English critic, if not the greatest living critic, of Isaiah is Canon Cheyne, of Oxford. For many years he has patiently studied this great book, publishing his results from time to time in monumental volumes; but always finding, or, at all events, publishing, a more radical result, until we have the culmination in his recent "Introduction," and in the still later "Polychrome Bible." From this latter it will be interesting to note what prophecies are still assigned to the son of Amoz. These are, in the order given by Cheyne: ii. 6^b-iv. 1 *; v., † ix. 8-x. 4 ‡; vi.

* Except ii. 9; iii. 2, 3, 6, 7.

† Except verses 15, 16, 25^a, 30.

‡ Except ix. 15, 16; x. 4^a.

1-13^a; vii. 2-viii. 22,* xvii.† xxviii. 1-4; i. 29-31; xiv. 29-32; x. 5-9, 13-15; xiv. 24-27; x. 28-32; xx. 1, 3-6; xxviii. 7-22; xxix. 1-4, 6, 9, 10, 13-15; xxx. 1-17; xxxi. 1-4; xxii. 15-18; xviii. 1-6; i. 2-26; xxii. 1-14; xvi. 14; xxi. 16, 17. There are some omissions of parts of verses which it is not deemed necessary to specify. To gather up these results in a more convenient form, and disregarding small omissions, Cheyne ascribes to Isaiah the following chapters: i-iii., v.-x., xiv. (vs. 24-32), xvii., xx., xxviii. In other words, chaps. iv., xi.-xvi., xviii., xix., xxi.-xxvii., xxix.-lxvi., are, with the exception of a few verses, non-Isaianic. That is, less than one-fifth of the Book of Isaiah was actually written by the son of Amoz.

Cheyne is not alone in his main contentions. Duhm, *e.g.*, is in virtual agreement with him; and their results are those of the extreme radical critics of the present day. Driver is a good representative of the more modern criticism, which is, at the same time, scientific. He holds that the following chapters are Isaianic: ‡ i.-xii., xiv. 24-32; xv., xvi., xvii.-xx.,

*Except vii. 8^b, 15, 17, 21-25; viii. 19, 20.

†Except 7, 8.

‡ Driver expresses the general doubt as to the Isaianic authorship of chap. xii., and also of xv.-xvi. 12, which may have been written by Isaiah at an earlier time, or may be quoted from some earlier prophet.

xxi. 11-xxiii., xxviii.-xxxii., comprising about one-third of the whole book.* Driver's position is regarded as the most conservative that is critically tenable, while Cheyne's may certainly be looked upon as going as far as criticism can, and considerably further, in the writer's opinion, than the known or present knowable facts warrant.

That many of the prophecies in this book do not belong to Isaiah is clearly demonstrable; that others do not may be made highly probable; but critical analysis has not yet advanced to the point to make Cheyne's results more than an important suggestion of possibilities. There are four sections of the Book of Isaiah, besides the historical section, xxxvi.-xxxix., which belong to another age than Isaiah, viz.: xiii. 1-xiv. 23; xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiv.-xxxv.; xl.-lxvi. Modern critics are absolutely unanimous in regard to these. The most apparent evidence for this conclusion is easily presented.

Before considering this evidence, however, attention must be called to a fundamental principle—the relation of the prophet to his times. It is almost an axiom in criticism now, that an allusion to a known

* These proportions take on a truer look if we remember that chaps. xxxvi.-lxvi., or more than half of the whole book, are pronounced non-Isaianic by all modern critics, even by many conservatives. Driver accepts as Isaianic nearly twice as much as Cheyne.

historical event fixes the *terminus a quo* of a given prophecy. But this is not based on an *a priori* assumption. It is a clear deduction from the known phenomena of prophecy. The prophet, though a man raised up of God to lead his people to righteousness, was pre-eminently a man of his times. This is clearly seen in all the cases in which the prophecies have been correctly dated by tradition. We can read the history of Jeremiah's age much better in his book than in Kings. The subjects of which the prophets spoke were those which vitally concerned the people of their day. Why did Amos leave his flocks and go to Bethel and deliver a message most unwelcome to the people there? Because he could "discern the signs of the times." He saw the danger which loomed up on the horizon, and the moral decadence of the people which was making them unfit to meet it. God had opened his eyes and made him the instrument to open the eyes of the people.

It is of course possible that there might be a phenomenon in prophecy very different from that stated above. A prophet might care little for the affairs of his own day, and concentrate his interest wholly on the future. In fact, almost all of them do this, although only to a very limited extent.* But when they do

* This is one of the points at issue to-day between the extreme and the conservative critics. Many regard such pictures of the future as Amos ix. 11-15; Isa. ii. 2-4; ix. 1-7, xi., as later interpolations.

transport themselves into the future, the identity of authorship is seen in part from the likeness of style ; in part from the fact that a prophet transporting himself into the future, as a historian burying himself in the past, is almost certain incidentally to betray his own age by unmistakable allusions.

Formerly Isa. xl.-lxvi. was regarded as an Isaianic composition. It was never contended that it had any bearing upon the age of Isaiah ; it was freely admitted that the subject was the exile in Babylon. But it was held, as Delitzsch once put it, that the prophet lived "a pneumatic life among the exiles."* There would be nothing *per se* impossible in this, though it would be improbable. But there are other facts which have to be considered. These prophecies do not show even by any chance allusion the earlier age of the supposed writer. In other cases of prediction, the agreement in detail with the future condition is rarely close, and in fact is often quite remote. Finally, the style is usually quite different from that of the writer to whom they are credited. There is therefore good ground for giving great weight to the historical allusions. We may now take up these sections of the book of Isaiah in detail.

Criticism has, in my judgment, been too sweeping in dealing with passages of this character.

* This is found in the early editions of his work on Isaiah. In his last edition he accepted the critical view.

I. xiii. 1-xiv. 23. The evidence in favor of the Isaianic authorship of this passage is the fact that it is found in the book of Isaiah, with genuine Isaianic prophecies before and after it; and that it has the heading, "The oracle on Babylon which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw." But the value of this evidence is not very great, because it rests on a late Jewish tradition. The historical section, xxxvi.-xxxix., taken from the Book of Kings, was inserted in the book at least as late as the exilic period,* and therefore other parts might have been added. It is impossible to go into the question of the titles to prophecies here. The subject will be discussed more fully in the chapters on the Psalter. They are, however, surely the addition of the editors who arranged the prophecies, and were much later than the prophecies themselves. This is not an assumption, but may be surely proved. The evidence then is simply that a post-exilic editor regarded this prophecy as Isaiah's; but it must be remembered that his opinion was expressed at least two centuries later than Isaiah.†

On the other hand, there is a good deal to be said for the contrary view. The prophecy deals with the downfall of Babylon. But Babylon was not a power formidable to the Jews in Isaiah's day. His utter-

* As the Book of Kings carries the history down to the exilic period, it evidently could not have been composed before that time.

† See Cheyne's note in Polychrome Bible, p. 173.

ances were directed toward the overthrow of Assyria ; and this even was not accomplished till a century after his time. Babylon was to be overthrown by the Medes (xiii. 17). This people did not become an effective force till long after Isaiah's age ; the Median empire was conquered by Cyrus in 549 B.C., before he moved against Babylon. This prophecy assumes the exile as an existing fact. Not only the Jews but other nations are held under the oppressive tyranny (xiv. 2, 6, 12, 16f.). Lebanon had already been devastated by the Babylonians (xiv. 8). Jacob and Israel are the national names (xiv. 1) ; but in Isaiah's time these terms would mean the northern kingdom, and the exiles from the north cannot be the ones intended here, for their exile was in Assyria, not in Babylonia. The deliverance of the Jews from exile as a result of the fall of Babylon is the real subject of interest to the writer, and the release is looked upon as near at hand. The bitter spirit against Babylon, the exultation over her downfall, are in harmony with other passages which belong to the period of the exile. There are some ideas and expressions quite unlike Isaiah. In regard to these, Cheyne says: " The balance of the evidence from ideas, phraseology and style is in favor of a late date (even if a number of facts be set aside as doubtful, on the ground of their dependence on critical decisions as to the date of other disputed writings), and very decidedly opposed to the

traditional theory of Isaiah's authorship" (Polychrome Bible, p. 173).

The above considerations require us to remove the prophecy from the age of Isaiah ; but they also furnish the data for fixing the true date within very small limits. Cheyne holds that it is impossible to decide whether it should be placed before or after Cyrus' conquest of Media, 549 B.C. He gives the date 550-545. Driver assigns it to the period "shortly before 549 B.C." (L. O.T.⁶, p. 212).

There is not the slightest reference in the prophecy to the events of Isaiah's own day ; and a prophecy dealing with events a century and a half in the future could have no meaning for the men of that time. Up to almost the last hour the Jews were confident that they would not be called upon to endure exile in Babylon. The promise of deliverance from the deplorable condition still more than a century away, a condition which no one expected, would make no impression upon the people of that early age.

How different the prophecy reads when we place it in its true position. The tyrant who has so long held down the Jews with his oppressive hand is about to fall before the irresistible forces which are mustering for the attack. The zealous Jews, who had sat down and wept by the waters of Babylon as they thought of the holy city, perceived from the message of the clear-sighted prophet that the prisoners of Babylon would

soon be set free, that they would soon sing again the Lord's song in the Lord's land. The bitterness against Babylon would be strange from Isaiah; but a prophet of the exile, who had tasted of the bitter cup, might well declare the realization of the hope cherished in that pathetic exilic Psalm (cxxxvii.):* "Their infants also shall be dashed in pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be spoiled, and their wives dishonored" (xiii. 6; cf. Psa. cxxxvii. 9).

2. xxiv.-xxvii. This prophecy does not contain such sure and simple indications of date as the one just considered. It is apocalyptic in character and not always easy of interpretation. It is desirable to have in mind a clear idea of the contents of the prophecy.

An overwhelming calamity is coming upon the whole earth, a calamity which will involve every class, and which will cause the earth to melt and pass away, being profaned by the touch of the wicked inhabitants. The transgressors will be engulfed in ruin until few are left. The sound of music will cease; and a sound of distress will take its place. The city is a desolation, and its gates are ruined.

Though shouts arise in praise of Jahveh's majesty and songs of glory to the righteous, yet there is naught for Israel but misery, because of robbers and snares. For the world is turned upside down. The high ones of

* This Psalm may have been written later than assumed above; but it reflects the condition and feelings of the exiles.

the earth shall be swept away. The sun and moon shall be confused, but Jahveh shall be king in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem.

A song of praise is sung because of the wonderful things done by Jahveh, in bringing a city to ruin, and in being a shelter for the poor and needy. On holy Zion will Jahveh make a feast to all peoples, destroying the veils which are spread over the nations: that is, He will wipe away the tears and remove the reproach of His people. The people (Israel) will then clearly recognize their God for whom they have waited; His hand shall rest on Mount Zion; and confusion will come to their enemies.

A song will be sung in praise of the strong city whose walls are the salvation of Jahveh, for He is the Rock of Ages. But the lofty city He has brought low; it is trodden down with the feet. Jahveh's people have long waited for this day. The wicked have taken no warning from the uplifted hand. But the righteous have passed from the dominion of other gods, and now praise only the name of Jahveh.

In the time of trouble the suffering looked to Jahveh, and poured out their prayer to Him. The earth shall give back the shades to life. But for the present the faithful must withdraw into their chambers until the storm of the Lord's wrath shall pass by. In future days Israel shall take root under Jahveh's protection, and fill the surface of the world with fruit.

Israel's punishment was not like that of his oppressors. The deliverance will come with the removal of the false worship which caused the ruin. The Lord will beat out the ears of wheat from Egypt to the Euphrates, and one by one shall the scattered sons of Israel return from the uttermost parts of the earth.

This outline shows the general character of the prophecy. Jahveh is to bring a judgment upon the whole world. Israel has been in the deepest suffering and misery. He has long waited for an expected deliverance which the overthrow of the world powers will bring about. Surely there was nothing in Isaiah's time to suggest such a picture as this.

On the other hand, there are clear indications of the post-exilic age. The people are re-established in Jerusalem, but in so poor an estate that, as in Zechariah, Jahveh's abode on Mount Zion is looked upon as still future (xxiv. 23). The people still suffer the reproach of the exile, "Where is now thy God?" (xxv. 8). The experience of those who had struggled to rebuild the fallen state had been bitterly disappointing (xxvi. 17f.). The return of the Jews, who are looked upon as still widely scattered, was yet future (xxvii. 12f.). The people had had experience of the dominion of foreign gods over them (xxvi. 13). The walls were either in ruins, or were at best an inefficient protection (xxvi. 1). The national names, as in the preceding prophecy, were Jacob and Israel (xxvii. 6). "The imagery," says

Cheyne, "is that of the later prophecies and of apocalyptic writings" (Polychrome Bible, p. 203). "The ideal, or symbolic, element, is much larger than in the pre-exilic prophecies generally; and the closest parallels are Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.; Joel iii. 9-21; Zech. xii.-xiv" (Driver, L. O. T., 221).

If there is no appropriate place in the age of Isaiah for this prophecy, where shall we look for its origin? Opinions differ as to whether it belongs to the early part of the Persian age (538-332 B.C.) or to the late part. This is a very considerable range; but our knowledge of the period is not sufficiently exact to make a close determination of the date possible, especially as the prophecy alludes to temporal conditions but obscurely.

There is, for instance, no mention of the name of the "city of confusion," whose destruction is of such momentous consequence to Israel, nor is there any inference by which the city meant can be surely determined. It is certain that in the post-exilic period there was great discouragement among the people, and the hardships which they endured were very trying to patience and faith. The splendid anticipations of the great prophet (II. Isaiah) were proving to be small realizations. The community had been cheered on by Haggai and Zechariah to the great task of rebuilding the temple. They were told that there was no cure for their woes as long as the house of God was in ruins.

Then the temple was rebuilt, and the sacrifices were re-established, but later, in Nehemiah's time, the condition of the Jews was still deplorable. Nehemiah attempted to remove the reproach of the people by rebuilding the walls, so that the nations surrounding could no longer harass them; but, even with both temple and walls, the condition of the Jews was not much improved. The peoples around them were inveterate in their hostility, and there seemed no cure for their woes but such a world-judgment as that pictured in this prophecy.

If we could be certain of the meaning of the obscure reference to the walls in xxvi. 1, it would enable us to fix the date more precisely—"Salvation will he appoint as walls and defences"; if this means that the salvation of God shall take the place of walls, then the prophecy would belong to the time shortly before Nehemiah, 444 B.C. If, as Duhm holds, the passage should be rendered, "He produces walls and bulwarks for deliverance," then the passage would refer to the restoration of the walls by Nehemiah, or, at a later time, by Hyrcanus. It is, perhaps, necessary to rest content with the general post-exilic period. It may be said, finally, in favor of the later part of this period that such an expectation as this prophecy reveals would be most natural after other things had failed.

3. xxxiv., xxxv. The nations are called upon to witness Jehovah's wrath against the armed hosts of the

world. These forces will be devoted to destruction, the mountains being dissolved with the blood of the slain. The destructive forces shall reach even to the heavens. Edom especially, the most hated of the hostile peoples, shall feel the sword of the Lord; the Edomites will serve as a great sacrifice to Jehovah.

Zion in her struggles came at last to the time of recompense. The desolation of Edom will be terrible; streams and land will be flaming pitch and limestone, which shall burn forever. The waste land shall become the abode of the animals of the desert. The palaces and fortresses shall be overgrown with briars and nettles.

The wilderness will rejoice as the glory of Jehovah is revealed. The hands of the weak will be strengthened by hope, because God is coming to the rescue of His people. Those who have been blind will be able to see; the lame will walk; for water shall issue forth even in the desert, and grass shall grow there. A highway, the way of holiness, will be there, over which the rescued will pass, safe from the attacks of lions or other beasts of prey. Jehovah's redeemed will come back to Zion with joyful songs.

It is evident from this outline that the thing which the prophet contemplates as future is the return of the exiles to Zion; the thing which is a present fact is the exile itself. The hands of the Jewish exiles are now feeble, their knees are weak and their hearts are failing

them through fear; the people are blind, deaf, dumb, and lame. The bad plight of the people will be changed when they see a divine judgment coming upon the nations, and realize the meaning of that judgment. The meaning is that Zion's struggles are over, that her children will soon come back overflowing with joy. They will not take the long journey by way of the north, but on the highway which God shall raise up: they will come straight across the Syrian desert, from Babylon to Jerusalem.

The vengeance of the Lord will be visited chiefly upon Edom. The prophet-poet depicts exhaustively the utter desolation which is coming upon that hated land. No other nation is mentioned, either expressly or impliedly. In the earlier days of the exile, indignation against the mighty power of Babylon was almost lost in the intense bitterness toward the descendants of Esau. The affliction from the hands of the great world power was tolerable because inevitable; but that Edomites should have picked up Jewish refugees in the wilderness and handed them over to Babylon, that they should have exulted in the fall of Jerusalem's walls, and defiled the sacred soil of Zion, was almost more than the Jew could bear.

This prophecy, like the others, has no fitness in the times of Isaiah. It would be utterly unintelligible in that time. It would have had no meaning for that generation. But in the first part of the exilic period

it expresses admirably the feelings of despair and of hope which alternately moved the hearts of those who were chafing under the restraints of the bondage in Babylonia.

Cheyne, it is true, dates this prophecy 400 B.C. or later. He thinks that the two chapters are connected, and may have come from the same author. He says further that "both were evidently written in Judah, and are late post-exilic works" (Polychrome Bible, p. 201).

That there are expressions which point to a later date than the exile cannot be denied; that it "evidently was written in Judah" does not by any means seem so clear. There is much likeness between chap. xxxv. and II. Isaiah, but it is not certain that the former is dependent upon the latter, as Cheyne holds, still less that chap. xxxiv. is "mainly based on the *oracle on Babylon*," chap. xiii.f., as he further alleges.

While the bitterness toward Edom was felt at a much later time than the exile, as we know from Malachi, there is most reason, on the whole, to place this prophecy in the exilic period. Driver and Dillman assigned it to the closing years of the exile. But that would make it contemporary with II. Isaiah, and make difficult of explanation the silence in regard to Babylon and Cyrus. The writer does not seem to have a clear idea of the source from which Jehovah's deliverance will come; but contents himself with the assurance that it

will come, and that it will be the hour of doom for Edom.

Before passing on to consider the last section of the book of Isaiah, a brief digression may be permitted, as it is suggested by a query likely to rise in the reader's mind. It appears from the consideration of the above prophecies that all modern critics are agreed that they belong to an age much later than Isaiah, but at that point disagreement begins. One school of critics places them much later than others. All agree that they could not have been written before the exile; but the difference of date assigned by different critics is in one case as much as two centuries.

This is a good illustration of the subject discussed in an earlier chapter as to the invalidation of the results of criticism by the difference of opinion among the critics.* The people want positive results. If they are constrained to take these chapters out of the category of Isaianic writings, they do not want to leave them suspended in mid-air, but want a reasonably sure date to which they may be assigned. It is only by reaching such a result that constructive work can be done. Some may feel that it is better to hold on to a discredited theory at least until another theory is securely established in its place.

* It may be remarked that this argument is a two-edged sword, and cuts both ways. There is also great difference of opinion among the upholders of traditional views.

Much sympathy must be felt for such a feeling. But it will be recognized that there are two things to consider: the invalidation of critical results by the failure of critics to agree, and the unwillingness to abandon one theory until a better and unanimously accepted theory takes its place. The essential question in these cases is not between one precise date and another. Even in regard to the undisputed prophecies of Isaiah there is much difference of opinion among all classes of critics, from the most ultra-conservative to the most radical, as to the exact date. Chap. i., for example, is regarded by some as the earliest of Isaiah's prophecies, and by others as the latest. It is variously dated within the whole forty years of the prophet's career. The essential question is always, at first, whether the prophecy is Isaianic or not. There is absolute unanimity of opinion among modern critics in the answer to this question. But it is not essential to the validity of this result that the agreement should go so far as to fix the exact year of composition.

Some critics show a marked tendency to date all such prophecies at the latest period possible, others at the earliest period that will meet the facts. It is not a vital matter whether early or late; but it often must happen that there is not sufficient evidence in the prophecy to determine its period more than approximately, and external evidence fails us entirely. The lack of full knowledge of the post-exilic period greatly ham-

pers the critic in fixing the date of obscure prophecies. It will appear, it is hoped, from the consideration of the prophecies treated above, that criticism has accomplished enough to show a real though not a final work of construction. It is satisfactory, at any rate, to turn to a great prophecy, or collection of prophecies, in regard to which there is more accord on the positive side.

4. xl.-lxvi. On the religious side there are no finer prophecies than those in this collection. There are none which better repay an exhaustive study. The constructive study has been foremost from the beginning of the criticism of this collection. For it was the clear perception of the actual period to which the prophecies belong that led irresistibly to their separation from the age of Isaiah.

The question of the unity of the Book of Isaiah is now obsolete; but the question of the unity of II. Isaiah is still under discussion. No one can easily doubt that more than one hand has been at work here; but the question is whether the alien parts were incorporated by the author of the major part of this great work, or whether the present book is the result of a compilation of several different prophecies belonging to different periods.

A glance through the Polychrome Bible shows Cheyne's conclusions. The original prophecies of the "second Isaiah" are colored dark red. These are

chaps. xl.—xlviii.—except xlii. 1-7, xlv. 9-20, xlvi. 6-8, and parts of xlviii. The passages which deal with the "servant of Jehovah" are marked by dark purple. Light blue marks passages written or inserted by an editor. These are in the main xlv. 9-20; xlvi. 6-8; xlviii. 1, 2, 4, 5^b, 7^b, 8^b-10, 17-19, 22; lvii. 13^b-21. Light red marks passages which belong to various other sources: these are in the main xlix. 13-1. 3; li. 1-l. 2, 7-12; liv. 1-lvii. 13^a; lviii.-lxvi. There are also minor passages in dark blue. There were, therefore, several different hands in the composition of this work, of which the "great unknown" was the basis. The dates assigned by Cheyne extend from 550-545 B.C. (the second Isaiah) to 350 B.C.

That the whole of this great work does not belong to one brief period has been shown long ago.* The prophecy begins with the period when the discerning eye of a God-illumined prophet can clearly see that great event which is still veiled from the people—the fall of Babylon. We can see as we read on the doom of the great city drawing nearer and nearer; we see the blow fall which breaks the fetters of the exiled Jews; we can follow the latter on the weary road back to Zion, and see their hard struggles in their attempt to bring order out of that chaos. But it is not so certain that

*The present writer some years ago published an essay on this subject, "The Historical Movement Traceable in Isaiah xl.-lxvi."—*Andover Review*, August, 1891.

in this collection we can go on to the age of Nehemiah, and even much further.

It is clear, further, that the "servant" passages have marked points in common as well as in contrast. It is probable that the "second Isaiah" was not the author of that queen of Messianic prophecies, lii. 13–liii.; but it is not clear that this gem was not incorporated by the author of this book. It is true that some of the later chapters, especially lxiii.–lxvi, may well be assigned to a later writer; but there does not seem to be sufficient ground for such a radical dissection as Cheyne's. But all this is incidental to our main purpose, which is to show that this prophetic work belongs to the period of the exile, and that its religious and devotional value is greatly enhanced by reading it in its true connection.

God has not left Himself without witness among the sons of men in any age, least of all in that which was the most disheartening in all the history of Israel. Jeremiah declares that there will be a time when men will no longer say, the "God who brought us out of Egypt," but "the God who brought us out of Babylon." The exile in Babylonia was of greater moment than the bondage in Egypt. Then the nation's life had not yet begun; Israel consisted of wandering tribes of nomads. But after six centuries of national life in Canaan, the nation was swept away, and held in a bondage that was none the less galling that it was light.

The exiles were not compelled to make bricks without straw ; but they were denied recourse to the holy soil, and even Zion could have meant little to the pious at that time, because it was a scene of desolation, and the temple was no more.

The time-serving prophets had deluded the exiles with false hopes of a speedy return before Jerusalem actually fell. After that there was the inevitable reaction, and hope soon died. The pious might indeed say:

“ If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget.
Let my tongue cleave to my mouth,
If I remember thee not ;
If I prefer not Jerusalem
Above my chief joy.”—PSA. cxxxvii. 5f.

But for the mass of the people there was nothing to do but build houses, plant vineyards, marry wives and beget children, as Jeremiah had advised. That the exile would be long was becoming only too plain. Those who had been born in the holy land, and had made the long march to Babylon as captives, were fast dying off. A new generation, born on foreign soil, was growing up, to whom the knowledge of the national life in Judah came only from the diligent instruction of the fathers. They had been faithfully taught that they were citizens of another country. But time does its work, however difficult the task may be. Jewish homes

and interests in Babylonia had taken on a stable character. The zeal for the Judæan life cooled among the masses, and must be rekindled if the people were to be ready to take advantage of the liberty which was to come.

The second Isaiah was mainly the fire which rekindled the zeal that made the restoration possible. Was that "second Isaiah" an old esoteric prophecy cherished for a century and a half until its unintelligible riddles should take on meaning? Or was it a living voice raised up of God to meet the occasion when it came? On *a priori* grounds, the latter would be far more probable, and it is the only hypothesis which is in harmony with the phenomena of the prophecy itself. This prophet was peculiarly a man of his time. He breathes the air of the exile, though his hopes are so steadfastly built upon the new Jerusalem which he saw rising in the distance.

The convincing evidence that this book belongs to the exile and not to the time of Isaiah is found in the book itself. Let any one read chapter after chapter from the point of view of the exilic period, and he will be persuaded that the theory that it originated in any other age bristles with difficulties not easy to meet. The only evidence of Isaianic authorship is that this prophecy constitutes a part of the Book of Isaiah. But even this argument has less cogency here than for earlier chapters; because this collection is separated

from the other prophecies of the Book of Isaiah by a long historical passage which, as already shown, could not have been added before the exile. The name of Isaiah is not found in the collection anywhere; there is no allusion to him or to his times; and when the author does revert to himself, or use the first person, we see a very different personage from the Isaiah we know.

There is no vagueness in the description of the Jews' condition, nor in the manner of their release. That the Jews are represented as in actual captivity in Babylon is clear from every page. The prophet sees the conquering career of Cyrus, and perceives that Babylon is the goal of his campaigns. He knows that the hard policy of Babylon, which "releases not his prisoners," is contrary to the milder policy of Cyrus, who hopes to rule subject peoples by gaining their goodwill—the only method in the whole history of the world which has proved permanently effective. On Cyrus, therefore, the prophet's hopes are built. Cyrus is the instrument of his God—not an instrument of wrath, as the Assyrians and Chaldeans had been, to be used, and then broken and cast away—but an instrument of love.

Therefore, Cyrus is praised above any foreign ruler known in the Old Testament. Cyrus' present conquests are due to Jehovah's favor: "He gives nations before him, and causes him to subdue kings; He gives

them to his sword like the dust, as the driven stubble to his bow" (xli. 2). Jehovah is the One that says of Cyrus: "He is my shepherd, and shall complete *all my pleasure*" (xliv. 28). But there is greater honor than this; for the prophet goes on to say: "Thus saith Jahveh to his anointed (*i.e.*, to His Messiah), to Cyrus, of whose right hand I have taken hold. . . . I will go before thee, and make the rugged places plain. Doors of brass I will break to pieces, and bars of iron I will cut asunder, that thou mayest know that I Jahveh, who am calling thee by thy name, am the God of Israel" (xlv. 1-3). But Cyrus was not conscious of the power by which his conquests were so easily accomplished, nor was that power conferred for any favor to him: "For the sake of my servant Jacob, and Israel my chosen, though thou knowest me not. I will gird thee, though thou knowest me not" (*ib.*, 4f.).

It appears that the idea of owing their release to a foreign conqueror was not agreeable to the patriotic Jews. They would prefer to owe their freedom to a hero whom God had raised up from among themselves, as Moses was raised up to take their fathers out of Egypt, and as the native "judges" were raised up to expel the enemy from their land; or they would prefer that God should directly intervene, as the Chronicler was so fond of representing Him as doing. The prophet rebukes the spirit that ventures to question the mysterious ways of Providence: "Woe to him that striveth with the one

that formed him, a potsherd among the potsherds of the ground! Shall the clay say to him that formed it, What makest thou? or, Thy work has no hands? Woe unto him who says to a father, What begetteth thou? or to a woman, With what travailest thou? . . . I have made the earth, and man upon it have I created. My own hands have stretched out the heavens, and all their host have I commanded [or are under my orders]. I have raised him [Cyrus] up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways. He shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free, without price and without reward, saith Jahveh of hosts" (xliv. 9-13).

There is a brief passage which shows very clearly the manner in which Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, tried to save the city. "Bel bows down, Nebo stoops; their idols are upon the beasts, and upon the cattle; your portable things are a load, a burden to the weary beast. They stoop, they bow down together; they are not able to deliver the burden, but are themselves going into captivity" (xlvi. 1f.). Nabonidus saw that the city was ill prepared to withstand the conqueror. He, therefore, brought into Babylon the deities from many sacred places.* Cyrus cites to his own credit the fact that he restored these deities to their ancient shrines.

* Sayce holds that this was done in an attempt at the centralization and unification of religion.

That the prophet should exult in the downfall of the tyrant was natural. He had experienced the hardships of the exilic life. So he cries with contempt: "Get thee down and sit upon dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the earth without a throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans: for they shall no more call thee tender and delicate. Take millstones, and grind meal: remove thy veil, strip off the train, lay bare the leg, pass through the river" (xlvi. 1f.). When Babylon experienced the humiliation which it had inflicted upon so many other peoples, the prophet recognizes the hour of Israel's deliverance, and closes the first section of his prophecy with the cry: "Go forth from Babylon, flee from the Chaldeans, with a voice of singing make known, tell this, spread it forth unto the end of the earth: say Jahveh has redeemed his servant Jacob" (xlviii. 20).

As before stated, the most adequate presentation of the evidence for the exilic date of this prophecy is its reading entire in the light of the true historical situation. A few passages have been quoted which show this situation clearly. Further investigation may be left to the reader, while we turn to another problem.

It may seem difficult to account for the Book of Isaiah in its present form, if it actually contains writings from several authors, the prophecies ranging from the year 740 B.C., the year of Isaiah's call, to 400 B.C.,

or perhaps even later. But it is not impossible to show that the arrangement of the book does not create any serious difficulty. That the present distribution of the prophecies in the various prophetic books is late may be pretty conclusively demonstrated. In the Book of Jeremiah, for example, the order of the prophecies in the LXX. is very different from that in the Hebrew. This shows that at about the year 200 B.C. the prophecies had not yet assumed a final order, in other words, the process of editing went on after that time.

Further, it is clear that the present Book of Isaiah, like the present Book of Psalms, was made up by combining already existing smaller collections. To take a former example, we know that Jeremiah made the first collection of his prophecies twenty years after he began his prophetic career. We have the history of his writing in chap. xxxvi. But in the earlier chapters are many prophecies which belong to a later date than the fourth year of Jehoiakin. This shows that Jeremiah's prophecies were edited after he had made his first collection.*

We have the evidence for these smaller collections of Isaiah in the book itself—in the headings and in the

* The year when Jeremiah wrote his prophecies was 604 B.C. But chap. xiii. belongs to 597 B.C.; xxi. 1-10 belongs to the last days of Zedekiah, who reigned 596-586 B.C.; xxiv. 27-29 belongs to the early part of the same reign; xxx.-xxxiv. belongs to the days of the siege of Jerusalem, shortly before 586.

arrangement. The heading to chap. i. states that this is the vision which Isaiah saw in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. This covers the whole range of Isaiah's prophetic life, but it was originally used as a heading for the collection, chaps. i.-xii., in which there are prophecies from all these years. The reign of Uzziah is deduced from vi. 1, but incorrectly, because Isaiah was called in the year in which he died. But in ii. 1 we have another heading, briefer, and without date, which was originally the heading to a small collection of Isaiah's prophecies, probably ii.-v., a heading which was not disturbed when chap. i. was prefixed. The heading to chap. vi. is suited only for that chapter; but the chapter itself shows that it cannot be here in its original place. Very likely it was intended, as Cheyne says, for a suitable prologue to the prophecies uttered during the Syro-Ephraimitish war. At that time Isaiah had his first decided experience of the refusal of the people to hear. This experience impressed upon him the force of the inaugural vision which had been designed to teach him, among other things, that his message would not fall upon willing ears; but would, on the contrary, fix the rebellious purposes of a disobedient people.

In chaps. xiii.-xxiii. there is a collection of prophecies which originally existed separately. The basis of the collection is the subject matter. Except chap. xxii., they all deal with foreign nations. The name of

Isaiah, which we find in xiii. 1, may have been intended by the late editor to cover the whole collection. Probably the original collection was a group of genuine Isaianic prophecies against foreign nations, to which additions of anonymous prophecies were made without an attempt to indicate which were actually Isaiah's. In this collection most of the sub-titles merely give the subject; as, "The oracle on Moab." But we find also the date; as, "In the year that King Ahaz died" (xiv. 28).

Another collection was xxiv.-xxxv., made up partly of Isaianic prophecies. There is a similarity of subject matter which is sufficient to explain the addition of later prophecies. Chaps. xxviii.-xxxiii. all deal with the overthrow of Assyria by Jehovah in the land of Judah. The other two sections, which have already been considered at some length, xxiv.-xxvii., xxxiv.-xxxv., may have found a place here, because they, too, relate to the overthrow of the powers which were oppressive to God's people. The first large division of the Book of Isaiah, chaps. i.-xxxv., consists, therefore, of three smaller collections, each of which gradually grew into its present form.

We may infer from this (as well as from other cases) that the prophecies of Isaiah were originally written and issued either separately or in very small collections, and issued without the name of the author, because the name would be unnecessary. To insure the

preservation of these prophecies, they began to be collected in groups, with titles. There seems to have been no idea of incongruity in adding prophecies from other authors. The author was regarded as of little importance compared with the matter of the prophecy. Prophecies which promised the overthrow of Judah's enemies would naturally be brought together without much regard to authorship. So prophecies which promised the downfall of the mighty empires which threatened the very existence of Judah, namely, Assyria and Babylonia, would be placed side by side, even though their authors lived two centuries apart.

If our interests were the same as the Jewish editors, we should find no embarrassment in this mixing of the products of quite different ages; that is, if we were reading with a single eye to the future destiny of Israel, the origin of the oracle would signify comparatively little. But if we read with a historical interest, the actual occasion of each prophecy becomes of great moment. We then require, as the basis of a proper understanding of the words, a comprehensive knowledge of the circumstances amidst which the prophet spoke. This is the great gain which modern criticism has made for the student of prophecy.

CHAPTER IX.

The Book of Psalms.

I. THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

THERE is no part of the Old Testament which has so deeply influenced the Christian heart as the Psalter. The great majority of people have read the Psalms simply for their spiritual nourishment. There is probably no critical student who becomes so absorbed in the literary criticism of the Psalter as to be insensible to the revelation of spiritual truth contained therein. Many of the priceless gems lie on the surface ; others appear only as one enters into the life and soul of the writer. The greatest contribution which the Psalms can make to any age is the divine truths they reveal, the disclosures of the divinely enlightened human soul. This element of the Psalm Book is beyond the pale of literary criticism. No matter what radical results may be attained or claimed, the spiritual truths cannot be touched by criticism. It is well to preface any critical study of the Psalter with this assurance. It sets the mind at ease to know that the soul's food cannot be disturbed.

But why, then, study the Psalms critically? Because critical study is the handmaid (but not the master) of devotional study; because the spiritual truths stand out more clearly as we comprehend the circumstances which gave rise to these outbreathings of earnest human souls. Some Hebrew poet sang his song, "The Lord is my Shepherd." Whether this poet was David or some other, we are sure he was one who understood Hebrew shepherd life, and saw in that the relation of God to man. If we hope to grasp the force of the poet's metaphor, we, too, must understand the meaning of the life of a faithful Hebrew shepherd.

The critical questions which are at present to the fore in the study of the Psalms are not those of analysis, but those of date. The extreme position on one side may be seen from a statement of Wellhausen that "it is not a question whether there be any post-exilic Psalms, but, rather, whether the Psalms contain any poems written before the exile."*

In his Bampton Lectures of 1889 (published in 1891) Cheyne said that "putting aside Psa. xviii., and possibly lines or verses imbedded here and there in later Psalms, the Psalter as a whole is post-exilic" (p. xxxi.). In his lectures delivered in America during the winter

* Polychrome Bible, p. 163. Wellhausen held the same view at least as early as 1878, when he published his edition of Bleek's "Einleitung."

of 1897-98,* this distinguished scholar accepted the view that there are no Psalms of pre-exilic origin.

Not many years ago Ewald was the greatest, and, at the time, among the most radical, of modern critics. But he assigned some fifty-seven Psalms to the pre-exilic period. Conservative as Driver usually is, he is surprisingly cautious in claiming a pre-exilic origin for any of the Psalms. The sixth edition of his Introduction (1897) shows few changes in the dating of the Psalms from the first (1891). He regards some fifteen as presumably pre-exilic. He asserts, however, that "it may be affirmed with tolerable confidence that very few of the Psalms are earlier than the seventh century B.C." Sanday is not much less guarded in his opinion; he says: "I cannot think that it has been at all proved that there was no psalmody in the first temple. . . . The plain inference that the Psalms addressed to a king belong to the times of the monarchy should not, I think, be resisted."† We find a more conservative opinion in one of the most recent works on the Psalter published in Germany by Prof. Baethgen, of Greifswald (second edition, 1897). His opinion, as shown in his summary of his results, is that "of the 150 songs of our Psalter, some thirty to forty would have originated in the time of the monarchy."

The earliest Hebrew critics, a few centuries before

* "Jewish Religious Life after the Exile," 1898, p. 124.

† "Inspiration": Bampton Lectures, 1893, p. 251.

the Christian era, assigned seventy-three Psalms to David. The general tendency for a number of centuries after this was to increase this allotment. Rabbinic tradition assigned all the Psalms to David, and this theory was adopted largely in the Christian Church, so that "the Psalms of David" became a common title of the Psalter.

The purpose of the student should be, not to attempt to prove or disprove any particular theory of the origin of the Psalter, but to use whatever means are at hand for ascertaining the real date of the various Psalms. As the object of this book is rather to show methods than results, first we shall consider the means at our disposal for the determination of the date of the Psalms, and then apply those means to a few Psalms to show their practical application.

The evidence which is available is both internal and external. The latter includes the evidence of the superscriptions or headings, and the growth of the Psalter in its parts and as a whole.* The internal evidence includes here, as elsewhere, historical allusions, language, style, and ideas. The external evidence was once a controlling factor. But the headings have come to be generally discredited, and this evidence has fallen into disuse, if not into disrepute. Of late, however, one form of the external evidence has been

* The evidence from New Testament usage has been considered in Chapter I., p. 19ff.

revived again, chiefly by the more radical scholars. In our treatment the external evidence will be considered first.

The Psalter is now frequently denominated "the hymn-book of the second temple." Reuss strangely calls it "the hymn-book of the synagogue."* Those critics who regard all the Psalms as the product of the exilic or post-exilic period lay considerable stress upon the fact that the collection was made for the temple of Zerubbabel. Thus Wellhausen, speaking of *Psa. xx.*, says: "It would seem that this Psalm (and, on the same grounds, the following) belongs to the days of the kingdom of Judah. This, however, would remove the two Psalms out of the sphere to which the Psalms, as a whole, belong" (*Polychrome Bible*, p. 171). This method of determining the date of individual Psalms does not seem to me wholly justifiable. No matter when the final collection was made, no matter to what sphere the Psalm Book, as a whole, belongs, it may contain portions whose origin antedated the collection by many centuries. Moreover, no one knows better than the eminent scholar quoted above, that the present collection of Psalms was the result of a growth which must have continued a long time.†

* His title is "Der Psalter, oder das Gesangbuch der Synagoge."

† "Smend has accepted as an axiom, that the Psalter was the hymn-book of the second temple. But I venture to place beside

That the present collection is made up of a number of smaller collections is an important part of the evidence for the late date of the whole, and this evidence must be briefly reviewed here. The Psalms are divided in the Hebrew Bible into five books. The basis of the division is not wholly scientific, but it shows that the Hebrew editors realized that the completed book was made up of previous smaller collections. The surest and simplest evidence of these minor collections is in the presence of duplicates. It will be sufficient to exhibit a single case of duplication. For convenience of comparison the two Psalms are placed side by side. The points of difference are indicated in Psa. liii. by the use of *italics*.

PSA. XIV.

For the liturgy. Of David:

The fool says in his heart,
There is no God.

They have done a corrupt,
an abominable deed;

PSA. LIII.

For the liturgy. *To the sickness,*
Maskil of David:

The fool says in his heart,
There is no God.

They have done a corrupt *and*
an abominable *thing*;

that, as a second axiom, that the Psalms had been made ready for the use of the community" (Steckhoven, quoted by Staerk, "Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft," 1892, I., 147). Sanday says forcibly: "If we admit, as we may certainly admit, that the Psalter as we have it was 'the song book of the second temple,' it by no means follows that the individual Psalms were all composed in the period of the second temple" (Bampton Lectures, p. 251). See also Robertson, "The Poetry and the Religion of the Psalms."

There is none doing good.
 Jahveh looked from heaven
 upon the sons of men,
 To see if any does wisely,
 If any one is seeking God.
 All have turned aside, are
 wholly depraved;

There is none doing good, not
 even one.

Do not all the doers of evil
 know—

Eating my people as they eat
 bread,

And upon Jahveh they do not
 call?

There were they in great dis-
 may;

For God is in the righteous
 generation.

Ye bring to shame the pur-
 pose of the lowly,

That Jahveh shall be his
 refuge.

Would that Israel's rescue
 were come from Zion.

When Jahveh brings back the
 captivity of his people,

Then should Jacob rejoice and
 Israel be glad.

There is none doing good.
God looked from heaven upon
 the sons of men,

To see if any does wisely.
 If any one is seeking God.

All of *them* have *gone astray*,
 are wholly depraved;

There is none doing good, not
 even one.

Do not all the doers of evil
 know—

Eating my people as they eat
 bread,

And upon *God* they do not
 call?

There were they in great dis-
 may,

Where there was no dismay.
 For God *scattered the bones of*
thy besiegers.

Thou broughtest to shame,
 . . .

For *God* has cast them off.

Would that Israel's rescue
 were come from Zion.

When *God* brings back the
 captivity of his people,

Then should Jacob rejoice and
 Israel be glad.

No one can reasonably doubt that these are but two
 versions of the same original poem. But some of the

variations are striking and suggestive. One heading has the additional information of the tune* to which the Psalm was to be sung, and of the character of the poem, a *maskil*, or wisdom song. In Psa. xiv. we find Jahveh four times, and God ('Elohim) three times; in Psa. liii. we have God seven times, and Jahveh not at all. If we look more closely we shall see that in Psa. xiv. Jahveh is used whenever the personal name of the Deity is required. We perceive then in these variations the work of two different editors, one of whom uses Jahveh as the name of the Deity, the other God; and one of whom gives fuller information in his prefatory note than the other.†

There is but one explanation of these facts. Just as we find "Rock of Ages" in every collection of Christian hymns, and as we often find variant texts according to the ideas of the editors, so this popular Hebrew song was gathered into two different collections, each made by an editor who did not scruple to modify the original song according to his own taste and sense of

* This is at all events a highly probable explanation of the '*al mahalath*.'

† Of the other variations, some are due to textual corruption, others to editorial intention. These are not material for the purpose in hand, and are therefore passed by. It may be well, however, to emphasize the fact that wherever there are duplicates in the Old Testament—and the cases are numerous—there are many variants, and the two causes named above both have to be presupposed; see further below.

propriety. There is another fact which strengthens this conclusion. If we examine the collections to which each of these Psalms belongs, we find that Psa. xiv. is among poems in which Jahveh is habitually used for God; while Psa. liii. is among those in which 'Elohim is employed.* There were, therefore, Jahvistic and Elohistic editors whose labors are still in evidence in the completed Psalm Book.†

There are several other instances of duplication. Psa. xl. 13-17 (Book I.), reappears as a complete Psalm (Psa. lxx., Book II.), with a heading quite different from that of Psa. xl. Three times in Psa. lxx. we find 'Elohim corresponding to Jahveh in Psa. xl. Also Psa. xxxi. 1-3, is the same as Psa. lxxi. 1-3. Psa. cviii. (Book V.) is made up of portions of two Psalms of Book III., lvii. 7-11, and lx. 5-12. Each of these Psalms has an elaborate heading; but the editor, who made a new Psalm by joining two choice bits from other poems, gave his production a heading of its own, though a very simple one, viz.: "A Song. A Psalm

* Let the reader take the trouble to glance over (if indeed he have not already done so), the Psalms of Book I. (i.-xli.) to note the prevalence of Jahveh (LORD in the English versions), and then over Books II. and III. (xlii.-lxxxix.) to see how 'Elohim (God in the English versions) predominates. One might read the Psalms a long time without discovering the meaning of this fact.

† In many of these Psalms the divine name, whether Jahveh or 'Elohim, may represent the preference of the author rather than of the editor.

of David." It is plain from the evidence now produced that these headings are the work of editors, and that each editor exercised a good deal of latitude in the performance of his task. The headings are no part of the sacred text, but are introductory notes, and certainly there could be no valid objection to the liberty exercised by the collectors.

When these various original collections were joined together to make our present book, the Psalms must already have become too fixed to permit much further editing; otherwise it is not likely that duplicates would have been retained. It seems highly probable, therefore, that the Book of Psalms took on its present form at a comparatively late day, and long after the separate collections had been made. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the Jahvistic and Elohist editors, whose hand is so clearly traceable as collectors of Psalms, belonged to different schools of thought in the Jewish Church.* The bringing their productions together, therefore, indicates a step toward unity.

The comparison of the duplicates throws much light on the state of the text. There are upwards of a hundred variations between the Hebrew texts of the duplicate versions, *Psa. xviii.* and *II. Sam. xxii.*, and many more in the Greek texts. If there are so many vari-

* The meaning of the use of these names is discussed by Dr. J. P. Peters, in "The Development of the Psalter" *New World*, June, 1893.

ants where the text could be controlled by duplicates, all pointing to departures from the original in one or the other version, or both, then it is manifestly probable that there are still more departures from the original text where there was no check at all.

The partial loss of acrostic forms is another evidence of the changes which have been made. Such changes may have been partly due to corruption, some clearly are explicable in only this way; but others are just as certainly the work of the editors, who did not scruple to adapt a song so as in their judgment to make it more suited to the purpose in view. Sanday has stated clearly his idea of this adaptation: "The fact that the Psalter was used in the temple services would naturally lead to a certain amount of adaptation. Many of the Psalms, we may be sure, were not originally written with this object. Some modification would be needed in order to fit the expression of private feeling for public worship; and we can also well believe that ideas and allusions which sounded archaic and out of date would be modernized. Just as in our own hymn-books the form in which the hymn is actually sung often differs considerably from the original, so also in the Jewish Church the same thing would take place, but probably on a larger scale, because, as we have already said, all idea of literary property and of the obligations entailed by it was absent" ("Inspiration," p. 195).

In order to study the headings most profitably we must take up the Psalms by groups. The division into five books, as already indicated, is partly artificial. It is easy, however, to separate the Psalms into three parts, so that the division has a more logical basis, in that each once existed independently. These are : I., i.-xli. ; II., xlii.-lxxxix. ; III., xc.-cl. In these parts there are undoubtedly minor collections which existed as such before they became part of a larger collection. But for our purpose it is not necessary to go into the discussion of the smaller sub-divisions, the three main parts being the most convenient divisions. It is proposed both to state the facts, and to attempt briefly to show their meaning.

Part I. Psalms i.-xli. In the Hebrew text there are but four anonymous Psalms in this part, i., ii., x., xxxiii. Psa. i. is introductory to the whole book. Psa. ii. is closely allied to it in date ; its Aramaic words betray its lateness, and its Messianic character is so all-pervading that its apparent historical background might easily mislead ; at all events, the final editor did not regard it as part of the Davidic collection, of which this part is mainly composed. Psas. ix. and x. were originally one* ; hence the absence of a title from x.

* The evidence of this is conclusive. In the LXX. these two constitute a single poem. The Psalm was originally an acrostic. Put it requires the two Psalms to get all the letters. It is true that some of the acrostic letters are lacking, especially in the latter

The lack of a heading in Psa. xxxiii. is attributed by Wellhausen to its late introduction in this collection. Others have held that this song was originally a part of Psa. xxxii.* Baethgen says that "very likely 'to David' has fallen out [of the title] by accident" ("Die Psalmen," p. 92). The LXX. has the title "to David," the Hexaplar text adding, "without inscription by the Hebrews, and by the three."

All the other Psalms of Part I. have the heading "to David," † so that this is essentially a Davidic collection.

part. Enough survive, however, to show clearly the original form. Wellhausen's translation in the Polychrome Bible shows which letters are preserved. In that part in which the acrostic arrangement is lost, there are clear traces of textual corruption. I have found by experience that the elementary student finds no difficulty in reading this Psalm until he comes to the corrupt portion.

* See Cheyne, Bampton Lectures, p. 214; Peters, *New World*, June, 1893, p. 294.

† There is at least reasonable doubt whether the heading *l^o davidh* indicates authorship or not. It is rendered in the English versions "of David"; but it means strictly *to* or *for* David, and would most appropriately indicate the dedication of songs to the poet-king. But the Hebrew particle may indicate possession, and the fair critic will give to the conservative view the benefit of every doubt.

Nevertheless, the preposition cannot indicate authorship in all the titles, as, for instance, in those "to the sons of Korah." A certain doubt must, therefore, remain as to the actual intention of the editors. On this *l'auctoris*, see further, Baethgen, "Die Psalmen," p. vii.; Driver, L. O. T.⁶, p. 381; Zeitschrift f. d. A. T. Wissenschaft 1885, p. 66 f.; 1886, p. 267.

There are, besides, in the headings, other notes of various kinds. Some are of a musical character, and thereby reveal their late date; others indicate the supposed historical occasion of the Psalm,* the words often being taken from the historical books. The earliest Jewish higher critics deserve credit at least for perceiving the importance of knowing the historical setting of a Psalm, even if they were not very acute in determining it.

If we turn now to the Greek Psalter, we find some interesting variants in the headings. They are, in fact, pretty numerous, but many are not important in this place. In one Greek manuscript *Psa. ii.* has the heading "to David"; several Psalms which have only "to David" in the Hebrew text, have "Psalm to David" in the Greek. In some cases the Hexaplar text, or the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, lack the note "to David." In other cases the Greek text gives the occasion of the poem where it is wanting in the Hebrew. Thus *Psa. xxiv.* is "for the Sabbath day"; *Psa. xxvii.* was to be said "before anointing oneself," indicating a ritual use; *Psa. xxix.*, which is in reality a song whose motive is a thunder-storm, was to be sung "on going out of the tabernacle"; in *Psa. xxxi.* we find "of a trance"; in *Psa. xxxviii.* the purpose is "for a recollection of the Sabbath."†

* There are such historical notes to *Pss. iii., vii., xviii., xxx., xxxiv.*

† The Hebrew title, "a Psalm to David, to remember," breaks off

From the above survey of the superscriptions in the first collection we observe that the headings were not definitely fixed by authority, but that the editors used a good deal of freedom. When the Greek version was made, not later than 100 B.C., there were still various texts of the Psalms differing in the titles as well as in the text; for it is not likely that the Greek translators did any editing; they translated, sometimes with slavish literalness, sometimes with great freedom, whatever was in the Hebrew text they used (see p. 177f). The Hebrew text, which was ultimately adopted as the standard, and which alone has come down to us, was more conservative in its higher criticism than the one employed by the Alexandrian translators. This latter text contained many additions of late origin. We shall find additional evidence for these conclusions in the further examination of headings.

Part II. Psalms xlii.–lxxxix. In this part, as in the preceding, there are four anonymous Psalms, according to the Hebrew text, xliii., lxvi., lxvii., lxxi. Of these xliii. belongs to xlii., the two being originally one

abruptly, and is manifestly a fragment. The Greek title completes the sense, but is far from assigning an appropriate occasion, according to the contents of the poem. It may be, as Baethgen, among others, seems to hold, that the Hebrew title is complete, the reference being to the offering of the *askara*. The *askara* was a part of the vegetable offering called the *minchah*.

Psalm.* Pss. lxvi. and lxvii. have headings† from which the name of the author has dropped out. Psa. lxxi. has no heading at all in Hebrew, but in the LXX. has this: "To David. Of the sons of Jonadab, and of the first that were taken captive." Nineteen Psalms are assigned to David, the two small groups, li.-lxv., lxviii.-lxx., and the dislocated lxxxvi. To the sons of Korah‡ are ascribed eleven, viz.: xlii. (xliii.), xliv.-xlix., lxxxiv., lxxxv., lxxxvii., lxxxviii. To Asaph twelve are credited, viz.: l., lxxiii.-lxxxiii. Solomon is credited with one, lxxii., and Ethan the Ezrahite with one, lxxxix.

There are, therefore, three minor collections which make up this part, a Davidic, a Korahitic, and an Asaphic. When these were combined, the original

* Psa. xliii., in the present arrangement, is the third strophe of the poem, Psa. xlii. containing the first two strophes. Each of these three strophes ends with the same refrain (see xlii. 5, 11; xliii. 5). The subject, language and style show the unity of the Psalm, as well as the form. Dr. Peters supposes xliii. to be a later addition to the original Psalm (*New World*, June, 1893).

† "For the liturgy. A song. A Psalm" (lxvi). "For the liturgy. With stringed instruments. A Psalm. A song" (lxvii).

‡ "Korah and Asaph are not Psalmists, but families or guilds of the temple-singers. Hence the Psalms may have been attributed to them originally in just the same way that many German hymns are attributed to the *Moravian Brethren*: they belonged originally to a private collection, and subsequently found their way into the common Hymn Book" (Wellhausen, *Polychrome Bible*, p. 182).

collections were somewhat broken up; a Davidic Psalm (lxxxvi.) was placed in the midst of a Korahitic collection, and one Asaphic Psalm became disjoined and was placed between Korahitic and Davidic groups. It is very likely that the two groups of Korahitic and of Davidic Psalms which we find here once constituted independent collections, the present mixing up being due to the editor who joined the three collections into one. That the original collections had little meaning for the later Jewish editors is clearly seen from the fact that some Greek manuscripts ascribe several of the Korahitic Psalms to David.* The desire of the late Jews to make David the author of as many Psalms as possible is clearly seen in the Greek headings.

Another important fact to be noted here is the subscription or colophon to Psa. lxxii., "the prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended." In Part II, there is but one Davidic Psalm following this (lxxxvi.); but of the two immediately preceding, one is assigned to Solomon and the other is anonymous. It is manifest that this subscription must originally have stood at the end of an exclusive Davidic collection, which must have existed independently before incorporation with others. Why then were these words transferred to the end of a Psalm attributed to Solomon? Cheyne

*Codex Alex. ascribes xlii., xliii., xlv.-xlvii., l. to David; Codex Sin. ascribes lxxix. to David.

explains it as a clerical error, "Psa. lxxii. being a late appendix to the Davidic hymn book" ("Bampton Lectures," p. 8). Whether this explanation is sufficient or not, it is not easy to say; but the fact shows conclusively that editors, or it may be scribes, were careless about consistency.

A historical occasion is given for an unusual number of Psalms in this part, viz., li., lii., liv., lvi., lvii., lix., lx., lxiii. The Greek version used in Origen's "Hexapla" lacks these historical notes. The LXX., on the other hand, adds to the title of lxxvi. and lxxx. "concerning the Assyrians," and presents a number of other variants of more or less importance. Psa. lxxxviii., as already stated (p. 11), preserves even in the Hebrew text a double line of tradition, assigning the Psalm both to the sons of Korah and to Heman the Ezrahite. In like manner Psa. xxxix. has, along with the Davidic title, "to Jeduthun." Jeduthun was the head of a guild of singers*, and he appears to be the same person as Ethan,† who is named as the author of Psa. lxxxix.

Part III. Psalms xc.-cl. The third part is characterized by the large number of anonymous Psalms. In the more conservative Hebrew text the following are "orphaned," as the Jews called those which have no author assigned to them: Pss. xci.-c., cii., civ.-cvii.,

* See I. Chron. xvi. 42; xxv. 1, 3; II. Chron. xxxv. 15.

† See Baethgen, "Die Psalmen," p. ix.; Bertheau on I, Chron., vi. 29.

cxi.-cxxi., cxxiii., cxxv., cxxvi., cxxviii.-cxxx., cxxxii., cxxxiv.-cxxxvii., cxlvi.-cl., forty-two in all. Authors are assigned to several of these in the more venture-some Greek text, as we shall see below. The Hebrew text ascribes these seventeen to David: Pss. ci., ciii., cviii.-cx., cxxii.,* cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii., cxxxviii.-cxlv. The Greek text adds ten to the Davidic Psalms: Pss. xci., xciii.-xcix., civ., cxxxvii. This version assigns cxlvi.-cxlviii. to Haggai and Zechariah.† In the Codex Alexandrinus and in the Hexaplar text, and in some MSS. of the LXX., Psa. cxxxviii. is ascribed to Zechariah as well as to David, and the Hexaplar text ascribes cxxxvii. to Jeremiah as well as to David. The Hebrew text assigns Psa. xc. to Moses, and Psa. cxxvii. to Solomon.‡

There are two groups of Psalms in this part which require mention. Psas. cxx.-cxxxiv. all have the heading "song of the goings up." Various explanations of the "goings up" have been given, the most probable referring the term to the pilgrimages to the holy city. If this is the right explanation, the pilgrim Psalter could not possibly be the production of David or of

* Several Greek MSS. lack the title "to David" in cxxii., cxxiv., cxxxi., cxxxiii.

† Psa. cxlvii. is divided into two Psalms in the LXX., and each part is assigned to the joint authorship of these two post-exilic prophets. Conversely Pss. cxiv. and cxv. are combined into one in the LXX.

‡ The name of Solomon is lacking in the chief Greek MSS.

Solomon. The correct title of a single poem would be "a song of the going up." The plural suggests that the original title was "songs of the goings up." This would apply to the whole collection, and would be used as a single title for the whole. When the collection of the songs of the pilgrimages was incorporated in the larger collection, the title of the whole was affixed to each Psalm to preserve its identity. This would explain the preservation of the plural "goings."*

There is another group made up of hallelujah songs, cvi., cxi.-cxiii., cxxxv., cxlvi.-cl.; to these the LXX. adds, cv., cvii., cxiv.-cxix. These are, for the most part, songs of praise in a high strain. But the title is, to say the least, not equally applicable to all of them (see Cheyne, "Bampton Lectures," p. 49ff.).

We note further the general absence of historical notes to the Psalms in this part. The Hebrew text contains such a note only for *Psa. cxlii.*; the Greek text also for *xcvi.*, *xcvii.*, *cxliii.*, *cxliv.* The liturgical direction is given for *Psa. xcii.*, "for the Sabbath day"; *Psa. c.* is called "a Psalm of thanksgiving," and *Psa. cii.* "a prayer for the afflicted when he is helpless." The LXX. informs us that *Psa. xciii.* was to be sung "on the day before the Sabbath," and *Psa. xciv.* "for the fourth day of the week."

* See O. T. J. C.², p. 203; Sanday, "Inspiration," p. 194; Cheyne, "Bampton Lectures," p. 59; Baethgen, "Die Psalmen," p. xx.

In this part more than in the second, as in the second more than in the first, the original groups were broken up by the compiler, making it easily possible for late Psalms to be interspersed with earlier ones. There is in this part still more divergence between the Hebrew and the various Greek texts, a fact which shows that we have not only to consider the history of the Psalm Book, but of the various parts of which it is composed. The LXX. having, as we have seen, a slightly different arrangement of the numbers, comes to the end of the Psalter lacking one of the requisite 150. To supply this deficiency it was compelled to add a Psalm of uncertain origin, and of little value, to which the heading is prefixed: "This is an idiographic Psalm to David (and it is beyond the number), when he fought in single combat with Goliath." The Septuagint text, especially in some of the MSS., claims several Psalms for David beyond those ascribed to him in the Hebrew. The Jews did not reach an agreement about this matter in the pre-Christian period, the Greek-speaking Jews adhering to the Greek version, others to the Hebrew. If, therefore, one is disposed to accept the headings on the ground of the authority of our Lord and of His Apostles, he should not be content, as is usually the case, with the more conservative Hebrew text, but should claim for David all those given by the Greek,* since this was the version generally supposed to

* Some idea of the value of these titles may be had from noting

have been used by Christ and His Apostles. There is no unanimously received tradition of the early criticism of the Psalter. The headings represent the critical conjectures of the Jews of the post-exilic period, the conjectures becoming more extravagant up to a certain point, and then becoming more conservative; therefore, it is impossible to claim any authority for them. Their worth must be tested in every case by determining the actual value of the opinion therein expressed.

The array of facts given above must at least partially answer the question what these opinions are worth. There is further evidence that the titles in many cases are a growth, the result of successive editing. This is readily seen from the variety of expression. The ordinary order is *Psalm, maskil, or miktam, to David*. The order often changes to *to David, a Psalm*. Often we find the duplicates *a Psalm, a song*; or reversed, *a song, a Psalm*. In such cases the second part is plainly an addition to the simple original title. The varying order may sometimes be due to the fact that the title of a whole group was given to each Psalm when it was broken up and placed in the larger collection. This title would naturally be placed at the end of such notes as already constituted headings. Still others might be subsequently added.

the inconsistency in the Greek heading to *Psa. xcvi.*: "When the house was built after the captivity. A song of David."

But to determine conclusively the value of the Jewish criticism preserved in these titles, there are two questions which need to be answered: Upon what ground are these opinions based? and, How far do they agree with the contents of the Psalms? It is quite possible to find the answers to these questions in the headings themselves. The principle of one's work is usually traceable in the work itself.

It is sometimes clear that the opinion expressed in the title is based purely upon the internal evidence, that is, upon the contents of the Psalms. Now it is clear that it is not possible to lay much stress upon external evidence, however ancient from our standpoint, if it in turn is based solely upon internal evidence. For we have the same internal evidence ourselves, and are much better qualified to use it scientifically than the post-exilic Jews. It is, for example, particularly easy to see why the two Psalms are ascribed to Solomon.

Psalm lxxii. begins :

“O God, give thy justice to the king,
And thy righteousness to the king's son.
He will judge thy people with righteousness,
And thy afflicted with justice.”

Who was the King's Son *par excellence* but the son of the great David? Who was the famous judge upon the throne of Israel but Solomon the wise? There is little else in the poem that is appropriate to Solomon.

It is Messianic throughout. The ideal king is the real subject of the poet's thought. Moreover, the king is not the speaker, but the subject of the poem, and so it could not have been written by any king. The most that can be claimed is that the Psalm was dedicated to Solomon.

Psalm cxxvii. begins :

" If Jahveh build not the house,
Its builders labor thereon in vain.
If Jahveh watch not the city,
Its watchman is awake in vain."

There seemed to the Jewish editor no one who could be this builder but Solomon. But the rest of the Psalm shows us clearly the post-exilic Jerusalem, and therefore " the house " is the second temple.

A good test of the worth of the superscriptions may be had by the examination of those which have historical notes purporting to give their occasion. A few specimens of these will be considered. The occasion of *Psa. iii.* is said to be " when he fled from Absalom his son." But the enemies who are smitten by Jehovah are foreigners, and the singer rejoices in their downfall ; whereas David mourned so over Absalom's loss that Joab sharply rebuked him (*II. Sam. xviii. 33ff.*). The subject of *Psa. vii.* is " concerning the words of Cush a Benjamite."* We do not know anything about this Cush,

* The Targum substitutes for Cush the Benjamite " Saul the son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin." The Greek texts and the Vulgate read, " Cushi the son of Jemeni."

and therefore cannot control the statement. This, however, does not prove that it is correct. Psa. xviii. is said to have been sung "on the day when Jahveh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies, and from the hand of Saul."* If one reads this Psalm carefully, it will be perfectly clear that the deliverance for which Jehovah is praised happened in one particular battle, where the hero was hard pressed, and where Jehovah came to his rescue in a storm. The heading implies that the song was a general one, commemorative of deliverance in a long series of wars. One feels such an incongruity in coupling Saul with "all his enemies," that, all the more if he held to the Davidic authorship, he would believe that the clause, "and from the hand of Saul," must be a later addition. The last verse, moreover, shows that David could not have been the author ; for the poet ends his song:

" Making great deliverance for his king,
And showing mercy to his anointed ;
To David and to his seed forever."

A descendant of the Davidic house must be the subject of this poem. Nor is the evidence for the Davidic authorship materially strengthened by the presence of this song in the history of David (II. Sam. xxii.); for the last chapters of II. Samuel are appendices added long after the history of David's times was composed.

* This historical note is wanting in the Hexaplar text, and in the versions of Aquila and Symmachus.

Psalm xxxiv. commemorates the time when David "distorted his sense before Abimelech, and he drove him out, and he went away." This statement is borrowed from I. Sam. xxi. 12, where, alone, we find the unusual words, literally rendered, "distorted his sense." But the Gittite king who drove David away was Achish, not Abimelech.* There is nothing whatever in the Psalm suitable to this occasion. The poem dwells upon the favor which Jehovah shows to the righteous, and the sure downfall of the wicked. The poem is, further, an acrostic, each verse beginning with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet; that fact, as well as the theology, suggests that the Psalm is a late one.

The reader has now before him, at all events, full specimens of the evidence which has caused all modern critics to discredit the testimony furnished in these headings. Those who prefixed them to the Psalms do not appear to have had any good evidence on which to base conclusions. If one still adheres to them as an authority, to be held at least until another is found, he must, nevertheless, respect the position of those who hold that they have no value save as specimens of the critical conjectures of an uncritical age. Nor must he charge modern critics with seeking out destructive

*It is held by some that "Abimelech" is a title of Philistine kings, like Pharaoh or Cæsar. But, as Baethgen has pointed out, "Abimelech" (Melech or Moloch is my father) is "a pure proper name."

conclusions without regard to evidence, whereas evidence is just the thing, even if almost the only thing, which the modern critic is ready to heed. The estimation of the Psalm titles by modern scholars may be seen from a very few extracts. Wellhausen says: "It is now commonly recognized that the historical notices given in the titles do not contain genuine traditions" (Polychrome Bible, p. 163). "It is clear that [the historical notices] are the fruit of the learned study of a younger age, which turned its industry upon the old national literature. . . . These historical notices in the superscriptions are very untrustworthy."* "But if the statements concerning the authors are so late, then in that case they have no critical value" (Baethgen). "It is now generally agreed that the headings which have come down to us are of very little direct value. But indirectly their value may be considerable. In conjunction with other data they may enable us to determine the succession of the different parts of the Psalter. They may give us a clue to the date of the editorial processes to which both whole and parts have been subject" (Sanday, "Inspiration," p. 194). "The strongest reasons exist for supposing that the *historical* notices are of late origin likewise, and though they may embody trustworthy information respecting the source or collection whence the Psalms were derived by one of the compilers of the book, that they contain

* Reuss, "Das Alte Testament," v. 39, 41.

no authentic tradition respecting the authorship of the Psalms, or the occasion on which they were composed" (Driver, *L. O. T.*⁶, p. 374).

Before taking up the internal evidence formally it may be well to remark briefly on a delicate question which will not yet down for the mass of Christian people, even if it has for the critical student—Are there *any* Davidic Psalms? I can only say frankly that I am unable to answer *Yes*, and am not, with my present light, willing to answer *No*. My reluctance is not due to hesitation to accept the demonstrated results of criticism, but to my uncertainty whether there may not be Davidic Psalms, or at all events fragments of Davidic Psalms, in the collection which the later ages looked upon as so surely a production of the Bethlehemite king.

There are several points that must be taken into account in the forming of an opinion. The earliest germane testimony that we have is in Amos vi. 5, "Like David they devise for themselves instruments of music." This shows that David was famed as an inventor of musical instruments; but it is secular music, and not music of a godly kind, which is referred to by the prophet.* Moreover, the devising of these instruments

* Robertson calls this interpretation the result of "a strangely perverted ingenuity of exegesis" ("Poetry and Religion of the Psalms," p. 108). I have read his book while my own was going through the press; but I cannot see anything in his argument to justify a change in the statement above.

is mentioned as a reproach for the idle and luxurious Samaritans. Further, ancient testimony shows that David was a skilled player, but says nothing about his singing or composing (I. Sam. xvi. 18). Saul's evil spirit was charmed away, not by David's songs, but by his playing on the harp (*ib.*, v. 23). Nevertheless, David was a poet. There are preserved in the books of Samuel two poems which are, beyond reasonable doubt, Davidic. These are the lament over Saul and Jonathan (II. Sam. i. 19-27), taken from the Book of Jashar, and the brief lament over Abner (*ib.*, iii. 33f.). There is another which may be David's, "the last words of David" (*ib.*, xxiii. 1-7), though the evidence is not so good for a poem contained in a late appendix. We have, therefore, early testimony to the fact that David was (1) an inventor of musical instruments, (2) a skilful player on the harp, (3) and a poet; why then not a Psalmist? Certainly there are *a priori* probabilities that this famous king was the author of at least some of the splendid lyrics which the post-exilic age so freely credited to him.

But there are two chief obstacles which stand firmly in the way of the hopes these facts may raise. The Davidic poetry in Samuel is altogether unlike the poetry in the Psalms.* The lament over Saul and Jona-

* No stress need here be laid upon the fact that the "Davidic" poems in the Psalter are of every variety of subject, style, language, theology, etc.

than offered a fine opportunity for the expression of religious emotion, but the poem expresses only human feelings. The assured Davidic poetry corresponds to his musical instruments in its secular character. This is the more remarkable because David was intensely religious. It is true that David is called in II. Sam. xxiii. 1: "The sweet Psalmist of Israel"; but the passage is more obscure in the original than appears in the English. The above rendering (R. V.) is scarcely possible; we might translate, "Lovely in the praise-songs of Israel," or "Lovely playing of Israel." The LXX renders, "The goodly Psalms of Israel." These words, by the way, testify against the Davidic-authorship of this poem.

Then, again, it is difficult, with any degree of confidence, to assign the individual Psalms to David; for the internal evidence rarely agrees with his date or his life. Ewald assigned about a dozen Psalms, or parts of Psalms, to David; but since his day the tendency of critical opinion has steadily been growing less favorable to the theory of Davidic authorship.

CHAPTER X.

The Book of Psalms.

2. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

WE have seen that the external evidence for the determination of the date of the Psalms does not offer much effective help. The view of some critical scholars, that since the Psalter was the hymn book of the second temple, the Psalms cannot belong to an earlier period than the exile, has not seemed justified. On the other hand, there do not seem to be good grounds for placing much confidence in the late traditions or conjectures found in the superscriptions. There is left, therefore, only the internal evidence as our main reliance.

But it must be confessed that the internal evidence is a delicate instrument, and, in incompetent or rash hands, it is liable to great abuse. In the hands of the judicious expert, however, a great deal of solid work may be accomplished with it.

In this book but little use can be made of the evidence from language and style. Knowledge of the Hebrew tongue is essential to judge competently of that

evidence. The linguistic expert must decide whether words and idioms are early or late ; for they all look alike in a translation. Style is not altogether lost in translating ; but it is so seriously modified that its evidential value is greatly impaired. To furnish evidence appreciable to the reader who is not a Hebrew scholar, dependence must be placed chiefly upon historical allusions and theology ; and these, in fact, constitute the most important evidence for any one.

In the case of the prophets, historical allusions are helps which rarely fail ; for the prophets were greatly concerned with the state of the nation in their day. In some Psalms also we find a connection with the times which solves the problem of date. In many cases, however, the Psalms are of a lyric character, and the writer makes no allusion to his times, at least none which helps us. So often the sacred poem is the outpouring of the deep emotions of a struggling human soul, and the words are equally applicable to almost any period. This quality of the Psalms greatly hinders the critical determination of dates, but it has made the Psalm book the inexhaustible source of comfort for all souls in all ages. No matter what our need or our mood, it is not difficult to find a voice for its expression in this priceless collection of religious poetry.

The religious ideas, in which the Psalms so richly abound, must always be reckoned with. But God has not always put ideas into the souls of men in an or-

derly development, and it is easy to be over-confident in dating on such a basis. Ideas belong to eternity, not to time. On the other hand, every age is characterized by the peculiar way in which it expresses its ideas, by the effect which certain ideas produce, or by the emphasis which it lays upon those ideas which appeal to it most strongly.

Enough has been said to show the value of the internal evidence, and the necessary caution in employing it. The mistake which some famous Biblical scholars are making to-day appears to be due to pressing unduly the meagre evidence derived from the contents of the sacred writings. The internal evidence utterly fails to support the Davidic authorship of the Psalms, but this may be due to the defective character of the evidence.* The aim of the present chapter is, however, positive results. It is proposed to examine the internal evidence by which certain Psalms may reasonably be assigned to the pre-exilic period, some to the Maccabean period, and others to the period between these wide limits. No attempt can be made to examine all the Psalms which presumably belong to any of these periods. For the pre-exilic period, we shall study two small groups of Psalms, in one of which the evidence is chiefly historical conditions, in the other religious ideas.

* There may be Davidic Psalms which have been worked over, or added to, so that the evidence in the original is lost.

I. The first group will be Psas. xx., xxi., and xlv., all referring to a king.* We must bear in mind that reference to a king is not a sure indication of the pre-exilic origin of a Psalm. The "anointed" may be the people viewed as the holy nation of Jehovah, or it may be the individual Messiah, and therefore does not presuppose the monarchy as an existing institution. In every case we must decide whether the king is one actually sitting on the throne when the Psalm was written, or whether the poet idealizes from conditions of the past. The king seems to be real in the three Psalms we have chosen for investigation.

1. Psalm xx. The Psalmist begins his prayer :

" May Jahveh answer thee in the day of distress,
 May the name of Jacob's God support thee ;
 May he send thee aid from his sanctuary,
 And from Zion may he give thee relief " (vs. 1, 2).

This is evidently a prayer addressed to the person for whom divine aid is sought. That the person prayed for is a king appears from the following lines :

" Now I know that Jahveh saves his anointed ;
 He will answer from his holy heavens.
 O Jahveh, save thou the king ;
 Yea, answer us on the day we call " † (vs. 6, 9).

* The others referring to the monarchy are ii., xviii., xxviii., lxi., lxiii., and lxxii., and most of these are probably pre-exilic. The evidence is much stronger, however, in some cases than in others.

† This verse is rendered according to the LXX., which involves

The king addressed could not possibly be the author. The occasion is clear. The king is about to send his forces to the wars. Appropriate sacrifices and prayers have been offered.

“ May he remember all thy offerings,
 May he esteem fat thy burnt sacrifice.
 May he fulfil all thy requests ” (vs. 3, 5).

Jehovah is asked to send help from His sanctuary on Zion ; hence the Psalm could not be earlier than Solomon. But the king is a real one ; he offers sacrifices, and wins victories through Jehovah’s support. It is certainly unnecessary, if not impossible, to idealize this poem. The natural inference is the true one, that it belongs to the time of the monarchy. It is not possible to date it more closely. It may fall almost anywhere between the age of Solomon and the Babylonian exile.

There is nothing to indicate accurately the character of the enemies the Jewish king was to meet. Yet these lines—

“ Some by chariots, and some by horses,

But we are exalted by the name of Jahveh our God ” (v. 7)—
 suggest that it was one of the great powers like Egypt or Assyria which Judah was to meet on unequal terms.

a very slight emendation of the Hebrew text. This reading is adopted by Perowne, Cheyne, Baethgen, Wellhausen, Reuss, *et al.* “ Save ” is used here, as Cheyne says, in the sense of “ give victory to.”

The Hebrews evidently had no armament to match that of their foes ; but they had a sublime confidence in a support which the enemy could not withstand. It is very probable that this king was one of those who relied upon prophetic advice and divine aid, rather than upon intrigues and alliances.

So far as the ideas of this deeply religious poet are concerned, while they are not sufficient to fix the date in the pre-exilic period, they are at all events not inconsistent with that date.

2. Psalm xxi. This poem expresses the religious feelings and hopes of the king, and the favor which God has shown him ; it is therefore not probable that it was composed by a king. The monarch's chief joy is in the aid he receives from on high.

“ O Jahveh, the king rejoices in thy strength ;
And in thy succor how he exults ! ” (v. 1).

The poet pictures the prosperous career upon which Jehovah has started His anointed :

“ The desire of his heart thou hast granted him,
The prayer of his lips thou hast not denied.
Thou placest before him blessings of good,
Thou settest for his head a crown of gold ” (v. 2f.).

The crown suggests that this may be a coronation hymn ; some have thought that the poem was composed for the annual coronation festival. That the crown was of fine gold creates no real difficulty ; the

LXX., however, reads, "crown of precious stones"; but even if the Hebrew text is correct, the expression does not go beyond the proper bounds of poetic license. As Perowne suggests, the golden crown may be a figure for the prosperity described in the preceding line.

There are two expressions in the following lines which have made many think a Messianic king to be intended :

“ He asked of thee life : thou hast given to him
Length of days for ever and ever.
Thou enduest him with blessings for ever,
Thou exaltest him with joy in thy presence ” (vs. 4, 6).

Theodore of Mopsuestia saw in the answer to this prayer a plain reference to Hezekiah's lengthened life after his severe illness. It would be almost as difficult to explain the words "for ever and ever" in the Jewish conception of the Messianic king as to regard them as a poetical expression for long life. The Hebrew saw himself perpetuated as long as his seed survived (cf. Psa. xviii. 50); hence to die childless, or to have one's posterity cut off, was the greatest of calamities. David's joy was unbounded because of the promise that his seed should sit upon the throne of Israel for ever (II. Sam. vii. 13). These words, therefore, afford no reason for resisting the clear inference that the poet is describing a real king.

Moreover, the hope of the people does not centre

in the king, as it would if he were the Messiah, but in Jehovah Himself.

“ For the king trusts in Jahveh,
And by the mercy of the Most High he feels secure ” (v. 7).

It is Jehovah who will overthrow the foes that, in harassing His people, purpose evil against Him.

“ Thy hand will find all thy enemies,
Thy right hand will find thy haters.
Thou wilt make them turn the back ;
With thy bow thou wilt aim at their face ” (vs. 8, 12).

It is not to be doubted that an actual king is the subject of the poet's hopes and prayers ; but it is not possible to name the king, or the precise period to which he belongs. There is no hint as to the character of the enemies whom God will overthrow. We can fix the date in the pre-exilic period, but must rest content with that. The various conjectures which have been made as to who this king actually was are largely fanciful. It is useless to try to go beyond the evidence.

3. Psalm xlv. This is a royal marriage hymn, and, as Dr. Peters has said, “ the only secular poem in the Psalter.” Cheyne, whose carefully wrought conclusions are never to be too lightly regarded, said in his “ Bampton Lectures ” (p. 166) that “ the royal subject of the song is by no means King Messiah, as the Targum and most Jewish and early Christian interpreters sup-

posed, but some contemporary monarch." This monarch was in his opinion Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.). Later he has apparently accepted the interpretation of the Targum, and now regards the Psalm as purely Messianic. The problems for the student are to determine whether the king is real or ideal, and whether he is Jewish or foreign. Let us look at some of the expressions of the Korahite song, which Cheyne happily calls a prelude to the Song of Songs, to see what they most naturally mean.

The poet feels powerfully moved by the splendor of his subject.

"My heart is stirred with a goodly theme ;
I am speaking now a work on the king " (v. 1).

Like all court poets, however much he may be moved by the spirit of God, he must sing the praises of the king. Let us hope that the author was no mere flatterer, but that his sovereign deserved this adulation. At all events, it is not unworthy that a patriot's love for his king should lead him to magnify his graces.

"Thou art beautiful beyond the sons of men,
Grace is poured forth from thy lips.
Therefore God blesses thee for ever.
Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O hero,
Majesty and splendor are thine.
Thy throne, O divinity,* is for ever and ever,
The sceptre of thy rule is a sceptre of right " (vs. 2f., 6).

* Some modern interpreters emend the text, reading "will

Exalted as the picture is in these and in the following verses describing the fragrant garments, handsome palaces, and charming music, it fits so perfectly an actually reigning king, that it seems quite impossible that the picture should be an ideal one. The literal sense is always to be assumed as the right one, whenever it may be accepted without violence.

The Psalmist introduces the bride, not for herself, but for the further glorification of the king.

“Daughters of kings are among thy dear ones ;
On thy right hand stands the bride in gold of Ophir ” (v. 9).

The picture becomes very realistic as the poet thinks of the natural sadness of a maiden taken from her home, and called upon to endure the lonely seclusion of an Oriental palace.

“Hear, daughter, yea, see and incline thy ear.
Forget thy nation and thy father’s household :
That the king may long for thy beauty ;
Since he is thy lord, submit thyself to him ” (v. 10f.).

We learn now that the bride was a Phœnician princess, though the text is not beyond question. The bridal procession indicates a real marriage.

stand”; it is simpler to take 'Elohim as the title of the king. There are innumerable parallels for this title applied to absolute monarchs. 'Elohim is sometimes used of a judge. (See Brown-Driver, “ Hebrew Lexicon.”)

“O daughter of Tyre,
The rich of the nation flatter thee with gifts.
All glorious is the king's daughter,
Her clothing is pearls* set in gold.
In gaily colored robes she is brought to the king
Virgins following her are her attendants ;
Into thy presence they are ushered.
They are led in with joy and gladness,
They enter the palace of a king” (vs. 12-15).

The closing lines are addressed to the king, not, as is often erroneously supposed, to the bride. From this union with the princess the poet looks for sons who shall uphold the dignity of the royal estate.

“In the place of thy fathers there will be thy sons,
Whom thou wilt make princes all through the land.
I will make thy name famous in all ages,
So nations will glorify thee forever” (v. 16f.).

It strains language unnecessarily to interpret all these realistic details in a figurative way. There is certainly good ground for the belief that the poet is celebrating the nuptials of an actual king. But it is not so obvious, one must confess, that the king is Jewish, and hence of the pre-exilic period. The Psalm contains words which are of foreign origin, and unusual in Hebrew. They are not decisive, however, in favor of a late date. They might have been used in the northern kingdom at almost any time ; and in Judah

*Following a slightly emended text accepted by most scholars.

foreign words became quite common before the exile. There is one expression which points pretty clearly to an Israelite king, though Wellhausen does not admit the inference. In verse 7 the words "God thy God" must have been originally "Jahveh thy God," the change being due to an Elohist revision. This expression could not, it seems to me, be used of a foreign king. Many suggestions have been made as to the precise person whose marriage inspired this song. Ahab, Jeroboam II., Joram, and in fact about every one known to have contracted a Phœnician marriage, have been named; whence Baethgen says truly: "This enumeration sufficiently shows that the Psalm offers no grounds for a certain dating" ("Die Psalmen," p. 129).

II. The group of Psalms, which may be referred to the pre-exilic period on the ground of their religious ideas, need not be discussed at much length. These are the anti-sacrificial Psalms, xl., l., and li. The poets who sang these songs had learned the great truth that God's favor may be secured without the mediation of priest or sacrifice—a truth incessantly preached by the great prophets, but which the Hebrews as a people never fully grasped.

We can look only at a few expressions, but these are so convincing that they are by many deemed sufficient.

"With sacrifice and offering thou art not pleased,
The ears hast thou opened for me,
Burnt and sin offering thou dost not demand" (xl. 6).

According to their favorite fashion, the people have entered into a covenant with Jehovah by solemn sacrifices.

“Gather to me my loved ones,
Who made a covenant with sacrifice” (l. 5).

But necessary as this seemed to the people, it was a matter of more than indifference to God. A spiritual offering was acceptable to Him. Obedience was better than sacrifice.

“I rebuke thee not because of sacrifices :
Thy burnt-offerings are ever before me.
I will take no bullock from thy house,
Nor he-goat from thy folds ;
For all the beasts of the forest are mine,
The cattle on a thousand hills.
I know every bird of the mountains,
The animals of the field are with me.
Were I hungry, I need not tell thee ;
For mine is the world and all therein.
Can I eat the flesh of bulls ?
Or drink the blood of goats ?
Sacrifice to God a thanksgiving,
And to the Most High pay thy vows.
Yea, call on me in the day of distress,
I will save thee, that thou hold me in honor” (l. 8-15).

Psalm li. contains such profound conceptions of sin, that it could scarcely belong to early Hebrew thought, as Cheyne justly holds. But the Psalmist's conception of spiritual communion with God belongs peculiarly

to the prophetic age. The great thing in this poem is the consciousness of sin. The Psalmist feels deeply that peace for his guilty soul can come only from God. How easy it would be to offer an appropriate sacrifice, and then persuade oneself that the debt were paid and the sin removed! But this sin is not so lightly purged. The sufferer knows too well the harder requirements of a moral and spiritual God.

“ O Lord, open thou my lips,
 And my mouth shall show forth thy praise.
 For thou likest not sacrifice, or I would give it;
 Burnt offerings give thee no pleasure.
 God’s sacrifices are a broken spirit;
 A heart broken and crushed God scorns not ” (vs. 15-17).

The closing verses of the Psalm are relied upon to place it in the exilic period. They are altogether out of harmony with the ideas above quoted.

“ Do good in thy pleasure to Zion,
 Build the walls of Jerusalem.
 Then thou canst delight in the appointed sacrifices, in the
 whole burnt-offerings;
 Then will they sacrifice bullocks upon thy altar ” (v. 18f.).

These words unmistakably betray the exilic or post-exilic period. But did so spiritual a poet reach at the end so poor a conclusion? It is much more likely that these verses are an addition, or two additions, perhaps: first, the bitter cry of the patriotic soul who, like Nehemiah, bewailed the poor estate of the holy city, and

earnestly prayed for its restoration; and then the promise of sacrifices, the natural consequence of the re-established altar, added by one who thought to make this favorite poem more orthodox from his own point of view.

One need not deny that such spiritual conceptions were held by a saving remnant in the more ritual post-exilic age (cf. Zech. vii., viii. and Malachi); but there is no place in which these ideas found such expression as in the prophets Amos, Isaiah and Jeremiah, as has already been shown at length in chap. v. There is, at least, therefore, reasonable ground for assigning these Psalms to the pre-exilic age, even if we cannot date them more precisely.

III. So many Psalms have been assigned to the Maccabean age by recent critics, that it may seem unnecessarily sceptical to raise the question whether any can fairly be placed in so late a period,* or rather, whether any must be placed so late. Driver, in his revised "Introduction" (p. 387ff.) does not hesitate to ask that question, and is not very positive in his answer. But even conservative scholars, as Delitzsch and Perowne,† hold that some belong to this age. If we believe that some critics have made this age too prolific of sacred poetry, it is still not necessary to deny to it al-

* The Maccabean period begins at 168 B. C.

† See their notes on Pss. xlv., lxxiv., and lxxix. Calvin also assigned these Psalms to the Maccabean period.

together a voice for its religious emotions. It must be simply a question of evidence.

On historical grounds, Pss. xliv., lxxiv., and lxxix., as we shall presently see, fit the Maccabean age very well. But Robertson Smith (O. T. J. C.², p. 201ff) raised the objection that if these Psalms belonged to so late a period they could not have found a place in Books II. and III. of the Psalter. Sanday is so much impressed with this argument, that he doubts whether any Psalms are of Maccabean origin. The point on which he lays stress is that the Greek version of the Psalter was made not later than 100 B.C., and that "the number of steps implied between it and the original composition of the Hebrew Psalms is so great as to make it difficult to get them all into the interval."* But our information is not yet sufficient to reject a Maccabean date on *a priori* grounds. Each case must be considered on its merits, to determine which we are obliged to fall back again upon the internal evidence. Our limits will not permit us to do more than make a cursory examination of the three Psalms named

* "Inspiration," p. 257. See also, especially, his note on "The Inferior Limits for the Date of the Psalter," p. 270ff., where this able scholar traces the nine steps presupposed between the composition of a Psalm and the Greek translation. It does not follow, however, that all the steps were successive; and it is very difficult to tell how long a time would be required to complete the various stages by which the Psalter reached its completed form.

above, and our purpose does not require more than this.

1. Psalm xliv. The pathetic note of this Psalm moves the dullest soul. The contrast between God's active aid to Israel in the olden days, and His seeming indifference now, is a riddle which this troubled poet cannot solve, except by that great power which for some happily solves all the problems of human life—faith in God. Let us quote a few lines to see how great the contrast is. The impression will be very strong that the poet looks back to the Conquest as if it were in the distant past.

“We have heard with our ears, O God,
Our fathers have told unto us,
The deeds thou wroughtest in their days,
In the days of yore.
Thy own hand drove the nations out, and plantedst them;
Thou didst cut off the peoples, and send them away” (v. 1f.).

The hopes such a history would naturally raise are dashed to pieces by facts. The pitiable condition of the present shows the low estate of the much tried people.

“Now thou hast cast us off and brought us to shame;
Thou goest forth with our armies no more.
Thou makest us turn the back to the foe,
And those that hate us make us their plunder.
Thou settest us a butt among the nations,
A wagging of the head among the peoples” (vs. 9f., 14).

God's displeasure, and the withholding of His helping hand, had been easily interpretable to the prophets, because Israel was a disobedient people. Now, however, this explanation will not serve; for the nation asserts righteousness of itself.

“ All this has befallen us, though we forgot thee not,
 Nor have we been false to thy covenant.
 Our heart did not turn away backward,
 Nor have our steps bent from thy way.
 For because of thee we are slain every day;
 We are regarded as a flock to be killed ” (vs. 17f., 22).

When were the Jews in such a condition? When did they suffer martyrdom for their religion? So far as we know—and we have to confess much ignorance of the post-exilic period—there is no time so suitable as the Maccabean age. The persecutions which the Jews endured at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes (II. Macc. v. 11ff.), form the best background for the due appreciation of this touching poem.

2. Psalm lxxiv. The condition of the Jews when this Psalm was written was bad in the extreme. It seemed as if God had given the enemy a free hand to work their evil will against His people. Let us read carefully this considerable extract, that the true condition may be fully disclosed.

“ O God, why castest thou off forever?
 Why burns thy wrath in the flock of thy feeding?
 Remember thy congregation: thou gottest it of old:

Thou didst redeem it as the tribe of thy inheritance,
 Mount Zion here, in which thou abidest.
 Set thy steps towards the eternal ruins—*
 All the enemy's harm in the sanctuary.
 Thy foes roared in thy very meeting-place;
 They have set up their standards for signs. †
 They seemed like those swinging aloft
 Axes in the thickets of a forest.
 And now the whole of its carved wood ‡
 They smash with axes and hammers.
 They have set fire to thy sanctuary;
 They desecrated to earth the abode of thy name.
 They said in their heart, Let us suppress them altogether; §
 They burned all the synagogues ¶ in the land.
 " We see no signs, for we have no prophet,
 We have none that knows how long. ¶

* The LXX. reads, "Lift thy hands against their eternal contempt."

† Codices Vat. and Alex. lack this line.

‡ 5^a, 6^b are rendered in the LXX., "As in a thick wood, they have cut down its doors with axes." Wellhausen regards the text of vs. 5 and 6 as "hopelessly corrupt and quite untranslatable."

§ I have given Cheyne's rendering, involving a change of text virtually the same as Wellhausen's. The Hebrew has "their race altogether"; though supported by the LXX., this has to be rejected, as it does not make sense. It is certain that the passage must state what the enemy says.

¶ Literally, "All of God's meeting-places." This can only refer to the synagogues; for, except the temple, God had no other meeting-place.

¶ The LXX., by omitting one Hebrew word, gives a good reading: "There is yet no one to make us know."

O God, how long shall the foe scoff?

Shall the enemy scorn thy name forever?

Why holdest thou back thy hand?

Why keep thy right hand in thy bosom?''* (vs. 1-11).

The holy temple on Mount Zion is not burned to the ground, as it was by Nebuchadrezzar in 586 B.C.; but its adornments have been violently broken, it has been profaned, and fire has contributed its part to make the place seem like an eternal ruin. The synagogues everywhere have been completely destroyed by fire. The foe exulted in the violence they did to the sacred things of the God of Israel, and there was no ominous handwriting on the wall to stay them. The suffering Jews saw no "signs" indicative of God's intervention; there was no longer a prophet to tell them when the end would be. They knew what God had done in the past, and what He was doing in the natural world at present (vs. 17-23); but it was hard to understand why He endured the contempt of the ruthless foes, and why He permitted His people to bear such shame (18-23). The Jews were persecuted for their religion, not punished as rebellious subjects.

* The LXX. renders this line, "And thy right hand from thy bosom forever?" The Hebrew text contains a slight error. The parallelism shows that "consume," as Revised Version translates, is wrong. The generally accepted rendering given above emends the text by changing a single letter, an emendation often required elsewhere.

This poet evidently was no idealist. He did not attempt to represent things according to his preconceptions. He sets forth a "condition, not a theory." The facts are painfully real to him, and for their explanation he knows he must wait. He indulges in no imaginative exaltation of the weak Jews over their mighty enemies. The latter have the upper hand too completely for that ; and this Psalmist is too truthful to facts for that.

Where are we to look for the scenes which prompted this sad picture? Let us glance at the conditions in the Maccabean period, at least at a few of its features. The pious were then much perplexed because there was no prophet to guide them (I. Macc. iv. 46, ix. 27, xiv. 41). Their sacred treasures were then violated: "And the king [Antiochus Epiphanes] sent letters by messengers to Jerusalem and to the cities of Judah, that they should proceed after the customs foreign to the land, and should prevent burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and drink offerings at the sanctuary ; and should profane the Sabbath and sacred festivals, and defile the holy place and holy persons ; that they should rebuild high places, and sacred precincts, and images, and should sacrifice swine and unclean animals, and should cause their sons to go uncircumcised" (*ib.*, i. 44ff.). Much mischief was done to the temple: "Behold our sanctuary was laid waste, and the altar defiled ; and the gates were burned, and in the courts trees were grown as in a wood, or as in one

of the mountains, and the priests' chambers were torn down."* There were no synagogues until the post-exilic period ; but we surely find them mentioned in I. Macc. iii. 46: " We assembled and went to Mizpeh, over against Jerusalem, for a place of prayer was at Mizpeh."

The correspondence is certainly close. There is no other known period which this Psalm fits. If historical allusions are to be given their due weight, we cannot hesitate to refer this Psalm to the period of the persecutions of Antiochus.

3. Psalm lxxix. This is so much like *Psa. lxxiv.* that we shall not be in error in assigning it to the same period, whatever that may be. We need do no more, then, than point out the conditions which prompted this poem.

The heathen enemies had defiled the temple and devastated Jerusalem ; they had slain the Jews and left their bodies unburied (vs. 1, 2). The people of God had become the scorn of the heathen (v. 4); the nation was sadly reduced, and the means of living few (v.7f.). Prisoners sighed in the dungeons, awaiting the time of their execution (v. 11).

IV. But three more Psalms can be examined. We will look at those which point to the exile in Babylon

* I. Macc. iv. 38; cf. the Greek rendering of v. 6. of the Psalm, note †, p. 303. See also II. Macc. i. 18, viii. 33.

or later. It needs no critical training to see that such a song as Psa. cxxxvii. sprang from the conditions of the exile. That this pathetic poem was written out of the experiences of one who had but lately endured the sorrows of exile from the holy land, is obvious from the most cursory reading. But in the case of others the date is not so evident. The cases are selected according to the general purpose to show method rather than results.

1. Psalm iv. The subject of this poem is either the righteous nation or the righteous Israelite. He speaks in a time when one could base his expectation of succor on his belief in his own righteousness (v. 3). His righteousness is of the law, the only kind which it is possible for any discerning man to credit himself with. The standard of the pre-exilic age was that of the prophets, a moral standard, going back in its fundamental conceptions to the Decalogue and to Moses. In that period there is no "righteous nation." The prophets judge Israel to be a sinful people, not because they have failed to offer sacrifice, but because they have stolen, murdered, and committed adultery; and the stain of these is not removable with the blood of bulls and of goats. The post-exilic ideal, on the other hand, was the ceremonial law.* The Israelite was to present offerings at the

*One cannot be too careful to guard against confusing the origin of priestly institutions with their ascendancy as the national ideal. Priest and sacrifice belong to early Israel as truly as to late; but

temple according to a carefully drawn system. In compliance with the code he was to find his righteousness. Sin was now atoned for by the blood of bulls and of goats. The prescribed rites, elaborate as they were, could easily be kept, and the keeping implanted in the people a sense of righteousness which had never before been possible. There is no surer indication of the post-exilic age of a Psalm than the assertion of righteousness.

When this poem (Psa. iv.) was written the temple was in full use, and the people are called upon "to sacrifice the prescribed sacrifices."* It is an age when scepticism is common (v. 6); against this the pious author protests in faith and hope.

The Psalm cannot be placed in the pre-exilic age. The reference to the temple and sacrifice, and the idea of righteousness, all point to the post-exilic period, but give no more precise indication of date.†

the ritual system became the national religion only in the post-exilic age, when the voice of prophecy was faint or silent. This may, indeed, be a return to conditions which prevailed in the pre-Mosaic age. It is likely that sacrifice was at all times a large element in the popular religion.

* V. 5. The rendering of the English versions, "the sacrifice of righteousness," is misleading; this poet had no conception of spiritual sacrifice. The word rendered, "of righteousness" (*sedeq*), has elsewhere the sense of *right* or *prescribed*, e.g., Psa. li. 19, where I have translated *appointed* (p. 298).

† Cheyne assigns this Psalm to "the period when faithful Israel-

2. Psalm xxii. This is a Messianic Psalm pre-eminently; but we may nevertheless seek to understand the conditions out of which the picture of the Messiah grew. The Christian approaches the study of the Psalm with peculiar reverence; for it contains the words that fell to the lips of our blessed Lord to express His emotions at the dark hour of His Passion. Could anything else more convincingly show its truly Messianic character? The ground on which the critic may seek to find a date for this Psalm is the obvious one that every writing has a date which is of interest to mankind, and that God opens the eyes of His servants, in chief part it may well be by the influence of the Holy Spirit, but also in no inconsiderable measure by the circumstances amidst which their life is cast. How could any Jew have ever conceived the vicarious suffering of the Messiah except he had known the martyr-life and death which gave the suggestion for Isa. liii.? It required both the vision on the housetop and the falling of the Holy Spirit on Cornelius to open St. Peter's eyes to the fact that "God was no respecter of persons" (Acts x.).

The sufferer feels that God has abandoned him; he cries night and day to Heaven, but there is no answer. In time past prayer always brought a response, need always brought help. But how can God be expected

ites were so sorely oppressed, both by traitors in their midst and by their Persian tyrants" ("Bampton Lectures," p. 227).

to help one who is "a worm, and not a man," reproached, despised, laughed at, and ridiculed? (v. 6f.). But there is no other help than the God "upon whom he had been cast from the womb" (v. 10). As this distressed soul feels that God alone could help, so he knows no God but Jehovah. And help is sorely needed. Like bulls of Bashan, like raging lions, the enemy besets him. The sufferer is reduced in body and soul; his bones may be counted; his garments even are taken by his persecutors.

Then a more triumphant note is sounded. Can we ever forget that the same suffering Saviour who said, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" said also, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit"? This Psalm could not be so truly Messianic if it had ended in the gloom with which it began. The tone of exaltation and triumph is a necessary part of the complete picture. God "has not despised nor abhorred the distress of the lowly, nor hid his face from him" (v. 24).

Driver says this Psalm belongs "to the exile or later" (L. O. T.^s, p. 386). Ewald assigns it to the early part of the exilic period. Cheyne refers it to the time just before Nehemiah, when "the remnant of the captivity there in the province are in great affliction and reproach" ("Bampton Lectures," p. 231). The disappointed hopes, the broken hearts of the pious, in the early years of the Restoration, form the most suitable

background for this Psalm. The ideas are in good accord with this date, and that was the time when Israel was taught the great lesson that suffering was not a mark of God's disfavor. Would that they had made better use of that lesson !

3. Psalm xlii.(-xliii.). That these were originally one has already been shown (chap. ix.). Ewald put these words into the mouth of Jehoiachin when he was carried away to Babylon. If we cannot be so exact in assigning a date, we may still be sure that Ewald was not far wrong. The opening words—

“As the hart pants for the water brooks,
So, O God, pants my soul for thee”—

reveal clearly one who felt like David, that to be away from the holy land was to be away from God. “When may I come and behold the face of God?”* is a question meaning the same thing as, “When may I again visit the holy city?” The captors taunted their victim with his vain hope of help from his God. The captive recalls, with mingled pleasure and pain, the days when he had gone with the happy throng of worshippers. He hopes surely to return to the altar, there again to offer his praises to God. Therefore, the Psalm must belong to the first Judean captivity

* The later Jews, to whom the idea of seeing God was intolerable, changed the meaning of the word rendered “behold” by pointing the text to read, “When may I come and *appear* before God?”

(597-586 B.C.), or else to the period after the rebuilding of the temple by Zerubbabel (515 B.C.). It is not easy to decide between these dates, though the earlier seems to me the more probable.

Whatever opinion one may hold as to the reasonableness of the conclusions here reached, he must not forget that the religious value of the Psalms is not lessened by literary criticism. Psa. xxii. has precisely the same Messianic significance, and carries to the soul the same lessons, whether it was written by David, as the Jewish critics asserted, or by one who had a deeper experience of life, and a profounder conception of religion than was possible for the king, whose reign was too full of wars and blood to make it seemly that he should be the builder of the temple. Only a larger knowledge and a sounder faith can come to one who studies the Psalter critically, in order that he and others may have its spiritual lessons set in clearer light. And that is the purpose of the critical study of the Psalms. Prof. Frants Buhl, of Denmark, has well said: "There [in regard to the Psalms] the Church has every reason to be thankful for recent researches, for they have made the religious content of those songs much more clear, and have made it much more easy for us to apply them to ourselves devotionally than was the case before" (*American Journal of Theology*, October, 1898, p. 764).

CHAPTER XI.

Criticism and the Supernatural.

IT is hoped that it has been made clear in the course of the critical discussions in the preceding chapters that such investigation does not and can not impair the religious value and influence of the Old Testament. It remains to consider the effect of critical results on the presence of the supernatural generally. For the most serious indictment of modern criticism is that it robs the Old Testament of the supernatural. If a conviction could be had on this count, it would be a grave matter; but a conviction has not yet been secured, and never can be, for criticism does not attempt such a disastrous result, and would fail if it did. The criticism which has laid its hands on the supernatural is not the literary or higher, but the scientific. With this we have here no concern. It is left where it belongs, in the able and willing hands of the theologians.

What do we mean by the supernatural in the Old Testament? To some this means miracles, the signs and wonders in which the Israelites delighted when they were given as proofs that the one who wrought

them spoke as the messenger of Jehovah. The Nile turned into blood, the sweeping of the waters from the Sea and from the Jordan, the ascent of the angel of Jehovah in the fire, the standing still of the sun and moon, the translation of Enoch and Elijah, the turning back of the sun-dial, Jonah's living in the belly of the great fish, the speaking of Jehovah and of His angels to men, the ability of prophets to foretell future events—it is in such phenomena as these that the Christian world, like the Jewish, has been wont to see the presence of God.

But this conception of the supernatural is not the teaching of the Church Catholic, nor of that branch of the same to which it is my privilege to belong. The faith of the Church is expressed in those simple but comprehensive words of the Nicene Creed, "Who spake by the prophets." We must remember that prophets, in the sense of the term in the Creed, were back of the law, the history, the wisdom, and the poetry of the Scriptures, as well as of the prophets in the narrower sense. This doctrine is not a lax one, framed so that anybody can hold it; it admits of a larger belief in inspiration than the elaborate definitions which have been much in vogue. Any further definition of this statement is apt to limit the possible area of belief. The Church has wisely given to her children the liberty to believe largely, and it is wrong to interpret this into a liberty to deny.

If we wish to keep in strict harmony with the Creed, therefore, as I for one most certainly do, and still desire to find the supernatural in the Old Testament, as I again surely do, it is not the signs and wonders upon which we shall fix our faith. The doctrine of the Creed is that in the voice of prophecy we have the voice of a man truly, but we have also the voice of the Holy Ghost. I have given ten years to the study of the Old Testament; I have read many critical works; I have investigated many problems myself; I may have earned the—to many—odious title of higher critic; but I have never yet seen any reason to doubt that in the many voices which are heard throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, all the way from Genesis to Malachi, it was possible to hear the voice of the Holy Spirit; or, I should rather say, it was impossible not to hear it.

Likewise, if we wish to keep in harmony with the teaching of Jesus Christ, it is not by the signs and wonders that we shall attempt to live. The parable of Dives and Lazarus teaches some wholesome lessons on this subject. The craving of the human soul for a ground of certitude which God has not seen fit to give is shown in Dives, in that he feels so confident that his five brothers, who had rejected Moses and the prophets, or at least found them insufficient, could not help believing and reforming if one went to them from the dead. Just so, many seem to hold that one cannot believe that the Lord is his shepherd unless he holds

David to be the author of the words; or that Christ died for him, unless he believes that Jonah lived three days in the belly of the great fish. But the teaching of Jesus is plain: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded if one rise from the dead" (St. Luke xvi. 31). If the moral and spiritual truths of the Bible, which surely are of God, do not take vital hold of the human soul, there is no use in trying to bolster up a weak faith by signs and wonders. Jesus steadily refused to meet the demand for signs. When His persecutors said they would believe in Him if He came down from the cross, He knew how weak was the faith built upon such a foundation. He preferred the faith of those who could believe even though He remained on the cross to the bitter end.

Few peoples have ever laid more stress upon the value of signs and wonders than the Hebrews. In the days of the Maccabees we have seen how they deplored the lack of the signs which to them clearly indicated the presence of God. The Jews of a later day demanded signs of Jesus as proof that He was the Christ. But there were Hebrews who saw how easily one could be led astray if he relied upon signs and wonders. Here is a passage which should be carefully considered in connection with the apologetic value of signs: "If there arise in thy midst a prophet or a dreamer of dreams, and he give unto thee a sign or a wonder; and if the sign and the wonder shall happen which he foretold [literally

“said”] to thee when he said, Let us go after other gods (whom thou knowest not) and serve them; thou shalt not listen to the words of that prophet or that dreamer of dreams; for Jahveh your God is testing you, to know whether you love Jahveh your God with all your heart and with all your soul” (Deut. xiii. iff.).

Little comment is needed on so clear a statement. The Israelite was not to accept the evidence of a sign or wonder, even if worked by a prophet of God, when it would lead away from his religious duty. There was a higher evidence than any sign. There were some things so fundamental that signs and wonders could not affect them. Then signs and wonders can have little, if any, apologetic value; for if one is accepted, all must be. It is illogical to call those valid which lead in the direction we would take anyway, and to call others snares of the devil. The fact is, a sign is of little use unless supported by the higher evidence of the moral sense.

In my opinion, too hard a line has been drawn between what are called the natural and the supernatural. For millions of years God has made the sun appear to revolve around the earth; can we withhold admiration of those who, knowing no other God, worshipped the sun? But this is called natural by us, and it goes as a matter of course. Once the sun appeared to halt for a season, and this is called supernatural, a stupendous miracle which must compel faith in the one who be-

holds it. For myself, the evidence of God is infinitely stronger in the wonderful regular motions of the heavenly bodies than in the temporary alteration of any part of the system. For I do not believe the earth could run its course in the heavens for a single day without God, any more than I could live, move and have my being except in Him. The part such gems as Psalms viii. and xix. have had in the development of this faith is not, I think, inconsiderable. The blade of grass shoots from the earth, the flower buds and blooms, the leaf bursts forth on the tree ; but not without the ever acting power of God. What saith the Scriptures ?

“ He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle,
And herb for the service of man,
O Lord, how manifold are thy works !
In wisdom hast thou made them all ;
The earth is full of thy riches ” (Psa. civ. 14, 24).

Shall we not lay the foundations for a richer faith if we substitute for this term supernatural the term God? Then we may consider whether it is possible to accept the results of the critical investigation of the Old Testament and at the same time believe that we find God in that book. As long as we find the presence of God, we find all that the Creed has ventured to assert as fact, and we shall find all that is essential to a living faith. Moreover, our house will be founded upon a rock. The storm of criticism may rage, whether it

be higher or lower, scientific or philosophical, but it cannot harm our faith. The destructive forces which God is ever letting loose in the world have this beneficent effect; they destroy the structures which are built upon the sand. The weak are perpetually going to the wall. It is not pleasant for the weak, but God destines us to be strong, and so hardly do we learn our lessons, that many sacrifices are necessary to teach us the difference between the rocks and the sand.

We shall see that modern criticism has been destructive of some of the signs of the supernatural in the Old Testament; but I think we shall as clearly see that it has not been destructive of the supernatural itself, that is in the sense of the Creed. It has caused a change of opinion in regard to the presence of signs and wonders, but not in the presence of God, even in the very places from which the signs and wonders have been taken away. Four phases of the supernatural may now each be briefly considered under the captions of miracles, prophecy, revelation and inspiration.

I. MIRACLES. No literary critic of the Old Testament begins his work on the basis of the agnostic dictum that miracles do not happen. *Per se* miracles in the Old Testament are not a stumbling block; if they are historically attested, as the miracles of our Lord are, they are readily accepted. The difficulty about many of them is that they lack historical attes-

tation. Even when they have this they are not always free from other grounds of difficulty.

The sign which was given to Moses as an assurance that he was sent of God to redeem Israel from the Egyptian bondage was the rod which turned into a serpent ; but the magicians of Egypt also cast down their rods and they too became serpents (Ex. vii. 12). Likewise these magicians turned the water into blood (vii. 22), brought frogs over the land of Egypt (viii. 7), and according to the correct text, they brought lice upon Egypt (viii. 18).*

But whether these signs of Moses transcend the powers of man or not, the fact remains that God was working through Moses to bring Israel out of Egypt. We should be careful not to confuse the presence of God in this redemptive work with the supernatural character of the signs employed by His agent.

Sometimes miracles are assumed where a strict exegesis does not admit them. Nowhere did Israel see more plainly the helping hand of God than in the passage of the Red Sea ; and they were not mistaken. But it is well to realize the exact character of that deliverance. There are two accounts of the drying up

* The words " but they could not " are probably an interpolation. It is a striking fact that the performance of these signs by the magicians is described only in the latest Pentateuchal source. There would probably be more of it but that this source fails us for the later signs.

of the sea. We will satisfy ourselves with the oldest one, though the later is not seriously inconsistent with it. "And Jahveh caused the sea to go all the night by a mighty east wind, and he made the sea into dry land" (Ex. xiv. 21). Though God moved the waters from the sea by what we call a natural agency, rather than by a simple fiat, it was none the less God to whom the sons of Israel owed their preservation.

Criticism comes into conflict with the signs and wonders chiefly in the consideration of the character of the literature in which they are recorded. The question about the miracles of Elijah and Elisha should be considered chiefly on the ground of the character of the literature. It is generally held now that the stories of these prophets are not historical, but legendary, containing much historical matter, but still not pure history. Driver says of the Elisha stories: "These narratives no doubt exhibit the traditions respecting Elisha as they were current in prophetic circles in the ninth to eighth century B.C.; their immediate source may have been a work narrating anecdotes from the life of Elisha (and perhaps from the lives of other prophets as well)" (L. O. T.⁶, p. 196). In these traditions we may believe a large admixture of legend to survive, but the stories contain their rich lessons just the same, and we cannot doubt that these prophets conveyed God's message to the people of their age. Elijah's steadfastness to Jehovah in the face of bitter,

unrelenting persecution, even in the time when he mistakenly seemed to be the only Jehovah worshipper left, was the great lesson for Israel and for us.

The story of Joshua's great battle at Beth-horon is a good illustration of the way in which the higher criticism may correct long prevalent ideas of the presence of the supernatural. Much has been written about this famous incident, a large amount dealing with the conflict between science and a long received interpretation of a passage of Scripture. Let our purpose be to find first the actual statement of the Scriptures, neither putting in nor taking out, and then the true exegesis of the passage.

The unexpected surrender of the Gibeonites was followed by a formidable alliance of the five kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. Their immediate purpose was to chastise the Gibeonites for their surrender, or to force them to stand out against the invaders. Joshua heard of the plight of his subjects, and by a hard, all night march was ready to attack the confederates at dawn. Very few of the details of the battle have been preserved. But it appears that the intrepid leader was anxious to crush the alliance at one blow. He pressed them hard in pursuit, and the forces of nature worked on his side in the conflict; for we are told that "Jahveh cast upon them great stones from heaven," and then, lest succeeding ages should put a fanciful interpretation upon the writ-

er's words, he explains: "Those who died by the hailstones were more than those whom the Israelites slew with the sword" (Josh. x. 11).

In the earliest source, from which the account of this battle is mainly derived, there is quoted a fragment of an ancient poem which is taken from the Book of Jashar. There is only this little in the way of introduction in the early source, "and he said in the eyes of Israel." Joshua is the speaker, and the little poem which follows appears to be a prayer:

"Sun, stand still on Gibeon!
 And moon in the vale of Aijalon!
 And still was the sun and standing the moon,
 Till a nation took vengeance on its foes" (Josh. x. 12^b, 13^a).

We should have no difficulty in understanding this if we read poetry as poetry, and not as prose. But, unfortunately, there is a pretty ancient example of the turning of this poetic flight into sober prose. For the passage continues: "And the sun stood in the midst of the heavens, and hastened not to set about a whole day. And there was not the like of that day before or after, for Jahveh's hearing the voice of a man" (v. 13f.).

The latter passage is the writer's comment on the poem he has quoted.* Though his sense of poetical language may not have been acute, he has put his fin-

* This is Sayce's view: "The prose historian seems to have taken them [the words of the poem] literally" ("Early History of the Hebrews," p. 257).

ger upon the real thing that made that day greater than any before or since, God's hearing the cry of a man, and giving a prompt and effective response. Joshua's fear was that darkness would come upon him before the rout of his enemies was complete. If the day would only hold out, the allies would be disposed of utterly. This situation explains his prayer. God's answer was the hailstorm which wrought such havoc among the enemy. The day was made long by intension rather than by extension. In the Song of Deborah we read that "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." Put into prose, this means that the forces of the natural world, in God's providence, aided Israel in the combat. No one has thought of introducing a miracle to explain this. Why should we in the other case?

The Book of Jonah affords a good example of a similar kind. Of late years this little book has been much discussed. But undue attention has been given to the question whether the prophet was swallowed by the great fish or not. This has tended to obscure the great lessons of the book. The consideration of this book should begin with the question whether it is history or a story told for the lesson it contains, like the parables of our Lord. The aim of the author might have been to record certain historical facts; to teach certain truths in the form of a story with a moral; or to relate such historic facts as would illustrate or em-

body the lesson he has in mind. The Hebrew historians, as has already been shown, were not wont to write history for itself, but for the lessons it taught; and so they wrote it in such a way as best to teach the lessons.

The first alternative is the least probable. The historic facts of themselves would be of little value. There are some statements which are against all probability, as the statement respecting the size of Nineveh, the inappropriateness of the prayer spoken in the belly of the fish; and the didactic purpose is too obvious to be only incidental. The second alternative is probable enough inherently. Jesus Christ certainly invented stories to embody the truths He could best teach in that way. A distinguishing characteristic of His parables is, indeed, their naturalness, their conformity to probability. Yet in the parable of Dives and Lazarus we can hardly suppose Him to be giving an exact description of the conditions of life in Heaven. It would be hard to lie in torments and see our acquaintance in the bosom of Abraham, and it would be infinitely harder to repose in that bosom and see our friends in torments, it being impossible for us to moisten their burning lips with cool water. These things are apart from the lesson our Lord was teaching, which was not the conditions of life in the future world, but the terms on which we may attain the bosom of Abraham. Yet Jesus does not in so many words

inform us that His parables are but the clothing made for His purpose. Such a disclosure was not necessary; one can easily perceive this for himself. There were parables in the Old Testament, too. Might not the story of Jonah be such on a larger scale than usual?

The third alternative appears to me the most plausible. There is probably some historical background for the story which the writer has used freely as best fitted his purpose. It is not easy to separate the history from the legend; and it is not necessary here, because that is apart from the purpose of the book. If a writer elaborates a few historic facts into a didactic story, it is evident that he has little concern with a distinction between the original and the borrowed. The facts to him are of a different character.

The book of Jonah was written to teach two great truths; that when God commands one of His prophets to prophesy, he must do it whether he will or not; and that God had a message for Assyria as well as for Israel. The story is necessary to convey these truths, but it is not a part of them. They are just as true, no matter what the character of the literature in which they are found. Amos said that he preached to Israel, not because he was a prophet, but because God commanded him to leave his herd and carry the message to the doomed people. Jeremiah determined to quit his office; he was weary of crying disaster and ruin to people who persecuted him for his pains. But he dis-

covered that he could not stop. God had put a message in his soul, and it would come out, if it had to burn its way. Jonah was commanded to proclaim in Nineveh that it would be destroyed in forty days. He would have been eager enough to be the bearer of this tidings, if he could expect his prophecy to be fulfilled. But he knew that God was gracious, full of compassion, slow to anger, plenteous in mercy, and repentant of the evil (Jon. iv. 2). Look at the startling fact. The message which God gave to Jonah was inconsistent with God's character. Therefore, the prophet knew it would not be fulfilled, and he would not deliver it. He wanted Nineveh destroyed, as what Jew did not?—and would be no party to its salvation.

As if to put himself out of the way of temptation to obey, he is represented as taking ship for the furthest known point in the opposite direction to Nineveh. But not so could he escape God. A mighty storm raged on the Mediterranean. The sailors worked bravely; they cast the cargo into the sea; they rowed hard to get back to land; but the storm only raged the more, in defiance of their vain efforts. Then they cast out the one who had been quietly sleeping in the innermost part of the ship, who had been quick enough to see that the storm was on his account. The big fish (there is no mention of a whale) was the means devised to bring Jonah back to his home port. Jonah obeyed the divine command the second time it was

given, though not with the best of grace, and his disappointment was great as he perceived that God was true to His merciful character rather than to the exact tenor of the prophet's words.

There is a miracle in this book, but it is not in the swallowing of the prophet by the fish and his preservation in its belly. In fact, a defender of the historical character of the book has given a purely naturalistic interpretation to this event. Perowne, in the Cambridge Bible, states that there is a species of shark in the Mediterranean which has a gullet large enough to swallow a man (the whale has not); that, in fact, a man was once swallowed by one of these creatures; that he was rescued from his perilous position; and that he afterward travelled about exhibiting the carcass of the shark. If this is so, the supernatural character of this story must be sought elsewhere. And it is not difficult to find.

Jonah, it is true, shows very little sympathy for the gracious purposes of God; but the writer of the book has grasped the comprehensive character of God's grace. That God should have put such an idea into the mind of a Jew so effectively is a greater miracle than any conceivable in the natural world. The author of this book was himself a prophet in the truest sense, and we cannot doubt that the Holy Ghost spake by him. The implanting of this truth in the soul of a Jew is all the more remarkable in view of the late date

at which this book was most probably written. For the composition of the book is assigned to the fourth century B.C. ; in an age when the exclusive spirit of the Jews so fostered by Ezra and Nehemiah was predominant, and when the Jews were such severe sufferers from the tyranny of foreigners that they could scarcely be expected to be very solicitous for their welfare. The late date of the book makes all the more forcible the truth it contains. The solitary voice lifted in protest against the narrow national spirit of the age is another case of a "root out of a dry ground" (Isa. liii. 2). It is well to emphasize the gain on the religious side which comes from the modern view of a late authorship ; for there is a very persistent notion abroad that to refer a sacred writing to a late date is to lessen, if not to destroy, its religious importance. We have already seen the gain from the assignment of the Priest-code to a post-exilic date (p. 156).

II. PROPHECY. So much has been well written about the apologetic value of prophecy from the modern point of view that the subject may be briefly treated here. The negative conclusions that prediction was not the purpose of Hebrew prophecy, and that many predictions have not been fulfilled at all, and others only in part, are easily established by any one with a moderate amount of investigation. The function of

the prophet was not that of a wizard, to foretell the future, but that of a God-sent preacher of righteousness, whose mission was to turn the people from their sins. The book of Jonah affords a good illustration. Jonah was apparently directed simply to make a specific prediction to the Ninevites. But he saw that the very purpose of his prediction was that its fulfilment should not be necessary. God's object was, by threat of punishment, to turn those people from their wickedness. The fulfilment or non-fulfilment was in their own hands. The same is true everywhere in prophecy. The same gracious object is everywhere visible. The future is pictured as full of disaster that the people may repent, and the realization of the picture therefore impossible. Or it is pictured with glowing colors that the people may be stimulated to a life that will make the fulfilment possible. As the people were never as good as the prophetic ideals, there never were such as the prophets depicted. The people were as bad as the prophets represented them, perhaps worse, and so the greatest calamity on the prophetic horizon, the Babylonian captivity, became an accomplished fact.

The delicate question connected with this subject is, however, Messianic prophecy. In the older apologetics the fulfilment of prophecies in the life of Jesus Christ was one of the strong proofs of His divinity. But this proof had always its weak side, and it is well that modern apologetics approaches the subject in a

different way. Not that Messianic prophecy does not have an apologetic value; for this is not lessened, if it is of a different kind. But we must believe in Jesus Christ on the ground of His life, His teaching, and the impression He has produced upon the world as the only One through whom man may receive salvation from sin, not on the ground that prophets foresaw and foretold certain things about Him some centuries before His advent.

We may illustrate from a classic prophecy. The deepest study of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah leaves it still very hard to answer the searching question of Candace's eunuch, "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other?" (Acts viii. 34); but it makes it easy for us, like Philip, to begin from this Scripture and preach Jesus. One may find it difficult to tell whether that prophecy is written purely with reference to one who is to come in the future, or whether it is based on the experience of one who, like Hosea, has learned priceless lessons from the sad experience of his life; but he should not find it difficult to see that it is Messianic above almost any other prophecy, because it portrays the very spirit of the life of the Messiah. The apologetic value is not in the prediction, for it is possible that there is no prediction here; but it is in the preparing by the Spirit of God for the coming of a vicarious Sufferer whose mission in the world would be accomplished even though the world crucified Him.

Many features in the Messianic conception of the prophets are not found in the life of Jesus Christ. From this we may draw the simple inference that the prophets were not wholly enlightened as to the future. The veil which a merciful Providence has drawn in front of us was only partly lifted to the inspired prophet. But, as Sanday has well said, "As in other parts of prophecy, the fulfilment surpassed the anticipation" ("Inspiration", p. 219). We may apply this statement widely. If the prophets failed to portray adequately the Messiah, it is because their conception is far below the reality. The person of Christ stands far above any Old Testament forecast. If there is anything which makes Messianic prophecy seem poor and meagre, it is the comparison with the Messiah Himself.

III. REVELATION. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between revelation and inspiration. One might be a channel of revelation without being inspired, or be inspired without being a channel of revelation. Revelation and literary criticism have little relation to each other, except as the former may be connected with the character of Biblical literature. But revelation does not always stand or fall with the character of an ancient writing. If the story of Abraham's offering of Isaac is historical in the strictest sense, there was an objective revelation. It was first revealed to Abraham that he should offer his son and then that he

should not, and the purpose of the event was the proving of the patriarch's obedience. But modern thought finds great difficulties in supposing that the clearest revelation came at the beginning and then became more obscure. But it is not doubted that Abraham had a real revelation of God's will. The patriarch, in accord with the ideas of his time, might well have believed that human sacrifice was the most acceptable offering to God. But his only son bound upon a pile opened his eyes not only to see the ram caught in the thicket by his horns, but also to perceive that God would not have a man give his "firstborn for his transgression, the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul." That was the revelation to Abraham, and criticism, so far from attempting to take it away, has only made it the more clear.

The greatest revelation came through the prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The more one studies the religion which they taught the people in comparison with the popular cult, the more he will feel pressing upon him the question, "Whence came the ideas which they gave to the world?" The question presses the more for answer as we realize that the prophets did not voice the common sentiments of their time. Jeremiah was persecuted as a heretic; the mass of the prophets and priests tried to silence his voice. As Bruce has put it, "They were men whose back was at the wall fighting against heavy odds. . . . They

were in a hopeless minority" ("Apologetics," p. 190). They were not fanatics, delighting to run counter to the cherished conceptions of their time, and loving the glory of martyrdom. Elijah prayed that he might die and give up the useless struggle; but he wanted to die alone in the wilderness, not at the public stake.

Renan has attempted to explain the high prophetic ideal as due to the Semitic genius for religion, especially in the tendency of this race toward monotheism. But this explanation may easily exaggerate the Semitic tendency; and it leaves unexplained why this full development was left for a small body of Hebrew prophets late in Semitic life—for recent researches have shown that the eighth century B.C. was late in common Semitic history. The facts which all will admit can only be explained on the assumption that the Nicene Creed speaks correctly. The Spirit of God spoke by these prophets; they had a genuine revelation to communicate to the world.

If God must be assumed as the source of the prophetic message, it must be evident that this explanation is absolutely independent of any results of the higher criticism. Isa. xl.-lxvi. was written by a prophet, or by prophets, of the exilic period. Isaiah, the son of Amos, was not the only channel of prophetic revelation. There is no reason to suppose that every utterance, even of this greatest of the prophets, contained a revelation from Heaven. In the exile God

found souls through whom His will could be made known to the world. There is a great truth revealed in the fifty-third chapter of that book. The servant of God may suffer for the sins of others, his life may be lived in obscurity and affliction, he may be misunderstood and martyred; this truth is just the same whether it was revealed through the son of Amoz or through the unknown evangelical prophet who bore with his fellows the pains of enforced residence on foreign soil. The fact is, revelation is a subject which belongs to theology. The character of the revelation depends in some cases upon the character of the literature. The latter is a question for the literary critic; the other is a question for the theologian. But the results of criticism can never make it impossible or improbable that the revelation in the Old Testament is genuine. It will often, on the contrary, make it more intelligible, and, therefore, more probable.

IV. INSPIRATION. Finally, we come to the fundamental fact that God put it into the hearts of the prophets to speak to Israel. To what particular age any Old Testament writing belongs, to what particular author, whether it is a unit or composite, whether it is history, poetry, or parable, are matters to which the Christian faith is rightly indifferent, because these things are not vital. But that these writings are not the productions of man unaided by the Holy Spirit, is

justly regarded as essential to the faith. So far the higher criticism of the Old Testament has not attempted even to call in question the inspiration of the Scriptures; nor is there any sign on the distant horizon even that it has any purpose to do so. In fact, inspiration is entirely out of the range of higher critical investigation. If a higher critic question a doctrine, inspiration, or any other, he must do so by coming out of the sphere of criticism and entering that of theology.

The proper attitude of the critic is stated by Otley in his recent Bampton Lectures: "I proceed to mention another truth presupposed in these lectures, namely, the fact of the inspiration of the Scriptures."* Driver speaks in the same spirit: "Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it *presupposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself, and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods which it has pleased God to employ in revealing Himself to His ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of Himself in Christ Jesus" (L.O.T.⁶, p. xiii). Briggs has said somewhere that if he knew anything about criticism, the Pentateuch was not written by

* "Aspects of the Old Testament," p. 22.

Moses ; but that if he knew anything about inspiration, the Pentateuch was inspired.

Prof. Sanday has done a valuable service by treating of the doctrine of inspiration from the point of view of a conservative modern critic. It will not be amiss to quote a passage which shows what his idea of inspiration is : " Just as one particular branch of one particular stock was chosen to be in a general sense the recipient of a clearer revelation than was vouchsafed to others, so within that branch certain individuals were chosen to have their hearts and minds moved in a manner more penetrating and more effective than their fellows, with the result that their written words convey to us truths about the nature of God and His dealings with man which other writings do not convey with equal fulness, power, and purity. We say that this special moving is due to the action upon those hearts and minds of the Holy Spirit. And we call that action Inspiration " (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 127). Evidently the author has not found any difficulty in holding to inspiration and criticism at the same time.

Ottley has recently uttered some wise words on this subject. A few passages may be quoted : " Inspiration means a divine action on man's faculties by which his intellect is continually trained to more intelligent apprehension of divine purposes, his conscience to deeper knowledge of moral requirement, his heart to worthier love, his will to more exact response.

“ Let us inquire wherein the inspiration of the Biblical writers consists ? Chiefly, it would seem, in a gift of special moral and religious insight. The inspired writer is one who is spiritually enlightened. . . . Next we should bear in mind that inspiration in its primary sense does not properly describe the character of a sacred book, but rather denotes the living action of God on the faculties of men. . . . It would be perilous to attempt any formal definition [of inspiration]. . . . We should certainly define at the expense of overlooking some vital element of divine truth” (“ Bampton Lectures,” p. 23ff.). Many in all the Christian ages have attempted elaborate definitions of inspiration ; but their definitions, even when given the authority of Ecclesiastical Assemblies, have rarely outlived the age in which they were produced. The Creed which has survived, and is vital to-day, contents itself with the assertion of the fact of inspiration.

Christians who have accepted the results of modern criticism then, still believe in inspiration, and they do not see any inconsistency in their position. If they believe that Psa. xiv. was written by an unknown poet in the period of the exile, they cannot see that that belief affects the question of its inspiration. Inspiration, it is true, must be found in the author, not in his book ; just as the life is in the tree, and not in the fruit, though the fruit is the *raison d'être* of the tree. But the tree must nevertheless be judged by its fruit ; and

the inspiration of the author can only be known to us by his book. The evidence of the inspiration of that Psalm then is not to be found in its supposed Davidic authorship, as if everything that he might have written must have been inspired ; it must rather be found in the religious quality of the Psalm, its power, as Coleridge put it, to find the human soul at the greatest depth of its being. The bitter curses in Psa. cix. are no more appropriate on Christian lips, and no more in harmony with the higher revelation in Christ, on the theory of the Jewish editors that David was the author, than on the more probable theory that this is the out-pouring of a soul, deeply moved of God indeed, but who had endured persecutions of which David did not dream.

Moses was doubtless inspired to act, to speak, to judge, yes, and to write. But the fruit by which we must judge cannot be changed by assuming that Moses was the stock on which it grew. The inspiration of the Priest-code is to be seen in its contribution to the religious life of Israel—and that was not small—and this is not greater on the supposition that it came from the hand of the great lawgiver, than on the view that it was the growth of many years, culminating in its finished form in the post-exilic era.

There are two elements disclosed in the Old Testament, the human and the divine. Some theories of its origin have laid undue stress upon the one, and some

upon the other. We cannot get along very well without allowing a large influence to both factors. If sometimes the human element seems so conspicuous that we feel, like the troubled Psalmist, that God has abandoned His saints, at other times we hear so pure a voice from Heaven that God seems to have chosen a peculiarly transparent soul through which to send His light, or even, to use an Old Testament figure, to have written with His own finger.

The Old Testament must be studied scientifically. The literary critic, the historical critic, the historian of religion, the archæologist, the grammarian and the lexicographer, must contribute all the light they have to the solution of its many hard problems. We shall but delude ourselves if we ever say their work is finished, they can go no further; we are willing to accept what they have at present achieved if they will rest content. It can never be said to these investigators, So far you shall go and no farther, so long as they keep to their proper sphere, which is largely the human element in the Scriptures. But if they ever attempt to go further, and say that God was not behind Israel in their history, in their institutions, in their religion, and in their literature, then we may point out the great gulf which the literary critics may not cross.

I can find no satisfactory concluding words for this book except some words of St. Paul, who knew the Scriptures so well and loved them so dearly, and an

Advent Collect which is based upon St. Paul. They are so suitable because they express the higher purpose of the Scriptures to which all scientific investigation must be subordinate.

“Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope” (Rom. xv. 4).

“Blessed Lord, who hast caused all Holy Scriptures to be written for our learning; Grant that we may in such wise hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of thy holy Word we may embrace, and ever hold fast, the blessed hope of everlasting life, which thou hast given us in our Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen”

INDEXES.

I. ABBREVIATIONS.

E. E. ¹ , etc.	Elohist, etc.....	<i>See p. 79</i>
H. C. M.	The "Higher Criticism" and the Verdict of the Monuments, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce. New York: 1894.	
J. J. ¹ , etc.	Jahvist, etc.....	<i>See p. 79</i>
J. B. L.	Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.	
JE	<i>See pp. 83, 100</i>
L. O. T. ⁶	An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, by S. R. Driver, D.D. Sixth edition. New York: 1897.	
O. T. J. C. ²	The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, by W. Robertson Smith. Second edition. New York: 1892.	
P.	Priestly writer.....	<i>See p. 79</i>

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