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ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF GENESIS.

HISTORY OF THE CRITICISM TO THE RISE OF THE  
GRAFIAN HYPOTHESIS.

THE first book of the Bible, perhaps equally with the last, deserves the title of Revelation. The revelation of the past alone furnishes the key to that of the future. Genesis is second to no book of the Old Testament in its announcement of great truths. These truths are confessedly fundamental; hence the book itself is fundamental. During the last century and a half critics have been busy with it, as with other books of the Bible. They have started concerning it many questions which perhaps will long await an answer. At the same time, continuous and brilliant discoveries in the sphere of Biblical science are quickening the hope that the fascinating problem of the origin of Genesis in history is approaching a solution.

The true point of view in investigating the subject should be the scientific. By this we do not mean that, for the time, we should lay aside our faith in Christ or denude ourselves of every prepossession. Clearly that would be impossible, were it desirable. We simply mean that we should make an honest, and, as far as the circumstances will permit, a thorough study of the facts involved, and let the facts determine the conclusions reached. This might seem, perhaps, an unnecessary statement or at least a matter best assumed and left unsaid. Under some conditions this would be true; but so many assumptions enter into the critic's work, and the result is such a variety of types of criticism, that it has become customary

to define one's point of view at the very outset of such an investigation.

Kuenen begins his treatise on the *Religion of Israel*\* with an introduction on "our standpoint" and "our sources." His standpoint, in substance, is that Israel's religion is one of the principal religions of the world, "nothing less, but also nothing more." He admits that it purports to be something more; that its sacred books are unanimous in claiming divine origin. But the same is true, he says, of Islam and Buddhism. No one expects the investigator of the latter religions to start with that belief; why do so then in the case of the former? Hence he sets out with the fixed rule that the whole class of passages presupposing the supernatural origin of Israel's religion are to be ignored. They do not concern the object he has in view. Kuenen contracts still more the limits of his proposed research. The Bible, he says, contains "a concatenated history of Israel's fortunes from the earliest times down to the second half of the fifth century B.C." What are we to make of it? Can we use the Old Testament accounts of the history of Israel as a foundation for our review of its religious development? Can they serve us for a frame into which to fit, each in its place, the memorials which have been preserved to us elsewhere—in the prophetic and poetical books? "This is the way," he remarks, "in which the history of Israel and of Israel's religion was formerly written. Are we at liberty to go on this method? Our answer must be in the negative. We must strike out a path for ourselves." Some of the reasons given by our frank critic for this remarkable course we will simply name, with no attempt here to test their weight. They are such as these: The narratives of Israel's earliest history "present all sorts of phenomena which forbid us to recognize them as historical." They did not proceed from contemporaries, but were written centuries after the events of which they treat. We have contradictory accounts of the same event. Sometimes we shall find ourselves at liberty to sacrifice one account to the other. "But very frequently . . . we can accept neither of the accounts as trustworthy;" their only difference being in the fact that one is further from the truth than the other. The representation concerning Israel "presented to us in the books named after Moses and Joshua must be rejected as in its entirety impossible." Their principal element is legend. "Independently of the question whether the Israelites were fed with manna and quails, the account of their forty years' wandering through the peninsula of Sinai must be put aside as unhistorical." "To be acknowledged as real every fact must fit into its place in the *historic connection*." By this Kuenen means

\* London, 1874.

the critic's conception of the connection, not that of the historian. "We shall often have to admit," he adds, "that the connection of occurrences can be established in more than one way, but we shall frequently arrive in any case at this position: Such and such *cannot* have been the sequence of the facts." "Of course, the narratives are what we must start from. How far soever they may be removed from the historical truth, we can deduce from them the whole or a part of that truth, if we only know and observe what metamorphoses it must have undergone before it assumed the shape it presents in the narratives." Not a little is usually wanting, however, to our knowledge of those metamorphoses. The historical image which we frame (with the best of material) is, to no small extent, the result of our own personality, and therefore the picture hung up by one historian will never entirely agree with that of another. How much greater becomes the influence of these personal peculiarities when (as is the case with the Bible) the historical documents are few in number and cannot possibly be taken as they stand! Still, he thinks, "we are never left altogether without a test for the results which we have obtained. Our representation of the historical reality may have been formed from conjecture; nevertheless it remains susceptible of control. It has been made up from the narratives; the proof of its truth lies in the fact that it explains in its turn the origin of those narratives;" that is, of course, that it explains them in a way satisfactory to the critic.

These are the wide-reaching assumptions with which Kuenen begins his history of Israel. We admire the frankness and clearness with which they are stated, and we make no apology for citing them at length. Other critics who have the same general standpoint are much more reserved in speaking of their mode of treating Biblical history. But it is easy to see that, in substance, it is one with his. Prof. Driver,\* for example, says, though in a footnote: "Two principles, once recognized, will be found to solve nearly all the difficulties which, upon the traditional view of the historical books of the Old Testament, are insuperable, viz.: (1) That in many parts of these books we have before us traditions, in which the original representation has been insensibly modified, and sometimes (especially in the later books) colored by the associations of the age in which the author recording it lived; (2) that some freedom was used by the ancient historians in placing speeches or discourses in the mouths of historical characters. In some cases, no doubt, such speeches agreed substantially with what was actually said; but often they merely develop at length, in the style and manner of the narrator, what was handed down only as a compendious report, or

\* *Introduction*, p. xiii.

what was deemed to be consonant with the temper and aim of a given character on a particular occasion. No satisfactory conclusions with respect to the Old Testament will be arrived at without due account being taken of these two principles."\* Our own conviction is that no really satisfactory and lasting conclusions can be reached with them. That is the radical difference between the two standpoints; and that is the reason why in inquiries of this sort it is so necessary that there should be a clear understanding at the start what one's position is with respect to them. Even so much of an idealist as Hegel had quite another conception from Kuenen and Driver of the sphere of the historical critic and wrote with some warmth: "Among us the so-called 'higher criticism' which remains supreme in the domain of philology has also taken possession of our historical literature. This 'higher criticism' has been made the pretext for introducing all the anti-historical monstrosities that a vain imagination could suggest. Here we have the other method of making the past a living reality: putting subjective fancies in the place of historical data, fancies whose merit is measured by their boldness; that is the scantiness of the particulars on which they are based, and the peremptoriness with which they contravene the established facts of history."†

The terms "scientific" and "historic," it is evident, are used in widely different senses, in our day, by parties to the same debate. We mean by a scientific examination of the origin of the Book of Genesis, first, a careful ascertainment of all the facts it contains; and, second, a correct, that is to say, a strictly logical, method of

\* The view held by Hermann Schultz (*Old Testament Theology*, i, pp. 17-31, *passim*), like that of Driver, is but a modification of Kuenen's. He says that the "stories about pre-Mosaic times are authorities as to religion as it was in the age of their authors." The Holy Spirit "does not render impossible forms of presentation which may not appear to us quite permissible, but which were, nevertheless, in perfect harmony with the view of the period in question, as, for example, history written with a purpose (*Tendenzgeschichte*) and pseudonymity. For it is only the moral standard actually in force at the time that can be taken into consideration." The Holy Spirit "does not exclude error or ignorance regarding matters of fact." It "illuminates the moral and religious life." "Of the legendary character of the pre-Mosaic narratives, the time of which they treat is a sufficient proof." It is also "indicated by their disregarding historical probability, and by the easy tolerance of contradictions in many passages of Genesis which, nevertheless, retain to the full their evidential value in spite of the ridicule which infidelity has frequently cast upon them." "The first three chapters of it (Genesis), in particular, present us with revelation-myths of the most important kind, and the following eight, with mythical elements that have been recast more in the form of legend. From Abraham to Moses we have national legend pure and simple, mixed with a variety of mythical elements which have become almost unrecognizable."

† *Philosophy of History*, trans. by Sibree, in Bohn's Lib. (London, 1892), pp. 7 and 8.

deducing conclusions from them. By facts we mean the statements of occurrences as found in the narrative, judged by the ordinary rules of language and subject to the modifications called for by different species of literature. In other words, we accept, until clearly disproved, the absolute veracity of the narrator. This seems to be a necessary condition to any proper historical or critical estimate of his work. We do not feel at liberty, with Kuenen, to strike out a path for ourselves; to say that "such and such *cannot* have been the sequence of the facts."

We are equally loth to assume, with Driver, that the account has been "insensibly modified" and freedom used in putting language into the mouths of historical characters. For, first of all, we regard this method as unscientific. Too much room is left for the play of mere apriorisms. We cannot see how wholly just results are possible by it. Certainly they will have none of the stringency or claim to universal acceptance that attaches to strictly logical reasoning. Does not Kuenen himself in substance acknowledge this when he says that the historical image which we frame by it is "to no small extent, the result of our own personality," and that here, where the documents "cannot possibly be taken as they stand," the influence of one's personal peculiarities reaches its maximum? \* It is true, if certain critics are agreed upon a theory and proceed to adjust the record to it, every fact being made to fit into its place in the assumed historic connection, that a general consensus concerning it among these critics may no doubt be achieved. But the probability of its being upset by the starting of another theory is always imminent. Nothing is more common than a change in one's historical or philosophical standpoint. That is all that would be needful. It would be otherwise were the basis of agreement objective like the credibility of a narrative.

Prof. Driver, be it observed, does not fail to see the possibility of evil consequences resulting from the method he adopts if applied to historical narratives generally, even to those of the Bible. Those who might fear that the foundations of the Christian faith would be imperilled by it, he assures of the contrary. "The records of the New Testament," he says, "were produced under very different historical conditions." "While in the Old Testament, for example, there are instances in which we can have no assurance that an event was recorded until many centuries after its occurrence, in the New Testament the interval at most is not more than thirty to fifty years."

\* "Es ist wahr, dass, wie Ranke sagt, nur die kritisch erforschte Geschichte gelten kann. Aber, wenn die Geschichte kritisch vernichtet wird, was bleibt da übrig als die Füllung der *tabula rasa* mit modernen Mythen?"—Delitzsch, *Com. über Genesis* (1887), p. 6.

That is not the apparent hope and expectation, however, of many of Prof. Driver's distinguished colleagues on the continent of Europe; and it just as little harmonizes with actual results to date. The popular and growing opinion, if it be not yet the prevailing one there, is rather of the sort represented in a recent periodical:—

“We can know, not what Christ and His work in themselves are, but only what they are worth to us. The seat and source of authority are not the Scriptures as such, but the convictions and certainty aroused through them in the hearts and minds of men. It is accordingly possible to hold the most radical views in regard to the origin, character and history of the Biblical books without thereby endangering their religious worth. Thus in the recent controversy on the Apostles' Creed the representatives of the new views assembled at Eisenach officially declared that the much discussed, ‘conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary,’ *i. e.*, the supernatural and preëxisting character of Christ does not belong to the fundamentals of the Christian system.

“This is what this same class of theologians mean by their ‘historical Christ,’ who is placed in the centre of their system. It is Christ, not the eternal equal of the Father, but the son of Joseph and Mary endowed with rich gifts and abilities as a religious teacher of men. In this way the old theological *termini technici* acquire quite a different significance in the hand of this school, and Luthardt is doubtless correct when he attributes to it as a fundamental error the *entwertung* of Christian doctrine, that is, depriving the teachings of Christianity of their objective basis.”\*

Let it be carefully noted that it is not on dogmatic or religious grounds at all that we here call attention to the disastrous consequences of adopting the modern critical method in the New Testament, although, as Driver intimates, it might be a perfectly legitimate argument to ply in certain circumstances. We adduce its use and results there rather as further evidence of its unscientific character; to show that it has less to do with the nature of the material with which it deals, whether it be Genesis or the Gospels, Homer or Paul, than with the hypothesis involved and a certain peculiar way of getting it established and approved. It certainly argues a low estimate of the value of the Bible to set any mere theory of its origin and structure above its credibility: to be willing to substantiate the former at the expense of the latter.†

\* See *The (N. Y.) Independent*, May 11, 1893, p. 16.

† Cf. Kurtz, *Die Einheit der Genesis* (1846), p. xix: “So lange die destructive Kritik das Judenthum als rein natürlichen Entwicklungsfortschritt ansieht, so lange sie Wunder und Weissagungen, Gotteserscheinungen und dgl. für rein unmöglich hält verzichten wir darauf, alle einzelnen Erscheinungen des alten Test. mit diesem ihrem Standpunkte in eine ihr genügende Uebereinstimmung

For our own part, we choose what we conceive to be the true historical method over against a palpably false one. It will, at least enable us to secure a complete collection of the facts, and a thoroughly logical induction from them. Accordingly, until the contrary shall be found true through the clearest evidence, we shall, assume, as in the case of any other book, that the record of Genesis has been honestly made. We have no prejudgments against supernaturalism in the Bible, or against the view that one religion might be essentially different from every other. We are not conscious of being unfitted for Biblical criticism by implicit faith in Jesus Christ. Quite the contrary. He is the supreme Master of truth and every servant of His is, first of all, a servant of truth in its broadest sense. We deny the competency of any man to say that as "believers" we cannot be fair-minded critics. Unbelieving critics, it is true, we cannot be. We claim that the whole spirit of the Bible is against sophistical reasoning, even though it may be brought to its own defense; yes, especially then. It disowns beforehand the apologetic which does not square with the rules of logic. We believe that candor and humility, united with earnest prayer to God for light and guidance, are necessary conditions to the highest success in Biblical investigation as well as in every other undertaking. This, in brief, is our point of view, our working platform. It seems to us to offer the broadest and fairest possible basis for the work in hand. It provides for taking due account of what other critics of every school have done; it leaves us free, consequences apart, for the widest conceivable deductions that are in harmony with the phenomena of our book.

Even in the seventeenth century and earlier, as is well-known, critical excursions began to be made into the book of Genesis. On the people of that time they had little or no influence. They are chiefly valuable in present discussions as showing a certain drift of sentiment 250 years ago. They had to do mostly with the question of the authorship of Genesis or the Pentateuch, being reasons for or against the view that the author was Moses. The evidence cited for the negative opinion was alleged anachronisms and lack of order in the material. Aben Ezra,\* Bonfrère,† Hobbes,‡ and Le Clerc,§ taken together, refer to most of the passages which are quoted in our

zu bringen, und glauben genug gethan zu haben, wenn unsere Argumentation uns und allen denen, die mit uns auf gleichem historischen und religiösen Boden stehen, genügt."

\* *Com. in Deut.*, xxxviii. 5.

† *Pentateuchus Mosis Com. Illustratus*, 1625.

‡ *Leviathan*, 1635, 1839-45.

§ *Sentimens de quelques théologiens de Hollande*, 1685.

day as showing an anachronistic or post-Mosaic coloring. They noted the following: Gen. xii. 6 (cf. xiii. 7), "And the Canaanite was then in the land;" xiii. 18 (cf. xii. 8), where the name Hebron is given to the earlier Kirjath-arba; xiv. 13 (cf. xxxix. 14, xli. 12), where Canaan is called "the land of the Hebrews;" xiv. 14, where the name Dan is given to Laish; xx. 7, where Abraham is called a *nabi*, prophet, a title claimed to be of later origin; xxxv. 19, where it is said of Ephrath that "the same is Bethlehem;" xxxvi. 31, where occurs a list of Edomitish kings of whom it is said that they lived "before a king ruled in Israel;" i. 10, where is found the expression "beyond Jordan," alleged to be a technical term for the east side of the river.

Besides these familiar instances, Le Clerc regarded the naming of Cush in ii. 13, and the "tower of Eder" in xxxv. 21, as anachronisms, under the mistaken assumption that by the former Ethiopia is meant, and by the latter a tower of the same name in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. Texts of a similar kind, apparently overlooked by these earlier explorers, but made use of since, are these: Gen. xii (cf. xiii. 14, xxviii. 14), where an expression supposed to be peculiar to Palestine, and so out of harmony with Mosaic authorship, is employed for west and westward, south and southward; xx. 7, xxvi. 5, where in a narrative of Abraham's time is used an alleged Deuteronomic expression, "my charge, my commandments, my statutes and my laws;" xxxiv. 7, where it is said of the sons of Jacob that they were wroth because Shechem, the son of Hamor, had "wrought folly in Israel," Israel being then a quite new name for Jacob; and xxxviii. 8, where the Mosaic law of the levirate is said to be anticipated.

All that it is necessary to do with these passages just now is to epitomize the results reached. A first glance shows that they are of a superficial character. They are, for the most part, loosely attached remarks, the fuzz of the garment rather than a part of the web and woof. Were it to be conceded that they mean, in each case, what they are supposed to mean by those who cite them for the purpose named, their bearing on the authorship or compilation of Genesis would be but slight. Quite a number, however, cannot be given the sense assigned. Others are simply indications of old customs on which subsequent Mosaic institutions were founded. Others still may be due to prolepsis, a somewhat later occurrence being anticipated by the still later narrator who need not have been other than Moses. This could have been done in perfect good faith and in perfect harmony with accepted rules of composition. A very few may be glosses, or editorial accretions, dating from a later period than Moses.

The most recent theory of the origin of Genesis is by no means able to dispense with the hypothesis of glosses and editorial additions. Taking the work of Kautzsch and Socin as a standard, there are more than a score of the former required in the adjustment of the analysis, while the editorial matter occupies no inconsiderable part of the book. There are at least a hundred instances where the editorial hand is said to appear. The statement often made that, to free the book of Genesis of anachronistic matter, if referred to the Mosaic period, one would need to assume the existence of glosses, may be admitted as valid. The book was subject in its transmission to many of the vicissitudes of other ancient books. But if these are the only signs of it, it seems to have suffered to only an infinitesimal degree. The forerunners of modern Biblical criticism were not themselves disposed, generally speaking, to claim more for these passages than that they show a later touching up of Genesis, and that in its present form it did not come wholly from the hand of Moses.\* So far from being surprised that glosses and editorial remarks appear in a work of great antiquity, the real wonder is that in this case they are so few. When compared with other Biblical works even, they appear as a minimum.

With respect to certain other features of Genesis, a more radical attitude was assumed by Spinoza † and by Richard Simon, ‡ who is to be distinguished from rabbi Simon, a contemporary of Aben Ezra. Spinoza looked upon the whole Pentateuch as a sort of miscellany, the *débris* of a primitive literature collected by a pious editor of later times and annotated by Ezra. Simon held that the historical portions of the Pentateuch, including Genesis, had been produced, under Moses' direction, by public annalists after Egyptian models. Undoubtedly Simon was correct as it respects the natural effect of Egyptian culture on Moses and his times. The hieratic method of writing came into vogue about 1700 B.C. It greatly stimulated composition of all kinds. The official inscriptions of the kings, aside from other and weightier reasons, might readily have suggested to the leader of the exodus a similar method of preserving the history of his people. Although the so-called scribe (in the English Bible) and recorder, *sopher*, first appears in the time of David, it is interesting to notice the presence of an official of this sort while Israel was still in Egypt (Ex. v. 6) and often later. He was called *shoter*, § writer, and we find him associated now with

\* Cf. remark of Westphal, *Les Sources du Pentateuque*, p. 59 : "Ces objections de détail sont de celles que l'on peut renouveler au sujet des œuvres les plus incontestées de la littérature antique, sans que l'authenticité de leur auteur soit pour cela mise en question."

† *Tractatus Theologico-politicus*, 1670.

‡ *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, 1678.

§ This word, in the same sense, is at home in the Assyro-Babylonian language.

the elders (Num. xi. 16), again with the leaders of the army (Deut. i. 15) and with the judges (Deut. xvi. 18).

Simon based his view as to the mode in which the earlier Biblical history was recorded on the form in which it now appears. For example, he finds, like later critics, though to a much less extent, double accounts of the same event in Genesis. He instances the creation of man and woman in chaps. i and ii. At the same time he suggests a shrewd reason for supposing that one account presupposes the other. The language of the woman to the serpent, quoted in the context, implies that she, as well as her husband, had been forbidden to eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. If, with some, however, the narrative in chap. ii is held to a strict chronological sequence, she was not created when the command was given and in the language of our later courts might easily have proved an *alibi*. In the account of the Flood, too, Simon saw, as he thought, evidence of compilation; but it is not of a sort to help the present-day analysts. In vii. 17 it is said that "the waters increased and bare up the ark and it was lifted up above the earth." In each of the three verses next succeeding essentially the same thought of the increase of the water is repeated in somewhat different terms, altogether four times; but three of these repetitions occur in the document now known as P. So in each of the verses 21-23 of the same chapter Simon notices that the destruction of animal life by the Flood is described in slightly variant forms. Two of these repetitions, likewise, occur in P. These examples indicate a style here and there in Genesis which peculiarly adapts it to the kind of analysis now so popular. At the same time, and equally, they suggest a serious doubt whether the current analysis has been made along really logical lines.\*

The beginning of modern Pentateuchal criticism is generally dated from Astruc (1753).† It certainly attracted to itself from his day a more continuous attention from Biblical scholars. Though Astruc did not himself make the discovery of the peculiar alternation of the divine names, Elohim and Jehovah, in the earlier chapters of Genesis, he was the first to use the fact in the interests of critical analysis. It is known that he divided the book principally between two sources represented, as he supposed, by these two titles, holding that only a few minor sections were of other origin. The analysis he made on this basis is not simply interesting in itself, it

\* Astruc also in his *Mémoires* noted this fact of repetition in the matter now ascribed to P in the account of the Flood, and referred vii. 20, as well as vss. 23 and 24, to a third document, which he named C.

† *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paraît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*, Bruxelles, 1753.

is of value for purposes of comparison. The most recent form of it also purports to be closely guided by the use of these titles of Deity. How then does the earliest form compare with the latest?

We find but a single section where Astruc's division of the Elohim document exactly accords with that of Kautzsch and Socin (chap. xxiii). There are whole chapters which he gives to the Elohist which by them are assigned to the Jehovist; in which, in fact, he finds the most of the material. In the other principal document the disagreement is not so nearly total, but it is wide. Another thing that is noticeable is the actual dominance given by the earlier critic to the divine names in their control of the material. The later profess to recognize such dominance. But as matter of procedure, they either change the names in numerous instances to suit their ideas of the material (vii. 9, xiv. 22, xvii. 21, xxi. 1, xxii. 11, xxviii. 21, xxxi. 50); or allow them, as historical settings, in instances still more numerous only bare excerpts from the text (v. 29, vii. 16, xix. 29, xx. 18, xxi. 1, 33, xxii. 14-18, xxvii. 28, xxx. 24, 27, xxxi. 3, xxxiii. 5, 11), ordinarily a single verse and from that down to half a dozen words. It is strongly suggestive of the growth of theory beyond the bounds of fact.

Other respects in which Astruc differed from modern critics are: (1) He did not feel absolute confidence in his own analysis, especially that he had just the right number of documents. (2) He did not refer any apparent disorder which he found in Genesis to the original compiler, but to later wholly natural vicissitudes. Moses, he thought, had left his sources in their entirety side by side. These in process of time became more or less confounded with one another. (3) His aim in the analysis which he made was to secure a greater harmony in the book, or at least to show where the present supposed disagreements originated. He thought his theory reconciled some discrepancies in chronology. With the later critics, on the other hand, the greater number of discrepancies appear only after the analysis is made. (4) If Astruc really achieved, as he fancied, harmony in the chronology by means of his analysis, then the original confusion remains with the present one; for it differs from the former in the parts the most essential \* to such harmony.

The time has not yet come, perhaps, for a wholly conclusive dis-

\* Speaking of differences of this sort in the life of Abraham, he says: "Tout se trouve en règle pour la suite de la narration et pour l'ordre de la chronologie, parceque le vers. 19 du chap. xxv, qui appartient au mémoire B, va se joindre à la fin du chap. xxiv, qui appartient au même mémoire et dont il est une suite, et que les dixuit versets du commencement du chap. xxv se rangent d'eux-mêmes sous deux autres mémoires auxquels il est évident qu'ils appartiennent." Compare the analysis of Kautzsch and Socin.

cussion of the question why Elohim and Jehovah and other divine titles are used as they are in Genesis. There are certain things, however, which will be among the decisive factors of such a discussion when it comes. (1) Genesis much more than any other Biblical book emphasizes the significance of all proper names. (2) In certain places the same source discriminates between the titles Elohim and Jehovah on the ground of sense or usage. This all allow. For example, in the dialogue of Eve with the serpent, both she and the serpent use throughout Elohim, although before and after this episode the double title Jehovah-Elohim is employed (xiii. 1-6; cf. iv. 25, vi. 2, 4, ix. 27, xxxii. 30, 31, xxxix. 9, xliv. 16). (3) Whenever a new name of God is first introduced, like El Elyon, Adonai, El Shaddai, El Olam (xxi. 33), Jehovah, apparently for purposes of identification, is associated with it (xiv. 22, xv. 2, xvii. 1), just as, on the same principle, in chaps. ii and iii, where Jehovah first comes into use, it is itself associated, for about a score of times, though put first, with Elohim. (4) Any peculiar alternation of the titles Elohim and Jehovah in successive sections of the text are confined to a little more than the first third of the book; and in that portion the practice is not uniform. There are relatively few continuous passages, like chaps. i, ii, iii, xvii and xviii, which are without exception ascribed to one or the other of the documents. In the last ten chapters the name of God is used altogether but forty times, over against thirty-four in the first chapter alone. Of these forty occurrences, thirty-six have the word Elohim, three El-Shaddai, that is, God Almighty, and one Jehovah. While this fact is due, no doubt, to the character of the material, being mainly the history of Joseph in Egypt, it is also evident that less importance is attached now than in the beginning to the matter of emphasizing the distinction between Elohim and Jehovah, as titles of Deity. That lesson had already been sufficiently impressed. This is a most important fact of which far too little has been made. It has a most significant bearing, not only upon Astruc's partition of Genesis on the basis of the divine names, but especially upon the present one which, starting with it, carries the analysis through the whole Hexateuch. Moreover, the variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch, given elsewhere, particularly those of the LXX., to which our critics are so prone to resort when it will serve a purpose, and those of the Peshito version, introduce a disturbing element into the calculation with which it would be unwise not to reckon. (5) Usage in Genesis shows, and it is to be assumed as fact until disproved, that the title Jehovah is not only pre-Mosaic but pre-Abrahamitic, as Wellhausen and others of his school admit.\*

\* *Geschichte der Hebräer*, i, 157. Cf. Wellhausen, *Geschichte*, etc., i, 359, and Montefiore, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1892, pp. 52, 53.

In addition to the reasons given in a previous work\* why Ex. vi. 3 is not to be understood literally, to the effect that God was not known to the patriarchs under the name Jehovah, one suggested by Kittel and others may be stated. To have sent Moses, he says, to the Israelites with a name for God, the God of their fathers, with which neither they nor their fathers were familiar, would not only have been unexpected in itself, but would most certainly have served to defeat the purpose of his mission. Still further, while such an exegesis of the passage is directly in the face of the usage of Genesis, as we have said, and is properly the product of the theory which it is brought to sustain, it is also precarious in view of other recently discovered facts. Much reliance has been placed upon the circumstance that before Moses only one proper name has been found in the Bible compounded with that of Jehovah, namely, Jochebed, the mother of Moses (Ex. vi. 20). This is true, but it is also true of the three other titles of God besides El used in Genesis, and hence is not to be looked upon as singular.† As it respects Jehovah, it is not true of extra-Biblical names. In a private letter received in answer to an inquiry, Prof. Pinches, of the British Museum, writes that he has discovered on the Assyrian monuments many names compounded with the Babylonian equivalent for Jehovah. That is, Jah, Jahu. This is no other than the so-called poetic or shorter form of the Bible. It occurs as early as the twenty-third century B.C. on the monuments. In a text dated 2380 B.C., out of sixteen names of witnesses there is one which has that syllable, and the words thus compounded occur increasingly often after that period. This would carry us back to a time several hundred years before Abraham; who might easily thus, if in no other way, have become acquainted with the word. If this were the Palestinian origin of the title, as it might well have been, it would help explain the many frequent and peculiar uses of it in the twenty-fourth and some subsequent chapters of Genesis,‡ which have always been

\* *Genesis Printed in Colors*, p. vi.

† Cf. Nestle, *Die Israelitischen Eigennamen*, 1876, pp. 44ff.

‡ We refer to the circumstance of its extraordinarily frequent use in chap. xxiv, and afterwards whenever there is contact with Haran. It is even found in the mouth of Laban (xxx. 27; cf. xxxi. 29, etc.). This fact suggests further, that were Jah to be taken as the earlier form of Jehovah, as some hold (Fried. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 159ff.), and as now seems not unlikely, instead of a shortened form, then Ex. vi. 3 might be accepted in a literal sense and still not be out of harmony with the usage of Genesis. It would then only be necessary to suppose that the writer of Genesis—who need not have been later than Moses—used this form proleptically in place of the earlier form having the same etymological, but not the same specific sense. Then, too, Ex. iii. 14 would furnish a natural transition to Ex. vi. 3.

somewhat of a puzzle.\* (6) There is no evidence in Genesis, or any other Biblical book, that a distinction of person or authority is recognized between Elohim and Jehovah; but, on the contrary, their identification is complete. (7) If the titles Elohim and Jehovah, severally, are to be understood as characterizing documents, then Elohim should naturally be found with the supposed earlier document,† and, by every consideration, Jehovah should dominate in the so-called Priests' Code and in all matter of the Hexateuch relating to distinctively religious institutions. And the alleged *first introduction* of the title Jehovah, in connection with Moses (Ex. vi. 3), were it to be taken as fact, cannot alter this conclusion; it rather confirms it. Against this clearly normal arrangement, the assumption of a sentiment or usage to the contrary in the later times is without force. Both titles for God were at the service of both writers and of all writers.

The two principal titles of God occur in Genesis about three hundred and fifty times. The great majority of these occurrences may be readily classified under these three divisions. (1) Elohim is used rather than Jehovah because of the natural difference in the conception of God as Creator and Ruler in nature and God in human history, or as Theocratic Ruler. (2) Elohim is used appellatively, especially to mark the distinction between God and man as such. Here is to be included a considerable number of instances where the word for God is in the construct relation and Jehovah as a proper name would be unsuitable. (3) This name or that is used on the ground that, for one of the above reasons, it has been

\* Cf. Eichhorn, *Einleitung*, p. 146: "Gott hat dort (Ex. vi. 3) die Absicht, Mosen, und durch ihn das hebräische Volk zu versichern, dass er nun im Begriff sei, sein altes ihren Vorfahren gegebenes Wort zu erfüllen—dies ist der Inhalt der nächstfolgenden Verse (3-7), wie alle Ausleger einmüthig beiferkennen—wie unpassend wäre im Eingang zu diesem Versprechen eine Nachricht von dem Namen, den er bei den Patriarchen getragen habe? Unterscheidet man nur Satz und Einkleidung, so schliesst sich Eingang und Versprechen selbst aufs genaueste an einander an. Nun bedeutet El Shaddai den almächtigen Gott, und Jehovah den der unveränderlich derselbe bei seinen Gesinnungen bleibt (Ex. iii. 14); und mit einem Namen benannt werden bedeutet oft so viel als das wirklich sein was der Name ausdrückt. Leicht und natürlich ist also der Sinn des Verses: 'Eure Vorfahren kannten mich nur als den allmächtigen Gott, nicht aber als den, der bei seinen Gesinnungen unveränderlich bleibt.' "

† The circumstance that ha-Elohim is used as the subject of a sentence in some passages (xx. 6, xxii. 1, 3, 9, xxvii. 28, xxxv. 7, xli. 25, 28, 32, xlv. 16, xlv. 8, xlviii. 15—the last three=J) and that Elohim is sometimes employed with a plural verb (xxxi. 53, xxxv. 7) are hardly worth naming as characteristics of a document over against another supposed to be, in general, of the same age. The fact of Jehovistic and Elohistie Psalms has no direct bearing on the question of the adaptation in Genesis of the name of God to the matter in the midst of which it is found. Cf. König, *Einleit.*, p. 194. Cf. Lagarde's view (Cheyne, *Founders of Criticism*, p. 184).

employed in a previous section, to which evident though tacit reference is thus made. There are a very few places where the titles are interchanged for one another on grounds not now specially apparent; but, with a single exception, they are all in the last part of the book. Making due allowance for errors in judgment and variations of the text, this is a remarkable result and comes as near as could reasonably be expected of any theory, perhaps, to an explanation of the facts. The theory of three continuous documents now current certainly holds, as we have seen, no comparison with it.

Astruc's theory of two principal sources in Genesis based on the alternation of the divine names found a powerful supporter in Eichhorn.\* This scholar, too, greatly extended Astruc's list of alleged duplicated passages, and made much of points of style and phraseology as characteristics of the same. Not a little of his reasoning has been thought worthy of reproduction in later discussions and will be noticed in its place. In other respects Eichhorn as directly antagonized present positions. For example, like Simon, he discovered duplication in the material where critics now recognize but one document (vii. 21, 22, P); pronounced J's narrative cold, P's warm and full of hyperbole—for which, perhaps, his ascribing E's matter to P is a partial excuse (p. 93); regarded the genealogical lists of Genesis as a marked sign of antiquity (p. 28); disputed, against Ilgen, the existence of E, or the second Elohist altogether (p. 75); saw no reason, as is well known, for bringing down the composition of the book below the age of Moses, and agreed with Reuss † and Wellhausen ‡ in looking upon chaps. i and ii (?) as an interpolation, while most modern critics regard them as the tap-root of the Jehovistic source (p. 134). Eichhorn's chapter on the genuineness of Genesis is very interesting reading and by no means antiquated.

The next most important critic was Ilgen,§ who has been already named. His work was characterized by great independence. He stands at the point of transition between the first theory, of documents, represented by Astruc and Eichhorn and that of fragments, chiefly represented by Vater and Hartmann. Much has been made of Ilgen's original discovery of a so-called second Elohist, of which Hupfeld afterwards availed himself. It has been generally overlooked that it was not of Ilgen's second Elohist that Hupfeld availed himself. The correspondence, for the most part, was only in name; Ilgen not only did not seek to harmonize his theory with the divine

\* *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1823.

† *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, p. 255.

‡ *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 13.

§ *Die Urkunden des Jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt*, etc., 1789.

titles, but, as it might almost seem, to establish it in direct spite of them. He assigned most of the matter which before and since has been given to the Jehovist to his second Elohist. What is even more curious, such being the case, he mixed up beyond recognition this Elohist with the first, even in the opening chapter of Genesis (vers. 5, 8, 13, 23, 31).

The Jehovist, on the other hand, he made begin with the twelfth chapter, and allowed him but an insignificant portion of the material; nothing beyond chap. xxxviii. To cap the climax, he gave to this source the name of first Jehovist for the naïve reason that another Jehovist might be discovered in the future. Most remarkable of critics! He did not look upon his own work as a finality. Still Ilgen did not lack self-assertion. In the minuteness of his analysis he probably outstripped all his colleagues. The division of single verses between different documents may be almost said to have been a rule rather than the exception with him. In sections which he ascribes to the first Elohist alone there are fifty-two such fragments of verses and thirty-nine in the second Elohist. He has been commended \* for anticipating in the history of Joseph, some of the best results of modern analysis. This is true in any sense to an exceedingly limited extent. Taking chap. xxxvii as an example, we find that he assigns to the first Elohist, that is P, vers. 1-3, 4 in part, 18 in part, 21, 22, 23 in part, 24, 25 in part, 29-31, 32 in part, 34, 36, and the rest to the second Elohist. Kautzsch and Socin on the other hand ascribe only ver. 1 and part of 2 to P, the rest to J and E; and the line of separation dividing the matter assigned the second Elohist agrees only in a single instance with that of Ilgen. A second respect in which Ilgen marks a transition is in his view of the credibility of Genesis. He was at considerable remove from the platform of Astruc and Eichhorn. He began to show what in the parlance of modern criticism, as we have already noted in the case of Kuenen, is known as the "historic sense." This seems to be a kind of preternatural sixth sense which enables its happy possessor to see what others do not, and, at the same time, not to see what it does not wish to.

If the hitherto peaceful course of the criticism was violently disturbed by Ilgen, it received an almost fatal shock from Vater.† Genesis, he maintained, was a heterogeneous collection of single pieces of composition. The line of a vague chronology might, indeed, be detected running through the separate parts; but it did not bind them into one connected whole. To prove this Vater used, in

\* Cheyne, *The Founders of Criticism*, p. 30.

† *Com. über den Pentateuch*, 1805. Vater was much influenced in his views by the works of Geddes, London, 1792, 1800.

general, the arguments urged in favor of the original theory of documents, the peculiar recurrence of the divine names, repetitions in the narrative, and the numerous superscriptions and subscriptions. To the objection that such a mass of fragments in written form could hardly be conceived of as circulating among the people of Israel, he replied: "Difficult, to be sure, it is; but it is a difficulty which inheres in the subject, that is, in the form of the Pentateuch as it now appears. And it is far less difficult, and a great deal less artificial, than the theory of two documents covering the same ground, the parts of which have been patched together to make up Genesis."\*

Vater's views were ably supported by Hartmann,† but otherwise had a small and unimportant following. In one respect, however, they mark an epoch. Neither Astruc nor Eichhorn had been disposed to detach Genesis from the age of Moses. Ilgen also left that question untouched, though querying its trustworthiness. But Vater and Hartmann both claimed that it arose long after Moses' time, and that its matter had been greatly affected by tradition; and from now on the veracity of Biblical statements began to be seriously and persistently called in question, until, at present, its lack of credibility is a fundamental assumption, tacit or outspoken, of a growing number of investigators.

Naturally the theory of fragments brought the whole subject of Pentateuchal criticism into the greatest confusion; almost every thread of connection was broken. The original elements only remained. When DeWette took up the subject anew, he was at a loss, at first, which of the two paths hitherto marked out to follow.‡ In the same work he speaks of the "Jehovah-fragmentist" and of "the plan and style of our Elohist." On one point, however, he was clear. Genesis was no history. A narrator who tells incredible things of this sort, even though he have good intentions, is no historian. He is rather a poet. Genesis is an epic. Our first business with such a book is not with its sources and the question of their arrangement; it is to determine its essential character as historic or otherwise.

Ewald, on the other hand, with the majority of scholars, had been strongly repelled by the extreme positions of Vater. In 1823 he published a book on the Composition of Genesis, in which he defended, on internal grounds, its unity, systematic construction and natural literary growth. He was supported by Drechsler who, a

\* It will be noticed that the epithet "patchwork" applied to the compilation theory did not originate with conservative critics (cf. *ibid.*, p. 514).

† *Historisch-kritische Forschungen*, etc., 1831.

‡ It was not till the fifth edition of his *Einleitung* that DeWette adopted the supplementary theory.

few years later, wrote a book on the Genuineness and Unity of Genesis.\* Ewald afterwards† partially changed his ground, accepting, in a modified form, the theory of supplements. Clearly this change affected his former reasoning only so far as it rested on insecure hypotheses rather than unalterable facts. As a collection of such facts his work is still of great value.

The works of Ewald, Drechsler and others determined, to a large extent, the form of the next, that is to say, the third critical theory of the composition of Genesis. It assumed the relative unity of the book, one principal source, the Elohist, being at its basis. This, it was held, had been supplemented from a Jehovistic source. From this fact the theory took its name—the supplementary theory. There was a difference of opinion among its adherents as to the Jehovistic sections. Some held that the Jehovist was the author of the entire work. Others, that an editor had added the Jehovistic portions from an original source. All were agreed on one point: the absolute identity in style and point of view everywhere of the Elohist portions, including, of course, the second Elohist. Yet this principle was precisely the opposite of that which had controlled the second theory; it is hardly less repugnant to that which is now in vogue. The supplementary theory rallied to its standard, first or last, a large proportion of the leading scholars of Germany. It contained enough of truth, moreover, to make its hold comparatively lasting. Even now it is the favorite theory of so clear a thinker as Principal Cave,‡ and one of Germany's most noted critics is inclined to give it his preference.§ But in 1853 another effort to reshape the material of Genesis was attempted. On former occasions a change had been brought about by contradiction, as electric energy is evoked by the contact of opposites. So it was to be again. Hupfeld|| denied the truth of the then universal postulate on which the supplementary theory rested—the unity and homogeneity of the so-called Elohist source. There were, he held, really two Elohist sources: one of them, however, being more Jehovistic than Elohist in its literary and historical character, while both were incrustated with much foreign material. This theory of Hupfeld, as we have shown, is no return to that of Ilgen. Hupfeld used Ilgen's title of second Elohist, but he assigned to it an almost entirely different portion of the text. He found, in short, as he supposed, three independent accounts of

\* *Die Achtheit und Einheit der Genesis*, 1838.

† *Jahrbücher für Wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1831; *Stud. und Kritiken*, 1831, 1833.

‡ *Inspiration of the Old Testament*, 1888.

§ Klostermann, *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1891, p. 692.

|| *Quellen der Genesis*, 1853.

the early history of the race of Israel in Genesis. An editor, using a large liberty of adding, subtracting and changing, had merged them in one.

This new theory of documents, as it respects Genesis, is essentially the one advocated to-day by the majority of European critics. The difference is mainly one of chronological order, not of analysis. The sources of Genesis are a first and second Elohist and a Jehovist, with an editor who arranged them in their present form. How radical its departure is from previous theories will appear at a glance. We have already seen that, by its assumption of two Elohist, it denies pointblank the formative principle of the supplementary theory. But, more than that, Hupfeld held, as just noted, and it is now also universally maintained by the adherents of the theory, that the second Elohist is Elohist only in name. His matter so nearly approaches that of the Jehovist that not a few of the most clever of those holding the theory declare themselves unable to separate one from the other. That is to say, the two Elohist sources are more unlike one another than the second is unlike the Jehovist.

Is not this virtually to abandon the position that the titles Jehovah and Elohim are, respectively, characteristic signs of distinct sources? Ilgen was more consistent, in giving up his dependence on the peculiar occurrence of these titles as soon as he adopted the theory of three sources. Jehovah and Elohim alike appear in his second Elohist, and may be said to be characteristics of it. His provision for a future second Jehovist is another sign of the same proper concession. Who will deny the possibility of separating from the Jehovistic sections, as they now appear, a second Jehovist who will satisfy, at least as well as the second Elohist, the conditions of an independent source? Indeed, it has been actually done in the first and last parts of Genesis, and such an hypothesis is an essential part of the current theory. As soon as one yielded the original assumption that the word Elohim distinguished one source and the word Jehovah another, there was scarcely a limit to which analysis along these lines might not readily be carried.\*

Throughout this brief sketch of the early history of the criticism, we have been conscious of limitation in the necessity of confining our survey to the book of Genesis. It began with Genesis, but soon spread, as we have seen, to the Pentateuch; and it now covers a large part of the Old Testament. The view taken of Genesis among our critics, has, no doubt, been seriously affected at times, whether consciously or not, by such a connection. Probably Vater would not have gone so

\*So Cheyne (*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, p. 30) says: "The Yahvists were, in fact, perhaps a school of writers."

far as he did in his theory of fragments if his view had been confined to Genesis alone. Again, possibly, there would have been a less extreme reaction from Vater's theory in the case of Ewald and Drechsler if their point of view had not been chiefly Genesis. It seems at least clear that in the matter of fair treatment Genesis has suffered much more than it has gained, by being regarded as simply one of a class of books similar in material, structure and composition. This was especially true in the chronological adjustment of the supposed sources, which was the next problem of the criticism.

Graf,\* entering into the labors of other critics, came to the conclusion that the Levitical legislation in its present form originated after the Babylonian exile. No special thought of Genesis was then in his mind. His attention was directed at once, by more than one scholar,† to the fact that, by hypothesis, this legislation formed a chief part of one of the great Elohist sources whose historical material begins with the opening chapters of the Bible. He accepted the suggestion and proceeded to adjust himself to it. "That was my mistake," he replied. "The whole document, inclusive of its editorial additions"—for so he himself regarded this early history—"belongs together and should alike go after the Exile, where I have already put its essential part." With such relative haste, and on such extrinsic and subsidiary grounds, this large portion of Genesis was originally consigned to this distant age with which it apparently had so little affinity.

It was noted above that with Vater and De Wette there entered more generally into the discussion of critical questions another factor having the value of an axiom, which has since greatly affected all conclusions reached—the assumption of the legendary character of earlier Pentateuchal narratives, excepting possibly a substratum of historic fact. The reasoning of Graf and his colleagues, one of whom was Kuenen, was based on such a premise. Hence they felt at liberty to refer the Levitical laws, which by their superscription are Mosaic and by their outward form throughout are actually localized in the wilderness of Sinai, to the time of the Exile.

This was not, however, the only peculiar principle which was operative with them. A second mighty factor at about this time slipped almost unperceived into the discussion—the theory of historic evolution. Institutions grow; they never rise spontaneously. That was its watchword. Laws for men do not come down from heaven, though they have often been thought to do so. They spring up

\* *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 1866.

† *Archiv für Wissenschaftliche Forschungen*, i, p. 466, etc. Notably by Riehm, *Stud. und Kritiken*, 1868, pp. 350–379. Cf. Kuenen, *Hex. Introd.*, p. xxxiii.

gradually and are coincident with the popular need. At some time later still they assume the form of codes. Bible institutions and laws are no exception to this rule. The so-called Mosaic enactments are of too developed a character to be the product of so rude an age. Hence, if we are to have an orderly sequence of the history, they must be transferred to one more befitting their nature. This is the *deus ex machina*. This explains, as nothing else can, how so tremendous a change of base could take place with so little apparent reason or preparation. "Nothing is simpler," said one of the later critics,\* "than the theory of Graf. It was only needful to place a single original authority, which is generally called the 'fundamental document' . . . in the post-exilic times, in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, in order with one blow to put the 'Mosaic period' out of existence." There is a proverb for which we are indebted to the reformer Huss which seems to be in point: "If you have offended a clergyman, kill him; or else you will never have peace with him." And there is another preserved among the Jews, not inappropriate: "When the tale of bricks is doubled, that is, when Israel is oppressed, Moses comes." †

On the basis of this new adjustment of the documents, the current form of the critical analysis arose. As far as it applies to Genesis, it is as follows: The oldest portions of the book consist of two principal sources, a Jahvist and an Elohist, together with still earlier Jahvistic fragments. Their date as actual compositions is put at about B.C. 800. A Jehovist compiler united these works into one. The youngest portions of Genesis are represented by the document which begins the Bible, now generally known as P. With many critics chap. xiv stands by itself as of peculiar origin. Subsequent to the Exile, an editor with the style of the latest work, united P with the already combined J E; and, bating glosses, to him is due the form of Genesis as it now is, including a considerable amount of original matter. It will be seen that this theory, though including the three documents of Hupfeld, is, in one respect, at a wide remove from it. The question of the order of the documents, though passed so lightly over by Graf and his collaborators, is one of vital importance in many respects. It involves within itself, indeed, every principle of literary and historical criticism. If it were a trifling thing to sunder from its context one-half the matter of Genesis and transfer it bodily to a period seven centuries away, the whole subject of the criticism would be unworthy the serious attention of scholars. That it is not so regarded even by critics is evidenced by the fact that on this very question, accepting the current analysis, in

\* Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, p. 17.

† Cf. French, *Lessons in Proverbs*, pp. 69, 82.

its general features, they are divided into two opposing camps. No inconsiderable number among them, having a reputation scarcely second to that of Kuenen and Wellhausen, have never ceased to regard Graf's proceeding as a simple *tour de force*, justified neither by reason nor necessity. They find it impossible, on any fair critical principles, to harmonize this supposed relation of the sources with their actual contents. And this it is which makes the difference of so great importance. It touches the vital question of the analysis as such at a vital point. It cannot fail to awaken a deep distrust of the methods adopted.

This completes our hasty sketch of the earlier stages of the criticism. As will at once appear, our object has been less to give a minute and consecutive history of the matter than to show the relation which its several stages hold to one another and to the theory now in vogue. Critics of our day often speak of the generations of similar work which have preceded theirs, whose fruits they now enjoy. They speak of the principles they hold as "dearly bought," being at the expense of weary years of toil and sacrifice. Others have labored and they have entered into their labors. Pentateuchal criticism, moreover, it is alleged, has been a growth, a true development: first the blade in Simon and Astruc, then the ear in Hupfeld and Graf, and now the full corn in the ear in Wellhausen and Driver.

If this were a just representation, it would be of considerable significance. It would have a direct bearing in favor of the correctness and the permanence of the scheme of criticism now dominant. Our review has clearly shown that it is not just. There has been no real development. The connection of the present scheme with those which have preceded is outward and at a few points; not inward, organic and vital. Progress even in the spiral form, such as is sometimes predicated of the Church, cannot be claimed; the criticism swinging alternately from one extreme to another with a slow and steady movement onward and upward. Bare continuity has often been singularly wanting. It is not denied that the criticism of to-day has received a certain legacy from the past; but this is mostly of a purely negative character. It has been shown the paths that are not to be followed. So far it has a positive content. It has come to it in a form almost unchanged and with none of the elements of vital increase characterizing a germinal force, moving necessarily and steadily onward towards bloom and fruit. The matter in Genesis to-day held to be post-Mosaic is essentially that pointed out by Aben-Ezra and Le Clerc. The terms Jehovist, Elohist and Redactor are old, it is true, but have become confusing in the new adjustments and are of questionable value. The list of

duplicate passages and other literary data, made the ground of the analysis, have no doubt considerably increased with the lapse of time, but it cannot be denied that many of them have been compelled to serve contrary purposes by different critics and once and again brought to support conclusions now held to be false.

There are two things and two only which have come down from the past that are really important. These do greatly modify, may even be said to control the criticism of our day; but they are assumptions, not facts. There is, first, the assumption that the Bible's own account of Israel's religion is incredible. This prepares the way for the second, that Israel's religion arose like other religions about it. They are the two things, moreover, which most stand in the way of reaching scientific results in this direction. To be scientific, of course, one may only assume as a premise what has been proven to be true or is admitted on all sides to be so. Here the other party in the debate, and the one still in possession of the goods, lays strenuous and unabated claim to the very thing which the new, without debate, assumes to be false. It claims that the account which the Bible gives of itself is fact; that Israel's religion did not arise like other religions about it. And it professes to be able to show that while this view is in itself simpler and more natural than any other proposed in its place, it also accounts far better for the sum of the phenomena involved.

In conclusion, now, glancing backward for a moment at the course of the criticism as we have found it, we fail to discover that order and development which, from current representations, we had been led to expect. On the contrary, it presents a series of opinions so mutually antagonistic and self-destructive that it is difficult to think of them as consecutive parts of the same brief history. To begin with Vater, it is evident that he showed no mercy either to his predecessors' methods or their results. With precisely the same data, he reached results diametrically opposed to theirs. Ilgen, in turn, made use of the divine names to guide his analysis just as Astruc and Eichhorn had done, but differentiated them otherwise, and attached them to the literary material in a way acceptable to no other critic before or since. The third theory was of a more sturdy type than either of those which had gone before it. Ewald and Drechsler, as its precursors, advocated a view of Genesis which as directly antagonized that of Astruc, Eichhorn and Ilgen as it did that of Vater and Hartmann. The best scholarship of Germany gave itself for a long period of time to the discovery and delimitation of a *Grundschrift*, a fundamental document supposed to lie at the basis of Genesis. The names of Deity were employed in connection with it somewhat as in the theory of Astruc

and their lines of division now and then coincided. More often they collided and the essential principle of the division was almost entirely another. To Vater's theory, of course, it offered a polar contrast. After the so-called *Grundschrift* had been completed and generally accepted, Hupfeld appeared to give it a stab in its very vitals. He denied that it was anything of the sort supposed. It was itself a compilation from two exceedingly unlike sources. Hupfeld's theory, notwithstanding the fact that it cut athwart the entire consensus of the ruling criticism and, in addition, brought seriously into question the original and most patent mark whereby sources were distinguished, the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim, displaced temporarily its predecessor. He had won his way by a bold innovation. Graf, who followed, outdid him in the same tactics. He adopted Hupfeld's documents, but dislocated them in a manner to play havoc with almost every critical principle hitherto advocated. Even Vater admitted a thread of chronological connection running through his collection of fragments. Graf virtually denied any literary or logical connection between a quarter of Genesis, taken out in the form of fragments here and there, and the other three quarters, dating their origin centuries apart.

Again, taking the final outcome of this series of critical efforts as exhibited in the present theory of documents, and comparing it with the varying phases that have preceded, there is, perhaps, an even greater impression of contrariety made. The vital thing in Astruc's theory was the absolute control of the material given to the names of Deity. The present one subordinates these names to other and obscurer tests, and confounds, beyond the recognition of many critics, its Jehovistic and Elohistic matter. The vital thing in Vater's theory was the denial of any real connection among the constituent parts of Genesis. The present finds not simply one consecutive history therein but three, having each an obvious and close connection of parts. The vital things in the theory of supplements were, first, the fact of its strictly homogeneous Elohistic basis of wide extent and great historical importance; second, that this Elohistic material bore throughout the marks of the highest antiquity; third, that it was the foundation of Genesis, being itself supplemented, never the reverse. The present theory, taking from this source the larger part of its matter, leaves it the most jejune and uninteresting of documents, scarcely more than a bare coördination of genealogies and statistical statements, with scattered facts from the lives of the patriarchs. From being the oldest, it makes it by centuries younger than either of its companion sources; from being the supplemented original, it is made an adjunct and supplementer. The vital thing in Hup-

feld's work was his separation of the second Elohist from the first, in contravention of the ripest convictions of contemporaneous scholarship. One of the most serious problems of the present theory, strange to say, is to keep this same second Elohist apart from the Jehovist, so strikingly is it said to resemble it in material and literary form. Finally, the most marked element in the work of Graf was his removal of Hupfeld's Elohist *primus* to the third place in chronological and literary sequence. It represented a movement in which only a part of those thus far engaged took part. It has left a division in the critical ranks, which is beyond the hope of healing; a division of such proportions and so involving the fundamental canons of critical judgment as hitherto applied, that along with the so-called consensus should always, in fairness, be named the dissensus of Pentateuchal criticism in the present day.

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## OBJECTIONS TO APOSTOLIC AUTHORSHIP OR SANCTION AS THE ULTIMATE TEST OF CANONICITY.

**I**N a former paper the present writer sought to show that apostolic origin or sanction is the *only* valid *test* of the canonicity of a writing.\* In his opening paragraph he called attention to the objections so confidently urged against this position, and intimated a purpose to examine them. Unforeseen and unavoidable delays have prevented the execution of that purpose until the present time.

### PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

Before considering particular objections, it will be proper to ask the reader's attention to some propositions, the relevancy and importance of which will be seen as soon as stated, and will become more and more manifest as the discussion proceeds.

I. It will be found that most, if not all, the objections urged grow out of a wrong conception and definition of the term Canon. For instance, if we define the Canon as "a list or catalogue setting forth what books are inspired,"† it will be comparatively easy to fall into the Romish error that ecclesiastical sanction is the ultimate test of canonicity. For, if there be a body authorized to set forth a list or catalogue of inspired books, then there arise two questions only: Where is the body possessed of this authority? and, What books does it include in its list? The inquirer might not find it easy to obtain an answer to the first question. That answered, however, his difficulties would be at an end. The same remark applies, if we adopt the definition of Dr. Gladden. He says: "This word (*i. e.*, Canon) as used in this connection means simply an authoritative list or catalogue. The Canon of the Bible is the determined and official table of contents."‡ If so, we have only to find the party or the Church which has the authority to draw up such a catalogue,

\* *Vide* THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW, April, 1892, p. 246.

† Bishop Lynch: *vide* Thornwell's *Collected Writings*, Vol. iii, p. 754.

‡ *Who Wrote the Bible?* p. 298.

stone; railroads must transport these to their destination; laborers must excavate the ground; masons trim and set the stone; carpenters throw the beams and joists, and a score of other kinds of workmen must contribute their shares to the final result. But when the building is at last complete, we turn to the architect and superintendent, whose intelligence devised and directed every part of the structure, and congratulate him on the building he has given us. In a much more real sense does the New Testament appear to be the work of a Spiritual Architect and Superintendent; and when we have traced its historical formation, and compare the result with the needs of men, our conclusion can only be, This is indeed both the Work and the Word of God.

PRINCETON.

GEORGE T. PURVES.



## IV.

## ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF GENESIS.

CURRENT THEORY OF THE ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE  
OF GENESIS.

AS shown in the preceding paper,\* the theory of the origin and structure of Genesis, now most widely current among European critics, is that it is principally a compilation from three sources. They may be named, in harmony with common usage, J, E and P, the last letter standing for the Priests' code, so called on account of the priestly laws of the middle books found in it. In Genesis it is identified with what we have hitherto known as the first Elohist. It is claimed that none of these sources originated, in a written form, before the tenth century B.C., the date for J and E varying, with different critics, between 1000 and 800 and being sometimes carried even lower. On the other hand, the point of time fixed by Wellhausen, representing the dominant school, for the promulgation of P as a whole, is 444 B.C.

There is a difference of opinion among critics as to the chronological order of the first two documents, whether it should be J, E, or E, J, though this is a matter relatively unimportant, since the great majority agree that they arose at about the same time. It is not necessary in our consideration of Genesis by itself to enter largely into this subject of the dates of supposed documents. We are more particularly concerned with the analysis; but the two subjects are more or less involved in each other, a post-Mosaic and relatively late date for all the documents being a necessary corollary to the acceptance of the analysis in its present form.

Now, at the outset, it is a perfectly fair, and indeed necessary, inquiry whether there were likely to be current in Israel during the periods named, or at any other time, documents of this sort; and if so, whether it is probable that they were combined in the way supposed. We shall consider these questions before taking up the principal arguments by which the theory is supported.

Once more, then, and in brief, the current theory may be stated as follows: There were three narratives of Israel's early history,

\* THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW, January, 1895, pp. 1 sq.

covering much the same ground, which arose centuries after most of the events they profess to record, two of them from three to five, and one of them eight centuries. From these histories our present Genesis was compiled. The compilation was begun about the eighth or ninth century and completed after the middle of the fifth.

Over against this theory let certain facts be noted. It is at present admitted, on all sides, that the art of writing was well known as early as the Mosaic period. Hence there was no necessity on that account for a delay in the record. Neither was it because of a lack of interest on Israel's part in its own history; for such interest is everywhere apparent. Still further there is an extended list of lost writings, more than a score in all, quoted or referred to in the Old Testament, including all kinds of literature, especially histories. Some of them cover the very period in which our three are supposed to have arisen. To no one of the three has there been discovered the remotest reference. That the earlier and later kings kept annals of the events of their reigns and preserved them with the greatest care there is no doubt. There is just as little doubt that the prophets, in addition to their prophecies, wrote histories of their times. It is also clear, whatever may be thought of the Pentateuch, that several books of the Old Testament are compilations from various sources. But in all cases, as far as we know, the sources are particularly named in the compilations made from them. It would be wholly contrary to analogy, therefore, to expect works of this kind to be made on any other plan, particularly at so late a period as from 800 to 400 B.C. It must accordingly be looked upon as a suspicious circumstance that Genesis and its companion books, if compiled, were compiled without formal reference to authorities, and that although a score of lost works are cited in the Old Testament the existence of no one of our three, or anything like them, is anywhere hinted at. The later their origin is put, the more mysterious do these facts become.

There is another fact of importance. A comparison of the three alleged sources of Genesis shows the most remarkable correspondence among them as to the chronological order of occurrences. This is most strikingly illustrated in J and E, which are the fullest; but is also observable in the outline of P preserved to us. How did it happen that all three adopted in this respect, as far as they go, precisely the same literary form? A single thread of narrative appears in all, running from Abraham to Isaac and from Isaac to Jacob and from Jacob to Joseph, who is unanimously made governor of Egypt and the rescuer of his family. This connection of the sources is not a matter of main features simply, but extends to

single incidents. Step by step through Abraham's history and that of Jacob in Haran and of Joseph in Egypt, J and E take up the same events and make them follow one another in the same sequence and logical dependence. This is equally true of P at points where he touches the history. In fact, it is this circumstance chiefly that makes it possible for our critics to divide the text into three so-called parallel accounts. It is strange that it has not occurred to them to ask whether it is at all probable that three independent histories would be constructed on a method showing such a striking and universal likeness. A far more natural postulate would seem to be, under the condition in which they are found, that the three supposed histories are really mutually supplementary parts of one and the same history, and if it be not our present Genesis, it must have been an original work extremely like it.\*

Again, supposing that there were three parallel accounts of the same events, arranged in the same order, actually combined in Genesis, how is their existence severally to be explained? Works of this sort are not written to-day without a reason; much less could they be expected to arise without one in the times of Jeroboam II or the Exile. What then was the *motif* behind each? We have seen already how the historical matter given to P came to be assigned to the Exile by Graf. It was only as an after-thought and under the compulsion of his theory. He did not look upon it as in itself a connected history; but as merely prefatory editorial matter. And Graf was right. It is not a history. It is safe to say that it is wholly unlikely that any one at the time of the Exile would have set out to write a work of the importance of P with such an introduction. It is a bare projection without the filling. It is an imperfect skeleton without flesh and blood to complete or make significant the organism.

It begins with an account of the creation, which is both disproportionate and has little direct bearing on the main theme. It is largely made up of genealogical lists, which we could understand as the foundation of a national history, but which are out of place as preparatory to laws of worship. As the document now appears in Genesis, the life of Abraham has no proper beginning and contains no clear evidence of the purpose of his being in Canaan. Far too much prominence is given relatively to Lot, Ishmael and Esau, with their families. Isaac's birth is unnoticed, and there is no

\* Prof. Mead calls attention to the following circumstance (*Journal of Sacred Literature*, Vol. x, Part i, p. 50): The Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX. exhibit no variation in the text. The LXX., however, indicates variation in the books of Samuel and Jeremiah. Within a century, therefore, after the recension was made the older writings were completely lost.

record of any divine appearance or promise to him. Jacob's life in Paddan-aram, including his marriage and the birth of his children, is passed over in silence. Joseph is abruptly introduced as being in Egypt without explanation of how he came to be there. A few sentences only are devoted to the entire contents of the last twelve chapters of the book. These are logically disconnected, unintelligible without the accompanying matter, and suggest but the slightest connection with such a work as the Priests' code should be.

Some critics, it is true, allege that this document was originally fuller than it now is, and contained, in substance, much of the matter now found in the others. This is a wholly unsupported allegation. Were it true, it would serve to bring critics only the more completely into the difficulty just noticed, that of postulating three documents of like contents, arranged in the same chronological order throughout, to supplant a book of the acknowledged external unity of Genesis. Supposing then that the antecedent history of P contained in Genesis is with reference to its legislation, we must say that it is not to the point. It has no real growth, only stages. It is said, indeed, that a progressive revelation in P is shown in the institution of the Sabbath, followed by the Noachic covenant, the law of bloodshed and circumcision, all contained in it. It is true, however, only as the intervening history of J is taken into account. Each of its ten sections is introduced by the same formula: "These are the generations." The code is distinctively religious, ritualistic, and adapted to a congregation; the introduction is chronological, discursively genealogical and statistical, with only remote suggestions of religion and, as the critics say, no worship whatsoever.

Of the two other works, by hypothesis concerned in the compilation, there is much in dispute. First, the place of their origin severally; secondly, to which the priority belongs; thirdly, and most important, the matter that is to be referred to each. It is seriously discussed whether one or both originated in the northern kingdom. Dillmann, Kittel and Riehm claim that E preceded J; Kuenen, Wellhausen and Stade, the contrary. Nöldeke, Driver, Strack, and many others, while holding to the existence of two such sources, confess that the task of distinguishing them from one another is beyond them. Strack, in the Preface to his recent *Commentary on Genesis*, declares that "to separate J and E is, at present at least, absolutely impossible." This fact is all the more important that on their existence as distinct sources depends the validity of the prevailing theory of documents over against that of supplements which it superseded; and indeed the distinction between Elohist and Jehovistic sources after the twentieth chapter of Genesis.

No good purpose would be served by an attempt on our part to harmonize these conflicting views. It is plain, however, that if there were two such works, so nearly alike in contents, order and style that the most acute German and English critics despair of discriminating one from the other, and they arose at about the same time in the same neighborhood, at least in the same limited circle, the occasion for both is not apparent. We do not say that their separate existence is impossible, but that it is improbable. That one prefers Elohim as a title for God is no sufficient reason; and just as little the fact that the Elohist presents, if he does, a nobler conception of God; makes Him appear in dreams (xx. 3); act through the ministry of angels (xxi. 17); represents Abram as a prophet and intercessor (xx. 7); mentions Jacob as putting away the strange gods and amulets (xxxv. 4); shows an antiquarian interest (xxxv. 19); and, although he has much to say of Beersheba in the south, generally makes his stories of the patriarchs centre around the sacred places of northern Israel.

On the other hand, even if we look upon the sources, over against P, as essentially one, as is common, we are not free of difficulties. It must be admitted that JE supplies just the literary and especially the ethical material required to fill up in P what is otherwise, as we have shown, bare projection; to clothe a mere skeleton with the flesh and blood needful to make it a thing of life and meaning. While, taken by itself, it almost wholly lacks the unity, definiteness of aim and progression of thought which characterize proper history. It is significant that the critics themselves are wont to speak of it as a collection of stories or, as many say, myths and legends, concerning the patriarchs.

But we are not yet done with our preliminary inquiry whether documents of this sort are likely to have arisen in Israel at the periods named or at any other time. We have seen that with respect to theme, general contents and order of presentation, there is extraordinary agreement among them; an agreement so remarkable as to make the proposed theory of their origin on that account improbable. An even more surprising circumstance is their *disagreement* in matters of detail. The number of discrepancies and contradictions they contain, when taken out of their present setting and looked upon as separate documents, is simply prodigious. Genesis regarded as essentially a unit presents difficulties, and difficulties, to some extent, of the same kind. They are almost infinitesimal when compared with those which a division into three sources compels us to face. Let it be noted, moreover, that no effort is made by the adherents of the theory to conceal or belittle these disagreements. With the exception of a few scholars like Strack, they

are not only zealously culled out and displayed; they are made a leading part of the evidence in support of the theory. The following examples are taken exclusively from the published works of critics supporting this form of the analysis, and to some extent are presented in their own language.\*

We begin with the accounts of the creation of which we are said to have two, one each from P and J † (i-ii. 4<sup>a</sup>, ii. 4<sup>b</sup>-25). P's account, it is claimed, proceeds from lower to higher forms of life. J's, on the contrary, starts with the highest; according to him man first appeared, then vegetation, and then the animals. In P there is a superabundance of water at the beginning, which must be removed before vegetation is possible: in J there is too little; the earth is an arid plain, and water must be first produced. In P man and woman are created together; so much together, it is said, as to lead some to suppose the writer meant to describe a single individual as combining the peculiarities of both sexes. In J woman is formed the last of the series, after the animals. In P man is made in God's image and given supremacy over the earth at once. In J (chaps. ii, iii) it is a sin for him to seek to be as God, and he is expected to reach supremacy only after deterioration and degradation.

The second section to be considered is concerned, principally, with a genealogy (chaps. iv, v). Unlike that just noted, where the same event is said to be duplicated, here, what was originally, as supposed, an identical list of names is incorrectly given to two different ancestors: to Cain by J, to Seth by P. It is true that there are only two names alike in the separate lists, and they appear in a different connection; but this is a slight obstacle. The differences are held to be sufficient only to show that the names passed through different hands. Be that as it may, these are the names and the discrepancies the theory involves: Cain, Enoch, Irad, Mehujael, Methushael, Lamech, Jabal, Jubal, Tubal in J; Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, Shem, Ham, Japheth in P. Furthermore "the section iv. 2-16 relates," it is said, "how Cain becomes a murderer, a fugitive, an outcast from the society of men, dreading even to meet men, a typical *nomad*; iv. 17-24, on the other hand, presents Cain as an agriculturalist, building a city (vs. 17, 18), as if there never had been an event like that narrated in verses 2-16."

We next come to the narrative of the Flood. There are throughout, it is said, parallel accounts from P and J; though they clash

\* Cf. especially *Hebraica* from 1888 Harper's articles on "The Pentateuchal Question."

† We follow here as elsewhere the analysis of Kautzsch and Socin: *Die Genesis mit Aeusserer Unterscheidung der Quellschriften*, etc., zweite Aufl., 1891.

at every turn. According to P, the Flood is caused by convulsions of nature; according to J, by an extraordinary rain. According to P, it began in Noah's 600th year; according to J, "after seven days." According to P, the waters prevail 150 days; according to J, 40 days. According to P, they disappear at the end of a full year from the beginning; according to J, after about a hundred days. The ark of one has an immovable lighting system; of the other, a window which can be opened and shut. One has a door in the side; to the other there is ingress and egress, apparently, over the top, for which there is a covering provided. One reckons the animals received by twos, male and female; the other by sevens, clean and unclean. One makes the Flood universal, reaching above the highest mountains; the other, local and limited. We take no account here, as we have not before, of supposed differences of style and theological conception; but simply enumerate the more obvious ones connected with the literary presentation.

The next section extends from chap. ix. 20 to xii. 5. The literary difficulties and discrepancies which the advocates of the analysis find here, should the matter be divided as required, are numerous. At the beginning, Noah is represented as a husbandman cultivating the vine, a rôle, it is said, quite distinct from that of navigator filled by him in previous chapters. The actions of his sons, in view of the patriarch's drunkenness, is characterized as that of boys rather than of married men over a hundred years old, the irrelevances being enhanced by the fact that but one tent is assigned to father and sons. Noah's utterance of a curse on an innocent person, the son of the true offender, is claimed to be due to a jumble of different strata in the same document. In harmony with iv. 16-24, the three sons of Lamech are made the fathers of the new world; while in chap. x it is the three sons of Noah. Moreover, chap. x regards the nations as already settled "after their families, after their tongues," etc., while in chap. xi the whole process of dispersion "and differentiation of language which has been accomplished in one way is (now) done over again in quite a different way." According to P, Abram got into Canaan by the perfectly natural process of accompanying his father who started to emigrate thither; according to J, there was an extraordinary call of God to the patriarch to go while he was yet in Ur of the Chaldees.

In the next division (xii. 6-17), the life of Abram is continued to the birth of Ishmael. Here P knows of no quarrel between Abram and Lot; they separate simply for want of room, and Sarai has no difficulty with Hagar. J, however, is interested in the domestic difficulties of the patriarchs. P says nothing of Sarai's

connection with a foreign court; J gives two such accounts, and there is another in E. P locates Abram in the Land of Canaan; J, by the "oaks of Mamre." According to P, Lot settles in the cities of the Plain; according to J, in the plain of the Jordan. According to P, Abram names Ishmael (xvi. 15); according to J, it is the mother (xvi. 11). J's account of Abram's journey to Egypt also is claimed to be inconsistent with the dates of P; and it is said that the supposition that a woman over sixty-five years of age "could so charm the Egyptian court as to endanger her husband's life is inconceivable." In the announcement of Isaac's birth, P's account makes Abram, now become Abraham, laugh (xvii. 17); in J, it is Sarah who laughs (xviii. 12). According to P, Abraham is too old to beget a child (xvii. 17); according to J, the trouble is with the age of Sarah (xviii. 11, 12). As to Lot's deliverance, P says it was for Abraham's sake (xviii. 29); J, because of Lot's own goodness, that is, his hospitality (xix. 1-3). P represents that Lot was rescued out of the midst of the catastrophe to Sodom (xviii. 29); J, that it was before it began (xviii. 22-24). In P, God destroys the cities directly (xix. 29); in J, through natural means (xix. 24).

Chap. xiv, taken by itself, has the following inconsistencies. It introduces Lot as in Sodom, but knows nothing of the city's wickedness. Abraham, who is in such terror for his life in Egypt, is now so much a hero that he risks his life even for a nephew and conquers the combined forces of four mighty kings. He is also called "the Hebrew," as though never heard of before. Even Jerusalem is mentioned: for that is what is meant by Salem (ver. 18).

Chaps. xviii-xxiii. carry on the narrative to the death of Sarah. P has not much material, excepting the bargain for the cave of Machpelah; but the new document E begins with chap. xx. It is said to offer a new version of Abraham's journey to Egypt, as we have before noted, as well as of Sarah's relations to Hagar, and one that is quite incompatible with what has gone before. Sarah is much too old for the occurrence described as taking place at the court of Abimelech (chap. xx). In the matter of Hagar's banishment, E represents that she was driven out (xxi. 10); J, that she fled voluntarily (xvi. 6). One, that she leaves with Ishmael on her shoulder, although he is seventeen years old (xxi. 14, LXX.); the other, that at this time he is still unborn. One makes Ishmael the cause; the other, Hagar herself. In one, Abraham is the immediate occasion of her going away; in the other, Sarah. In one, the angel calls down to her from heaven as she faints in the wilderness; in the other he meets her on the road thither. In one, she is found at the well; in the other, she herself finds the well.

In chap. xix-xxviii. 9 the history is carried on to the point

of Jacob's departure for Haran. As compared with J E, P, as before, knows nothing of family difficulties. Jacob receives his blessing, because he is going away; he goes away because his parents do not wish him to marry in the neighborhood. There is no cheating or rivalry between him and Esau and no hatred or fear engendered.

The experiences of Jacob in Haran are given in chaps. xxviii. 10-xxxiii. 17. There is too little of P for extended comparison; but J and E supply the lack. One represents the appearance to Jacob at Bethel as a theophany; the other, as a dream. In one, Jacob asks for the dotted and spotted among the cattle; in the other, Laban proffers them with the hope of getting the better of his son-in-law. In one, Esau answers Jacob's messages, by coming with a troop; in the other, he appears for purposes of reconciliation. Jacob's extraordinary timidity respecting Esau (J) is characterized as out of harmony with his courage in wrestling with a heavenly visitant (E).

The next division of the text carries us to the beginning of Joseph's history (chaps. xxxiii. 18-xxxvii. 1). The only conflict is between P and J E; but that is sufficiently remarkable. In the story of Dinah's seduction, Hamor's coming to talk with Jacob, and especially with his sons (P), after the outrage (J), is regarded as preposterous; also, that one proposition should be made by Hamor (P) and another by his son (J). In xxxv. 10 (P), Jacob's new name, Israel, is said to have been given him in Bethel; in xxxii. 28 (J), at Peniel. In xxxv. 15 (P), Jacob gives its name to Bethel in coming from Mesopotamia; in xxviii. 19 (J), on going there. In one (xxxv. 23-26), Benjamin was born in Paddan-aram; in the other (xxxv. 16-18, J E), on the way from it. According to one (xxxv. 27-29), Isaac lived till Jacob's return; according to the other (xxvii. 1, 2, 4, 7, 10), he was on his death-bed when he left home. According to P (xxxvi. 6-8), Esau left Canaan for Edom after Isaac's death; according to J (xxvii. 41-44), before it.

In Joseph's early history (chaps. xxxvii. 2-xli. 57), there are but two complete verses assigned to P. The discrepancies between J and E are as follows: The cause of the trouble with the brethren in one source is Jacob's partiality (xxxvii. 4); in the other, Joseph's dream (xxxvii. 11). In one, he is sent to Shechem and finds his brethren there; in the other, he learns on the way that they are in Dothan, and finds them there.\* According to E, it is Reuben who saves Joseph's life (xxxvii. 22); according to J, it is Judah (xxxvii. 26). The former represents that the Midianites steal him and carry him to Egypt; the other, that Ishmaelites buy him from his

\* The two sources are not separated by Kautzsch and Socin.

brethren. The Ishmaelites sell him to an Egyptian; the Midianites, to Potiphar. According to J, Joseph's master imprisons him, because of trouble with his mistress; according to E, he is simply appointed to service in the prison. In J, Joseph is brought to the notice of Pharaoh, directly through the mediation of his friend, the butler; according to E, it is through the dream of Pharaoh.

In the continuation of Joseph's history (chaps. xlii. 1-xlvi. 34), P's material again consists of but two verses (xlvi. 6, 7). The discrepancies between J and E are as follows: The former represents that the restored money is found on the way home at the inn; the latter, after reaching home, when all are much astonished and frightened. According to the former, Judah offers himself as surety and advocate for Benjamin; according to the latter, it is Reuben. The former makes Joseph speak of his brethren as selling him; the latter refers to it as merely an act of providence.

The last section of Genesis includes chaps. xlvii. 1-l. 26. Here P appears in greater strength. Compared with JE, he has (xlvi. 5, etc.), it is claimed, an awkward repetition of the arrival and settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt; another and a different account (l. 12) of Jacob's burial in Canaan (cf. l. 7, 9). In J, Joseph informs Pharaoh of the arrival of his kinsfolk; in P (resort to LXX.), the king hears of it by rumor. In one, Joseph introduces his five brethren; in the other, he introduces his father (xlvi. 7). J makes the land of Goshen Jacob's dwelling-place (xlvi. 4); P, the land of Raamses. In one, Joseph is instructed to take the patriarch's remains to Canaan (xlvi. 29); in the other, all the brethren are required to do so (xlix. 29).

We have made no effort to present an exhaustive list of the differences, discrepancies and contradictions found by critics in the text of Genesis, when looked upon as made up of three independent sources. We have probably cited the majority of them. The peculiar stamp most of them bear is apparent on a simple enumeration. They arise by regarding as really contemporaneous what appears in Genesis as different stages of the history; or, by often treating an added matter of detail which does not shut out or contradict the first, if taken together, as a second account; or they rest on arbitrary and incorrect assumptions as to the meaning of certain passages; or on an undue straining of the argument from silence; or a finical exegesis; or other precarious methods. The important thing is that they principally appear, as we have said, only after the text has been already divided, and as a result of the division. We deny that they inhere in Genesis as it now exists, and point, in proof, to the fact that they are almost entirely modern discoveries.

But our object at present is not to show that most of the alleged

discrepancies are the direct result of the analysis, and hence cannot be used in support of it without the fallacy of reasoning in a circle. It is not to show that they are totally opposed to the spirit of the book in which they are found, to say nothing of the Bible; although that would be a perfectly legitimate argument in its place. It is rather to call attention to them as literary phenomena, to the fact that they are an essential part of the apparatus of the present analysis, and to what they imply as such. There were in circulation in Israel, after the separation of the tribes, long after the erection of the temple, at the very period of Isaiah's prophecies, and during the lives of all the great prophets of the northern and southern kingdoms, down to the Exile itself, confusing and discordant traditions of this sort, yet no allusion is made to them in the abundant literature of these periods, albeit nothing could have been regarded as more important. Not until the fifth century is a serious effort made to harmonize them with one another in a continuous history. That effort, as far as discrepancies are concerned, was, to a considerable extent, in a spirit of concealment and equivocation, rather than of the expected ingenuousness and candor. Is such an hypothesis *probable*? Possible, of course it is; but is it at all probable? Is it in harmony with that strong trend towards political and religious unity which is acknowledged to have existed long before this time, and which was a necessary effect of the building of the temple and the concentration of the national life about it. There is surely no analogy for such a procedure in the composition of Biblical books, or of any others.

We are pointed, it is true, to the first book of Samuel and told that an editor has there done this very thing; that is, united different and even contradictory stories concerning the desire of the people for a king, the appointment of Saul as such, and the introduction of David at court.\* If contradictions of this nature in First Samuel were conceded, the cases would be by no means parallel. In one, we have a single fact, or a small cluster of connected facts; in the other, the whole ancient history of Israel and of the world, from a theocratic point of view, down to the time of the Judges.

We agree with Prof. Koenig in his recent excellent *Introduction to the Old Testament*,† that differences in the contents of the Pentateuch cannot, at the start, be denied, on the ground that Israel *could* not have suffered them, or that the compiler *must* have removed them. It is quite true that the tradition of Israel need not be regarded as in itself infallible. The question, however, is

\* *Hebraica*, 1888, p. 66.

† *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1891, p. 172.

not one of possibility ; it is one of probability, and a choice between opposing theories. That such and so many differences existed in the tradition of Israel at any period assigned for the compilation of Genesis we must regard as unlikely in the extreme.

Our preliminary view will not be complete without at least a glance at the methods of the compiler, of which we have already given hints. What principles, according to the critics, governed in the compilation? It is assumed that more than one editorial hand appears in Genesis, and that the documents themselves underwent many changes before being united in one work. For our purpose, however, it will be quite just to look upon the present arrangement of the alleged sources and all the editorial matter by itself, as being essentially in one category. The one question is, How, according to the advocates of the analysis, did the original sources come into their present shape?

We are met, at the portal, with deprecatory and damaging admissions on the part of the critics. One says, for example, that the compiler did his work on principles which directly exclude one another; at one time reproducing his sources with the greatest faithfulness, at another considering chiefly the connection and unity of his own work.\* Another says that he handled his sources as freely as if he had been their author, but without sufficient insight to see that he was all the time making grave blunders. These are serious charges; but, as we shall see, they are well within the truth.† It will appear, also, in instances too numerous to mention, that the compiler has deliberately aimed to impose on his readers. That is to say, on evidence submitted by the critics themselves and stamped beyond mistake on the analysis they have made, it can be shown that the compiler was incompetent, inconsistent and, by our modern standards of morality at least, culpably false. In weighing probabilities, accordingly, the question of the mode of the compilation becomes one of great importance.

First, he was incompetent, or, as the critics say, was all the time committing grave blunders. For example, in chaps. iv, vi, ix, xi, he has mixed up with the sources P and J scraps of an earlier stratum of the latter which openly contradict the statements of both. It knows nothing of trouble between Cain and Abel, or, strange to say, of any Flood. It represents the earliest people as migrating peaceably eastward to the land of Nod (why "Nod" we are not told), building cities, cultivating the arts, or, like Noah, engaging in the pursuits of agriculture; yet, showing an unexplained spirit of rebellion by intriguing with the angels (vi. 1-4). When they begin

\* See Volck, *Entwicklungsgeschichte der A. T. Religion*, 1891, p. 12.

† *Hebraica*, v, p. 68.

to multiply on the earth, in order to check their too rapid growth human life is limited to 120 years. Their numbers, notwithstanding, finally become so great as to awaken Jehovah's anxiety (xi. 6), and he confounds and disperses them at Babel. This is no travesty, but the direct teaching of this document, according to our critics. With the exception of a part of chap. xlix, these fragments are all that is left of this earliest source now in Genesis. Why could not the compiler have been content to leave out from his introduction, matter so incongruous and so disturbing?

Again, genealogical tables, we should suppose, would be the last thing he would fail to understand or to tamper with. Still he did not seem to know that he was attaching the same genealogy to both Cain and Seth as ancestors, notwithstanding the identity of two of the names (chaps. iv, v); and, later, mixed together inextricably those of Shem, Ham and Japheth by supplementing the table of P, here and there, from J (chap. x). In chap. xiv he introduces, from some quarter unknown, an episode about Abraham which he might just as well have left out; but which, in calling him "the Hebrew" and making him so courageous in his attack on the confederate kings, is not only improbable in itself, but out of harmony with its context.

In Abraham's life throughout, as we have seen, he has allowed to stand many discrepancies of the baldest character, making hodge-podge of the narrative considered as a unit. As a unit, he doubtless meant his readers to understand and judge it. If his purpose had been to display the documents, some other course would have been adopted. As it is, from either point of view, if the analysis be accepted, the performance was simply stupid.

In the middle of Genesis his work is especially curious as a specimen of literary composition. A part of a sentence is often taken from one source and the rest of it from another, or from two or three others. For instance, in xvi. 1, the first part of the verse is given to P, "Now Sarai, Abram's wife, bare him no children;" the remainder to J, "and she had an handmaid, an Egyptian, whose name was Hagar." In xxi. 1 we have, "The Lord visited Sarah as he had said (J), and (P) the Lord (compiler) did unto Sarah as he had spoken" (P): in all two authorities and the compiler. Again, in xxvii. 1, (Isaac) "called Esau, his elder son (J), and said unto him," etc. (E). In xxvii. 28, in the report of Isaac's blessing, we read, "God give thee . . . of the fulness of the earth (E), and plenty of corn and wine" (J). In xxix. 26 we have, "And Laban said (E), It is not so done in our place" (J); ver. 28, "Jacob fulfilled her week (E): and he gave him Rachel" (P). In xxx. 1 it stands, "When Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children (P), Rachel

envied her sister" (E); in ver. 7, "And Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid (J), conceived again, and (E) bore Jacob a second son" (J); in ver. 22, "And God remembered Rachel (P), and God hearkened unto her (E), and opened her womb" (J): one verse from three documents. In xli. 49, we read: "And Joseph laid up corn (E) as the sand of the sea very much (J) until he left off numbering" (E). In xlix. 1, "And Jacob called his sons" (P), followed by the blessing pronounced upon them recorded in the next twenty-seven verses from J. These are specimens only of the alleged style of compilation in these sections. What is to be said of it? Is it clever, or is it trivial and nonsensical?

How the compiler treated the history of Joseph in general has already been somewhat exhibited. What is taken from P has no sequence and, by itself, is unintelligible. J and E are *Tendenzgeschichte*, one being written to exalt Judah and so in the interests of the southern kingdom; the other is Ephraimitic, and Reuben, Joséph and his two sons are pushed to the front. How they differ in detail we have seen. These differences the compiler has ordinarily not disturbed. He has clearly aimed at unity in his recital and yet has left his pages bristling with the sharpest antagonisms. Such was the literary ideal, or shall we rather say extraordinary *naïvete*, of an historian of the age of Isaiah or of Ezra.

Our difficulties are not a little increased when we consider, at the same time, the other acknowledged qualities of this peculiar character. His consistency was no greater than his capacity. Why did he put side by side, though so contradictory, at the beginning of Genesis two accounts of the creation and three of the history more immediately following? He felt, it is said, the great intrinsic value of his sources. They held for him almost canonical rank. He wished to preserve and to present as much of them as possible. Still, as we have seen, these revered originals have been swallowed up in oblivion, although more than a score of less valuable ones have been remembered and cited by those who used them. Can that have been really the principle which governed the supposed compiler? It would appear not, except at intervals. It might be thought to be so, to some extent, in the narrative of the Flood and in some single incidents later. It is not so as between P and J in the history of Abraham; or as between J and E in the continuation of Genesis. They are made rather to supplement one another, as already noted, for the purpose of securing a consecutive account. There is evidence in abundance that the compiler had no such reverence for his material as is supposed. In this same narrative of the Flood, so far from keeping the documentary matter distinct, he has taken single words and phrases from one and inserted them, in a way wholly

inexplicable, in the midst of the other. In P (vii. 12, 16-17; viii. 2, 3) there stands where it ought not, a reference to the forty days of rain, the gradual increase and abatement of the waters, to Jehovah's shutting the patriarch in. In J (vi. 7, vii. 3, 9, 23) there is twice inserted a peculiar formula of P's description of animal life and a reference to the animals of the ark as entering it by twos, male and female, instead of by sevens, clean and unclean, as might have been expected. Critics unite in saying that this is the work of the editor or compiler. A consistent or even a credible reason for it has not, to our knowledge, ever been given. Did he wish to make them more alike? It is not consistent with his leaving unchanged the bold contrasts claimed to be found in the context. In ix. 22 (J'), the document the compiler had before him stated that it was Canaan who first saw and called attention to the nakedness of Noah and who was subsequently cursed by him. He, however, inserted the words, "Ham the father of," before Canaan, thus falsifying the record. Whatever other motive he may have had, it was certainly not one of reverence for this document. Was his object harmony of impression? So it is asserted. Why, again, seek it in one place, and on so small a scale, to offend grossly against it elsewhere on a large scale?

In xiii. 1 (J), in an account of Abraham's going up out of Egypt, the compiler has inserted the words, "and Lot with him," in order to prepare the way for a remark from P. By doing so he has deliberately garbled his authority, made it say what, from its point of view, was confessedly false. It shows anything else than a spirit of reverence or a canonical valuation. In chap. xv. 7, 8, 12-16, 19-21 (JE), he has wholly changed the complexion of a simple account of a sacrifice by Abraham through the insertion of foreign material. In the history of Jacob and Joseph, in a multitude of cases he has interjected in the midst of his document heterogeneous remarks of his own, changed proper names, transferred words and clauses from one source to another in a way to defy explanation on the grounds given. If anything whatever was sacred to the compiler it must have been the names of Deity. According to our critics, it is the one supreme mark that distinguishes the sources in Genesis. Yet, as we have noted, he has changed Jehovah to Elohim, or the reverse, not less than seven times, and by dislocations given one or the other a wrong context more than a dozen times.\*

Under these circumstances we are unable to believe that the sup-

\* Cf. Dr. Green in *Hebraica*, vii, pp. 35, 36: "We are told that in some places he carefully preserved minute fragments of his sources, though they are a superfluous repetition of what has been already more fully stated in the language of other documents, and yet elsewhere he freely omits large and essential

posed compiler of Genesis was controlled in his method by reverence for his sources. Nor do we discover any one controlling principle which he has consistently followed throughout his work. If he had desired to present as much of his material as possible, a better way would have been to have put them in a complete form side by side, like the four Gospels. If, on the other hand, his object was a consecutive history made up from the three, he would have obtruded his authorities much less. From either point of view, we say again, his failure is conspicuous. There does not exist a consistent theory of the compilation of Genesis from three documents.

Two important features of the compiler's work have been left unnoticed. How did he treat his three sources as a whole in their relation to one another? Did he actually handle them as though J and E were first put together and then supplemented long after by P? This question will be considered later in connection with a discussion of the unity of Genesis. Let it suffice here to say that critics are far from being agreed among themselves on this point. It is acknowledged that in putting together the documents not only have J E been supplemented by fragments from P, but J has often been curtailed and mangled in favor of P. This is a very strange proceeding, if the current theory of their chronological order be correct.

Again, the final editor, it is supposed, lived after the Exile. The Hebrew language at the time of the Exile had undergone great changes. Are we able to discover any signs of this late Hebrew in the language which the editor himself uses here and there? On the contrary, his language is quite homogeneous with the material with which it is interwoven: sometimes that of P and sometimes that of J and E. We are often reminded that we must not require too much of writers in these early times. There is also a danger, and perhaps an equal one, of requiring too little. Genesis, from whatever point regarded, is a great work and has achieved a distinct literary success. If we may not apply to its composition modern literary rules there should be discoverable intelligible rules of some sort which may be applied to it.\*

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portions of them. In some places he preserves unchanged what is represented to be plainly antagonistic, while in other places he is careful to smooth away discrepancies and to give a different turn to variant passages by transpositions or by insertions of his own. He sometimes keeps his documents quite distinct in language and form; at others he effaces their peculiarities, or blends them inextricably together. All these offices must be assumed in turn in order to carry the hypothesis safely through; but whether such a bundle of contradictions was ever incarnate in any actually existing person, the only proof of his existence being that these contradictory things are alleged about him, every one may judge for himself."

\* The literary critic Andrew Lang, thus speaks of a similar effort at analysis

The ethical standard of our compiler also presents a serious difficulty. He lived after the prophets of the ninth century; we might expect in him a reproduction, in some degree, of their spirit. Suppose he were an Hosea, or Amos, or Isaiah! Isaiah also wrote history (2 Chron. xxvi. 22). It is clear from what has gone before and will appear more fully from what follows that, whoever he was, he often radically disagreed with and corrected his sources. He treated them all alike in this respect. None was an authority for him in any such sense as that he followed it implicitly. He put himself above them. Yet his work shows no such evidence of competency and consistency as to justify a position so exalted. In the end he makes himself the authority; but who and what is he? Let us illustrate.

In chaps. ii and iii he inserts, of his own option, Elohim beside Jehovah a score of times. In iv. 16 he makes a scrap of J<sup>1</sup> a continuation of J, in such a way as not only to misrepresent both the sources, but, as our critics must and do maintain, the facts. And this mode of combination is habitual with him. It occurs in the majority of cases—and they are a host—where he pieces his sources together. If the unity of Genesis be denied, no other con-

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in classical literature (*Longman's Magazine*, Sept., 1892): “‘Terrible learning!’ Mr. Matthew Arnold used to say, as he reviewed the performances of Homeric commentators. ‘Terrible learning!’ the admirers of the *Odyssey* must exclaim as they read *Homerische Untersuchungen*, by Herr U. von Willamowitz Möllendorff. This critic, who has a great reputation for learning and brilliance, discovers that the *Odyssey* is not the best-told tale in the world, not a masterpiece of construction, not very ancient. It is the work, as it stands, of a Botcher, or Patcher, a miserable journeyman poet, who lived about 650 B.C. He took three older epics, which again were based on older lays. He cut them about, docked beginnings and endings, added Book I, and a great deal of other nonsense of his own, dragged in bits of the ancient poems all out of place, and by his tailorcraft, scissors, and patches, this snip stuck and stitched together our *Odyssey*. Why he did it, what he had to get by it, nobody knows. He was living in an age when poets like Arctinus, Eugammon, Agias, and others were making epics of their own, now lost. Others were turning to lyric effusions. There can have been no great reading public, and where was an audience for the whole *Odyssey*? Why did a patchwork come to be accepted as inspired, while the works of Arctinus perished? How was Greece, how was all the world deluded into accepting a wretched piece of tailorcraft as an epic? Who paid the tailor? He got no renown, nobody ever heard his name mentioned, and I fail to see how he could get any solid reward. It was as if Mr. Tupper's continuation of *Christabel* were to be accepted as a solid part of the original, and the whole assigned to Chaucer.”

After showing, in a ludicrous way, how the same kind of analysis might be applied to Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* Mr. Lang remarks: “The German critic of the *Odyssey* dedicates his collection of mares' nests to Wellhausen, the critic of the Old Testament. Are we to begin to suspect that Old Testament criticism is on the same level as that of the ingenuous dissection of *Ivanhoe*? This were shocking indeed to serious souls.”

clusion is possible. In the account of the Deluge, the way he has introduced tiny bits of foreign matter in consecutive narrative, not only destroying thereby its homogeneity but its verity, looks even mischievous. As it stands, we are not allowed to say that in its chronology, its description of the animal life concerned, of the coming, the extent and the going of the waters, the present account is true. We are denied the same prerogative as it respects each source independently. The sole privilege left, accordingly, is that of guessing at the facts. In ix. 18, 22, as we have seen, the compiler says that Ham was the father of Canaan. This was not true according to J<sup>1</sup>; it was true according to P. Which was right? Shall we accept the compiler's statement as conclusive? But he had an obvious purpose in making it: it was to be able to insert here, out of its true place, a fragment from J without too much apparent contrariety. So in xvi. 8-10 he has incorporated two stories of Hagar's flight. In order to present both he is compelled to invent an incident, including an appearance and announcement of an angel of the Lord. In Abraham's experience with Abimelech (chap. xx), he puts into the document E words which are at home only in Abraham's experience with Pharaoh contained in the document J; that is to say he falsifies for the sake of an apparent unity which he really fails to achieve.

In the account of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac (xxii. 2, 14-18), he has inserted the word "Moriah," to give it a quasi-connection with the later temple mountain; and further on, what purports to be a promise of Jehovah to the patriarch. In xxiv. 6, 7, again, it would appear, in the interests of harmony, he refers to Sarah's death, which is here an anachronism; it should have been Abraham's. To make what is said to have happened to Isaac in Gerar (xxvi. 1, 15, 18) seem like a new story, although it had appeared twice before in connection with Abraham, he states what, if he were not witless, he knew to be false,—that the famine which drove Isaac to Gerar was a different one from that of Abraham's time; that Isaac dugged again the wells which his father had digged and the Philistines had filled. He puts in E a little later (xxviii. 21), divine name and all, a vow of Jacob to Jehovah which, as far as we can see, was a pure invention. What resources he may have had outside his three histories, it is true, we do not know. But his obvious motive for the insertion and his proved untruthfulness elsewhere make the hypothesis of invention the most natural. In xxxi. 51, 52, he has made J use E's word "pillar" of the heap of stones which Jacob and his men threw up as a sign and pledge for Laban. It is a small thing in itself, but involves either carelessness or intentional deception. In speaking of God's appearance to Jacob at Bethel (xxxv. 9), he has

put in the misleading word "again," and said further, that Jacob set up a pillar and poured out a drink offering thereon; when he knew, according to our critics, that it was an event which had been described before in another connection; and that P, his present source, knew nothing of drink offerings at this stage of the history. To secure, amid glaring incongruities, a verisimilitude in the narrative of Joseph, he unfairly makes E represent that Joseph's brothers hated him (xxxvii. 5, 8, 10); changes the word Judah to Reuben (xxxvii. 21); makes J say that the Egyptian to whom Joseph was sold was Potiphar, when J had scrupulously left that unsaid; puts in the same narrative a wrong, mystifying word for sack (xlii. 27); gives a title of God peculiar to P to E; twice alters the word Jacob to Israel (xlvi. 11, 22): and does other like things which space forbids us to enumerate.

What has been already said suffices to show *ad abundantiam* the compiler's method. That he dealt honestly with his sources or with his readers will not, in the presence of these facts, be maintained. If we are to trust the representation of him which our critics have left indelibly stamped on his work, he is wholly unworthy of our confidence, not to say of our respect. What he has done is without value, except as we value his individual opinion, the more or less authentic scraps of information he has here and there given us, and the fragments he has preserved of his supposed authorities.

Such then, in detail, are the conditions, the actual presuppositions reduced to plain statement, which confront us before we take up the arguments urged in support of the current theory of the origin and composition of Genesis. Bating what one will for occasional error of representation on our part, the main result cannot well be wrong. Many a scheme, externally and cursorily considered, looks plausible which will not bear analysis. To the question whether it is likely that documents of this sort were in circulation in Israel at any of the dates given, we have been compelled to answer: No; it is not likely. To the further question whether it is probable, supposing such documents to have existed, that they were put together after the manner indicated by the analysis of our critics, we are compelled to reply with a far more decided negative; to say, in fact, that it is next to impossible. If the make-up of the compiler intellectually were credible, he would, in the circumstances, still be an ethical marvel. Some kind of analogy to this sort of composition, therefore, must be found elsewhere, in connection with the Bible or outside the Bible, or the theory breaks down of its own weight.

Efforts have been made to find such an analogy. Up to the

present time the only one offered worthy of consideration is that of Tatian's Diatessaron. It was an attempted harmony of the Gospels made after the middle of the second century A.D.\* Tatian did, in fact, arrange the four Gospels so as to read as a consecutive narrative. In doing so he put in, apparently, as much of the matter at his disposal as he well could. He found use for many mere fragments of verses. He was obliged, notwithstanding, to omit not a little—one-quarter of the whole, it is estimated. He likewise made extensive transpositions of the matter. Occasionally he supplied a few words in adjusting one section to another. Here and there he put side by side accounts seemingly variant, like those of Luke and Matthew, concerning the birth of our Lord. But when we have said so much, we have said about all that is parallel in the two cases. Things most essential have been left untouched.

No one would venture to say that the two accounts of our Lord's birth are at all analogous to the two of the creation in Genesis, as they are contrasted by our critics. The earlier compiler changed, falsified—for that is the exact word—his sources at will and made of his three accounts a fourth, which faithfully represented none of them nor the sum of them quite as fully as either. It represented his own caprice. Tatian, on the other hand, it is admitted, made a legitimate and conscientious use of his authorities. The earlier compiler made no reference to the originals; Tatian did, using diacritical marks for the purpose. It might be said that the reason in the former case was the fact that they were anonymous. Who knows that they were anonymous? and if they were, have we any ground for supposing that the sources cited in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles were not generally anonymous? But that did not prevent an appeal to them. The earlier compiler, in using his alleged sources, seems to have used them up, at least they have never since been heard of. Tatian's work, on the contrary, itself disappeared for a long time; but his sources remained and were always supreme in the Church at large.

In Genesis, it is supposed, we have the composite work, not of one person alone, but of two at least; while each of the constituent parts suffered many changes before being united to its companion documents. Still, critics profess to be able to analyze the contents down to jot and tittle with no help from the originals. In the Diatessaron we have the work of but one hand, and the originals are before us. So if it be true that "the most hair-splitting analysis of the Pentateuch" is, as one has said, "sober in comparison with this composite Gospel," it has no real bearing in the premises. It

\* See articles by Moore and Mead in the *Journal of the Society for Biblical Literature*, 1890, pp. 201-215; 1891, pp. 44-54.

is not the uniting of several documents into one that is so wonderful; it is the ostensible reproduction of the original documents *verbatim et literatim* more than two thousand years later without the sign of a guide or certain knowledge even that there are documents of the sort supposed. We repeat, accordingly, that there is no proper analogy between the Diatessaron and the compilation of Genesis. The appeal to it, in the circumstances, is unwarranted. For such documents as we are alleged to have in Genesis and for such a compilation, there exists, as far as we know, no parallel in history. The whole scheme, in fact, is so extraordinary, so out of harmony with common experience; especially are the forgeries and falsifications supposed and required "so repugnant to the probabilities of the case," and to any just conception of the "origin and import of the Old Testament; that nothing but the most incontrovertible demonstration can be sufficient to establish it."\*

In coming therefore, in the next place, to consider the positive arguments urged in its behalf, we have a right to demand for them absolute stringency. We must have proofs that cannot be gainsaid. These arguments are of three kinds: supposed repetitions in the narrative; diverse theological and other conceptions, indicating a wide separation in date; and differences in style and vocabulary. The first point has been referred to above. The second will be now briefly examined. It is claimed that the documents J E distinguish themselves from P by their theological conceptions. For example, their representation of God is more anthropomorphic, verging on polytheism; they have much to say of altars, pillars, sacrifices, a feature wholly absent from P; they make a distinction between clean and unclean beasts, and in other respects anticipate later Mosaic laws. P, on the other hand, is monotheistic, legalistic, carefully abstains from referring to the sacrificial ritual of Moses before its institution, and even from the use of the name Jehovah before Exodus vi. 3, where, according to it, the title has its historic origin.

It is to be admitted that there are abundant anthropomorphisms in Genesis; that they are relatively more numerous there than in any other book of the Bible. They would be sufficiently accounted for by the supposition that Genesis is an historical record of early date. Such representations of God belong properly to the childhood of the race. This supposition, moreover, is far more probable than that later Jews, outraging their deeper convictions, invented such anthropomorphisms in order to give an antique coloring to their own work.

It is to be denied that P's representation of God differs vitally from that of J E. It is, relatively speaking, no more monotheistic.

\* Mead, *l. c.*, p. 46.

If the latter lets him say (iii. 22), "Behold the man has become as one of us," the former puts into his mouth the words (i. 26), "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." It is in P that God is represented as working on six days and resting the seventh (chap. i); Enoch and Noah walked with him (v. 22, vi. 9); he talked with the latter; remembered him; commanded him to leave the ark, etc. (vi. 13-22, viii. 1, 15-17). Theophanies, a characteristic feature of the earlier books, are not peculiar to J E, but are found also in P (xvii. 1, 22, xxxv. 9, 13, xlvi. 3; cf. xxxv. 9).\*

In the question of the recognition of religious rites, it is to be remembered that by theory the material of P is unique, that it is largely genealogical and statistical, and that it makes up only about one-fourth of the book. Again, naturally, it was to Jehovah, from the first recognized as the theocratic Ruler, that religious worship was paid. Hence we should expect to find references to altars and sacrifices chiefly in a Jehovistic context. But they are not confounded with later Mosaic institutions. Genesis knows of no one especial place of worship; has no priesthood; no system of sacrifices; practices only two sorts of sacrifices; does not regard sacrifice as even necessary for worship; notably looks upon the essential thing in it as the spirit in which it is offered,—“If thou doest well,” says Jehovah to Cain, “shalt thou not be accepted?” (i. 7).

It cannot be proven that by the fat which Abel offered, the specific parts of the animal afterwards enjoined by the Mosaic law are meant. The use of *minchah* in the sense of offering, in the context, is quite different from its later technical use.† It was to have been expected that a foreshadowing of subsequent laws would appear in the customs of the patriarchs: like sacrificing, which, however, was only occasional; like the distinction between clean and unclean among animals offered up (vii. 2); the giving of tithes (xxviii. 22); outward purification (xxxv. 2); the levirate marriage (chap. xxxviii). That they are not the later laws proleptically introduced is evident. They are of a different and more primitive form. The letter of a later law is even broken with impunity by Abraham in marrying his half-sister (xx. 1, 2, 5).

And if it were not so, P is fully as great a sinner in this respect as its companion documents. It is P that introduces in the first chapter of Genesis the term “*moadhim*” (seasons), afterwards adopted as a technical term for certain of the Jewish feasts; describes the institution of the Sabbath, the controlling norm of all the feasts (ii. 2), looking straight towards the Mosaic ritual, and at the same time, as

\* This notwithstanding Kœnig's remark (*Einleit.*, p. 225).

† The meal offering in the Mosaic ritual was never offered by itself, but always in connection with some other sacrifice.

it would seem, prohibits the eating of blood; lays the foundation of the sixth commandment (ix. 3-6); discourages heathen marriages (xxvi. 35); above all establishes the rite of circumcision as the one fundamental condition of Jewish nationality and describes Israel as already beginning to be a distinct people (chaps. xvii and xxxiv). If the supposed earlier documents (JE), accordingly, are charged with anticipating improperly Mosaic institutions, the same is at least equally true of the later. Hence it is irrelevant to speak of P as avoiding the use of Jehovah before Ex. vi. 3 and any reference to clean and unclean animals, etc. What he does say shows that he did not *intentionally avoid* speaking of such things. Nor is there any such distinction between the documents as to subjects treated, as is claimed, if the material be fairly dealt with and an illogical use of the redactor be not resorted to. In xxxv. 14, it is really P who says that "Jacob set up a pillar . . . a pillar of stone; and he poured out a drink offering thereon, and poured oil thereon." And unless a like violence is done to the text, this same source, so far from refraining from the use of the name Jehovah before the sixth chapter of Exodus, uses it a number of times, as though it were the most natural thing in the world (vii. 5, xvii. 1, xxi. 1; cf. the manipulation of the text v. 29, vii. 16).<sup>\*</sup> We directly challenge, therefore, the conclusion that there is a real diversity of theological conception between JE and P in Genesis and that one more than the other presupposes later Mosaic institutions. They both, in quite a natural manner, prepare the way for such institutions; but they do not presuppose them as already formally existing.<sup>†</sup> Again, it is claimed that in its treatment of the patriarchal history there is a marked contrast between the supposed sources JE and P. The former, it is held, show a disposition to exalt unduly the ancestors of the Jewish people, while the latter abstains from any extravagance of statement concerning them. This is a position which it will be found exceedingly difficult to maintain: not only taking into account the amount and quality of the material involved, but also other facts. It is P that pronounces Noah a "righteous man and perfect in his generation" (vi. 9); says of him and of Enoch that they "walked with God" (v. 21); speaks of God as making a covenant with Abraham and changing his name (xvii. 2, 5); represents him as a mighty prince, of great wealth, among the lords of Canaan (xxiii. 6); shows how the city of Shechem came into the

<sup>\*</sup> The *Samar. Pentateuch*, according to Kœnig (*Einleit.*, p. 163), has Jehovah for Elohim in vii. 9, xxviii. 4, xxxi. 9, 16, and Elohim for Jehovah in xiv. 22, xx. 18.

<sup>†</sup> Other than theological conceptions (cosmological, etc.) will be taken up later in another connection.

power of Jacob and his sons (chap. xxxiv); as well as the others, pictures the greatness to which Joseph, and through him, his family attained in Egypt (from chap. xli).

On the other hand, if the predicated sources JE deal more at length with the patriarchal history, it is noticeable that they do not spare the follies or the sins of these ancient worthies. It is in these very sources that we find unsparingly depicted Adam's fatal weakness in Eden (iii. 6); Noah's shameful drunkenness (ix. 20-24); Abraham's and Isaac's cowardly deceptions (chaps. xii, xxvi); Jacob's ignoble evasions and subterfuges in his relations with Esau and Laban (chaps. xxviii-xxxii); the dreadful treachery and cruelty of Jacob's sons towards certain of the inhabitants of Canaan, necessitating their sudden flight (chap. xxxiv); Judah's unblushing licentiousness and criminal, if unconscious, incest (chap. xxxviii); and last, though not least, the lack of natural affection shown by the brethren in their treatment of Joseph and their aged, heart-broken father (chaps. xxxvii-xliii). Under circumstances like these, if it be a question of historical fidelity and simple straightforwardness of statement whatever the consequences, certainly the alleged documents JE will not suffer when brought into comparison with the supposed more realistic and phlegmatic narrator of the Exile.

Once more, it is said of P in this connection, that it is not betrayed into the bald anachronisms of JE as it respects the arts, which the latter represent as flourishing even with Cain and his immediate posterity, Jabal, Jubal and Tubal. That what is described in Gen. iv. 17-23 (JE) is out of harmony with its assumed date, has never yet been proven. Were it to be so, the reasoning would be equally valid against what is said in Gen. vi. 14-16 (P), where Noah is suddenly called upon and expected to build a store-ship with no other instructions than the most general statement of its form and dimensions; is required, in other words, to apply the very knowledge of the arts earlier presupposed. The question may be safely left, accordingly, to the candid judgment of any one acquainted with the facts whether they justify the conclusions stated by our critics, or do not rather compel a conclusion diametrically opposite. There is no such diversity in the circle of ideas, theological or general, in JE and P, notwithstanding that their bounds are first unalterably fixed by the analysis, as to lead one fairly to infer that they arose at widely different dates.

The third and final argument for the present analysis rests on alleged differences in style and vocabulary. Here, too, the argument from style is not pressed as between J and E, but only as between JE, taken together, over against P. Now it is freely admitted that, as the material has been divided, there is, in general, a great

difference in style between these documents. It could not be otherwise; hence, proves nothing. *Necessitas non habet legem*. It is only saying over again that the matter of P is different from that of the rest of Genesis. The matter mostly determines the style. We have seen how P is made up here. Genealogies and statistics are its bone and sinew. It has but little narrative. J and E are almost wholly narrative. Set the few purely narrative portions of P alongside those of JE, where they have the same theme and the same context, and there may be a fair comparison. We might, for example, compare P with J or E in any part of the last half of Genesis, if P had matter enough here to allow a comparison. Take chap. xxxiv, which offers, perhaps, the fairest opportunity for it. Differences in style will at once be reduced to the vanishing point. The argument from mere style, consequently, is invalid in the larger part of Genesis; and where it can be fairly applied, it is without cogency.\* The argument from vocabulary is, to some extent, in another category; although here also the character of the material greatly conditions the question. As a recent writer † has shown, there are two principal points of view from which this part of the literary problem should be considered: that of possible successive or periodic changes indicated in a given vocabulary; and that of simultaneous changes. As to the first, it is clear that there are actual stages of growth, or, better, of decay indicated in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. The question is, (1) how far does the evidence of it appear in the original text of Genesis; and (2) as far as it may appear does it support the current analysis?

Results only can here be given. Undoubtedly, as we think, the present Hebrew text may be taken as representing, to a reasonable degree, the original text, whatever occasional and sporadic corruptions it may have undergone. Now, if it be true, as claimed, that the document known as P is of considerably later origin than J

\* One of the best Biblical critics claims a more flowing style in P itself in the latter parts of the book. This is equivalent to abandoning the argument from style altogether. Cf. Tuch, *Com. über die Genesis*, p. xlix.

† Koenig. Cf. *Studien und Kritiken* 1893, 3tes Heft, pp. 445-479. "Wodurch sich Tuch 'die leicht erklärbare' Thatsache das die Schreibart im letzten Theile der Grundschrift geschmeidiger und flüssiger war als sie zu Anfang erscheint, erklärt, sagt er nicht. Uns will es bedünken, eine solche Thatsache zu erklären, gebe es überhaupt nur zwei Wege. Entweder liegt zwischen der Abfassung der einzelnen Stücke eines Verfassers, an welchen man Verschiedenheit des Styls bemerkt, ein Zeitraum der lang und reich genug ist, um dem *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis* Raum zu gestatten, oder aber die Verschiedenheit des behandelten Gegenstandes, oder des verschiedenen Gesichtspunkts, aus den der nämliche Gegenstand behandelt wird, bringt die Aenderung der Schreibart mit sich, wobei dann freilich im ersten Falle der Styl als Produkt der Nothwendigkeit und im zweiten als Produkt der Freiheit im geistigen Leben erscheint." See Kurtz, *Einheit des Pentateuchs*, 1844, p. 106.

and E, especially if it arose at the time of the Exile, while they belong to the eighth century B.C., the signs of it should not fail in the vocabulary used. This is not only a sufficiently long interval for a proper test; but it is one when the most marked changes of this sort would be likely to occur. If then they are found to exist, under proper conditions, it will be a strong reason not only for the original separate existence of P, but will directly support the time phase of the theory. On the other hand, if they are found not to exist, there is left the second point of view from which the subject may be considered. And we shall inquire whether there are simultaneous differences in the vocabularies of the three supposed documents of such a nature and such a number as to prove the hypothesis of separate documents.

Before giving the result of our own investigations on the first point, it will be proper to refer to the views of others who have gone over the same ground. Ryssel, a few years since, made the language of the P document a special study. His conclusion, which was indeed assailed by some scholars, but defended by others of at least equal ability and fairness, was, as it respects our book, to the effect, that it is not only wanting in traces of a late age, but abounds in the indications of a primitive one. Essentially the same position is taken by Dillmann having in view the whole document. After citing a large number of its peculiarities, he says: "Why such expressions should be called late is not intelligible. . . . That many of them are otherwise found only in the later writers is not sufficient to show that they themselves belong to that period."\*

Our first inquiry then concerns the vocabulary of P in Genesis. Does it indicate an origin several centuries after J and E? One thing is important and one is necessary in the investigation. It is important to show, if possible, stages of change in the use of a word in P; it is necessary to show that the word actually arose after J and E. Words used by P in Genesis showing possible stages of change are: First, such as have been modified in their root form, one of the consonants within the word being exchanged for another; or, a soft consonant having taken the place of a hard one. Such are the words meaning *lamb*, *to cry out* and *to laugh*; and they are all of their kind that are relevant. Of these, the first is not peculiar to P, J and E also showing the same change (xxx. 32, 33, 35, 40). The same may be said of the second (xviii. 20, a nominal form). While both P and J have the earlier form of the third and neither

\* Ryssel *De Elohistæ Pentateuchici Sermones*, Lips., 1878. Cf. Giesebrecht, *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1881, pp. 177-276; Driver, *Journal of Philology* xi, 201-236; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, § 15, 11; Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium*, etc., pp. 663-665.

has the later (xvii. 17, P; xviii. 12, J). Hence there is nothing in this class to show the later origin of P.

A second class consists of words using a different and a supposed later lexical or grammatical form to express the same early idea. Here we find the demonstrative pronoun in two forms, the personal pronoun of the first person singular and the verbs meaning respectively *to make*, or *establish* (a covenant) and *to beget*. As it respects these words as a whole, there is no positive evidence that the forms regarded as the later were not in use in the earliest Biblical periods of the language. The question before us therefore is, Does P use only the form apparently latest developed? or does that form so preponderate in P as to justify the conclusion that it is of later origin?

As it concerns the demonstrative pronoun, there is a long and short emphatic form in the singular and a long and short form in the plural; of the former the long may perhaps be regarded as the older. It is found in J (xxiv. 65) and E (xxxvii. 19) in Genesis; but the short form also occurs in Judges (vi. 20) and 2 Kings (fem. iv. 25), as well as once in Zechariah (ii. 8), Daniel (viii. 16) and Ezra (xxxvi. 35). Whether the shorter form of the plural be regarded as archaic or not, like the common one, it is about equally distributed in the documents (Gen. xix. 8, 25, xxvi. 3, 4, R.; Lev. xviii. 27; 1 Chron. xx. 8, etc.), and so has no bearing. Of the two forms of the first person singular of the personal pronoun, it is true that the shorter predominates in P and also in the later literature. This is important, but not convincing. The gradual diminution in the use of the longer form is curiously interrupted in Deuteronomy; while phenomena suggesting a different explanation are presented in the other documents sufficient to break the force of this one example of the kind. For instance, the alternative word for Lord in the Old Testament, *Adonai*, is not found at all in P in the Pentateuch, to eighteen times in J and E. And while used increasingly in later books, it culminates in Ezekiel, where it is found 232 times, or much beyond the sum of all its occurrences elsewhere. The same word, too, presents a notable sign of development. Its literal sense being *my Lord*, four times in Ezekiel and once in Job the same form has come to have the sense of *Lord* or *the Lord*. The history of the word *Adonai*, accordingly, to go no further, is directly against the conclusion as to the relative date of P reached from the gradually diminishing use of *anoki* in favor of *ani*.

Again the two forms of the verb used with *covenant* do not really belong, as alleged, to different ages, while carrying the same meaning. The meaning is not the same; the causative form having the sense to *establish*, not to *make* (a covenant). The context, in every case of its occurrence, abundantly proves this (see chaps. ix

and xvii of Genesis; also Ex. vi. 4; Lev. vi. 9). Finally, as it respects the verb meaning to *beget*, the claim is that P uses the causative form, while J uses the ground form in the same sense. That the causative form is later is inferred from its predominant use in Chronicles (cf. also Jer. xxx. 6) and other late books. This is precarious reasoning, since the ground form is also used in the same sense in Chronicles a number of times, as well as in Job, the Psalms and apparently in Isaiah (xlix. 21). But a more serious difficulty with the argument is that the use of this special form by P in the Pentateuch is mostly limited to two genealogies (chaps. v and xi of Genesis). This implies, of course, sources of much smaller dimensions than has been surmised. We are quite ready to admit that the occurrence of two forms of the word side by side with the same meaning makes the impression that different documentary sources are involved in the structure of Genesis; it does not, however, argue for documents of the sort, and of the extent required by the current theory.

One other change in vocabulary which might indicate successive periods is where a word or expression solely in use in earlier times has been mostly or wholly supplanted by another having the same sense. There are two pertinent examples of this kind, and they bear decidedly against the relative lateness of P. The first is the case of the word for *fine linen* found in Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch. With the exception of three examples in Ezekiel (xvi. 10, 13; xxvii. 7), this word disappears later, giving place to another. Unluckily for the theory, the older form is far more common in P than in JE. The other case is the collective for *ears* (of grain). It occurs in the Hexateuch and in P only in this sense (Ex. ix. 31; Lev. ii. 14). In E in Genesis, on the contrary, and in later books (Ruth ii. 2; Is. xvii. 5; Job xxiv. 24, in the singular including Zech. iv. 12), quite another word is found with the same meaning. What adds emphasis to this fact is the employment of the earlier form as the name of a month for which the exilic title was Nisan.

These are all the examples of what may be called successive or periodic changes in the language of Genesis, having a bearing on our problem. That they make probable the later origin of P, much more that they prove it, no one will care to hold.

But in the next place, it might be thought that classes of words used exclusively by P in Genesis, and elsewhere only in the later books of the Old Testament, can be cited as showing a later origin for that document. Such lists are to be carefully noted. To give them validity as proofs here, it is necessary to show that they are not likely to have been employed by late writers simply as a part of the common

stock of words belonging to the sacred literature of the people. Especially it must be shown that P is peculiar in this respect and that the same phenomenon does not appear in J and E. Examples of P's usage are the following: The word for *firmament* outside of Genesis (i. 6) appears only in Psalms in two places, in Ezekiel once and in Daniel once; the cardinal number *one* is used as an ordinal outside of the Hexateuch only in 1 Kings (xvi. 23), but often in the later books; a peculiar word for *possession* (Gen. xii. 5) outside the Hexateuch is found only in Chronicles, Ezra and Daniel; a word for *kind, species*, elsewhere only once in Ezekiel; a word for to *swarm* elsewhere only once in Ezekiel; the expression the *self-same day* elsewhere only once in Ezekiel. But on the other hand there is an expression in J, *garden of the Lord* (ii. 8, xiii. 10), whose sole reminiscence likewise is in one passage in Ezekiel (xxviii. 13); a peculiar word for *bottle* in E (xxi. 14, 15, 19), which reappears only in Habakkuk (ii. 15); a word in J meaning to *grieve* (xlv. 5, Ni.), found once in 1 Samuel (but otherwise Nehemiah and Ecclesiastes); the expression "*land of Shinar*" (x. 10), ascribed to J, but outside of Genesis found only once each in Isaiah, Zechariah and Daniel; the pl. of the cardinal *one*, in the sense of *some, a few*, in E twice—xxvii. 44, xxix. 10,—elsewhere only in Daniel (xi. 20). Hence if one set of passages is valid to prove P late, the other is equally so to prove J and E late.

Besides, there are words supposed to be peculiar to P which do not appear in the latest books, but fail after Jeremiah. What is to be said of them? Such are those for *waste* and *emptiness* (i. 2); the verb for *gather together* (i. 9, 10, Ni.); the word for *sea monsters* (i. 21); for *green grass* (i. 11); another word for *possession* (xxiii. 18). And there is an important word rendered *lights* (Gen. i. 14, a part of P), which assumes a different form in Ezekiel (xxxii. 8). Contrariwise there are expressions assigned to J and E which, if used to some extent elsewhere outside of Genesis, at least have a prominent and sometimes a predominant place in the latest books. Such are the words to *prosper* (xxiv. 21 Hi.), to *bow the head* (xxiv. 26), to *try* (xxii. 10 Qi.) and one for *prince* (xii. 15). These are fair examples selected from a list of words ascribed to the several documents in Genesis. They certainly do not support the conclusion that it is of later source than J and E; much less, as far as this book is concerned, do they support the assertion of the recent critic that in contrast with other parts there are entire connected sections of P which in their literary phenomena agree with those of the latest times, and in form, if not in content, must have had their origin in those times.\*

And it is to be noted, still further, that these facts do not stand

\* Kœnig, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1893, 3tes Heft, p. 471.

alone. Equally with the other two supposed sources, P shares in a certain archaic coloring which, in the main, is indisputable. It shows in common with them the use of the *masc.* of the third person of the personal pronoun as *generis communis*. The same is true of the word for *maiden*, one form serving for both genders with a few exceptions throughout the Pentateuch. It has preserved the obsolescent form for the nominative case (i. 24); an archaic word for child (xi. 30); an archaic pronominal ending (i. 11); does not place the numeral after the word numbered, a custom beginning with Exodus (xxix. 1); retains that of repeating the thing numbered with its number, a custom which disappears after 1 Kgs. vi. 1; uses a circumlocution for the ordinal (vii. 11); and contains a multitude of antique phrases (xvii. 14, xxv. 8, etc.). On the other hand, this document is lacking, conspicuously in Genesis, in those signs of decay which mark the Hebrew subsequent to Jeremiah. Dillmann has named nearly a score of them.\* This argument, it is true, is negative; but it is a complete counterpart to the positive side which, to a limited extent, has just been given. It is impossible, therefore, in view of these facts, to maintain that, in contrast with JE, the document known as P had a considerably later origin.

But another important question remains. Does the vocabulary of Genesis furnish evidence strongly corroborative of the current theory that three diverse documents lie at its basis? That such an argument can in itself be demonstrative, or anything more than an adjunct to others of greater import, none will hold. It is possible here to do little more than to consider the principles by which the facts elsewhere collected are to be judged. There is nothing *per se* against the assumption that a work like Genesis may be made up from different contemporaneous sources. It is, of course, also possible that these sources may so decidedly differ in literary character from one another that on that ground alone they may be separated from one another to a greater or less extent and degree of certainty. The question is, Are the linguistic peculiarities of Genesis of this sort and have they been so delineated?

They include a phraseology, as we have seen, which is the common heritage of præxilic Israel. As was to be expected, it has marked features, corresponding to Israel's signal history. In this very excess of literary characteristics, in fact, lies one chief danger. They can easily be set over against one another in extended lists. That process, however, is far enough from determining the sources, although many seem to have thought otherwise. Unless the sources have been conclusively fixed by other means, it is only a scheme of guessing, with the widest margin for caprice. In what book

\* *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronom.*, p. 665.

and by what author have universally accepted critical principles been laid down by which this exceedingly delicate operation of assigning a given word to one supposed document rather than another is decided?\* Undoubtedly the clearest logical rules have been continually violated in the current analysis.

For example, there are words cited as characteristic of a document which are found very seldom, or even but once in it. About one-third of the words usually ascribed to P in Genesis are of this character, and one-fourth of them are found but once in the book. How can they be said to characterize the document and at the same time also be used for identifying it when used so seldom altogether? At most they characterize an insignificant portion of it. The weakest form of this argument is when it is built on the absence of legislative or poetical expressions in material where without literary stupidity they could not be found. There is no composition which with such reasoning might not be proven composite.

Again, alleged characteristic words are sometimes taken largely from one section of the book, appearing again rarely, if at all, except in a reproduction of the thought or coloring of that section. This is especially true of the first chapter of Genesis. It has an extraordinary diction and contains signs of being of peculiar origin. We would not be surprised to find that it forms, with the three next succeeding verses, one of the original sources of Genesis. But it is assumed to represent P, and, strange to say, 18 out of 42 words referred to this document in Genesis first occur in it and in but few passages elsewhere. This is a risky proceeding, especially so when to this fact is added another,—that critics are by no means agreed in ascribing this chapter in its present form to P.†

Again, words are named as peculiar to a document because, as the supposed sources have been delineated, they appear alone or appear oftener in it than elsewhere. This is obviously a *non sequitur*, however often they may appear. It might be merely incidental, as can be shown by almost any piece of composition. To make the argument of value it must be shown that there was occasion for the

\* An article by Kœnig in the *Studien und Krit.* (1893, 3), "Der Sprachbeweis in der Litteraturkritik," etc., we have already referred to. It is late in appearing and covers the ground only to a very limited degree, though in itself valuable. Cf. also his *De criticæ s. argumentis*, etc., 1879.

† *Hebraica*, iv, 220, v. 24: "The first chapter of Genesis is supposed by most critics not to be original with P, but to have been incorporated by him in his work from some outside source. If this be true, it should not be cited as a specimen of P's style. The sublimity and stateliness which characterize it are not to be found in so striking a degree in other portions of P's work. Still, whatever its source, the chapter has been thoroughly worked over and may fairly represent P, while ch. ii. 1-4<sup>a</sup>, which is eminently characteristic of P, plentifully [*sic*] supplies anything that may be lacking."

occurrence of just these words the same number of times in the contrasted document. For instance, the word used for *kind* or *species* in the first chapter of Genesis is held to be characteristic to a marked extent of P. The mere assertion of it, however, does not make it so. The passages must be pointed out where J or E might have had the word, but have avoided it or chosen another in its place. This has not been done.\*

Again, as said above, we accept the present, that is, the Massoretic text, as being sufficiently correct to serve as a test for these critical questions. Consequently, we cannot agree that a word is peculiar to a document when to get it within its bounds, or to keep it there, it is necessary to resort to the theory of (editorial) textual alteration. This device is so frequent with our analysts that, if it does not approximate with them the force of a rule, it goes so far as to seriously impair their reasoning. Many of these cases are of such a sort that no excuse can be found for ascribing the given expression to an editor except that the exigencies of the theory require it.† Again, it is claimed that, in many instances, a given document, instead of using the same word with its companion documents, employs a synonym. Very well, does that prove it to be an independent document? The Hebrew language abounds in synonyms. Is there any rule forbidding the same writer from using them *ad libitum*? One of the most emphasized here is Paddan-aram, which is said to be P's word for J's Mesopotamia, or "Aram of the two rivers." But the latter expression is only found twice in the Hexateuch altogether, and the passages are as widely separated as Genesis and Deuteronomy, while the former is assured to P only by an unwarranted interference of the editor (xxx. 18, lvi. 15). If the usage were uniform and frequent in the contrasted documents, the proof would still lack stringency. It is not assumed that each writer was not acquainted with both names.

The Book of Ruth is short, and its integrity, as far as we know, undisputed. Yet it uses two different expressions in speaking of Bethlehem: "Bethlehem" and "Bethlehem-judah" (i. 1, i. 19); has two different words for *handmaid* (ii. 13, iii. 9), besides another for *maiden* (ii. 5); two forms of the same word for *rest* (i. 9, iii. 1); two words for *leaving off* (i. 18, ii. 20); two words for *taking a wife*, one of them quite peculiar (i. 4, iv. 13); and uses P's word *Shaddai* twice alongside of Jehovah (i. 20, 29). No one as yet has, as far as we have heard, thought of making these facts a basis for

\* The one case cited by Kœnig, *Einleit.*, is not relevant. Cf. the language of P, vi. 19.

† Cf., for example, vi. 7, vii. 3, 9, 17, 23.

an argument to prove that Ruth is a compilation from two or more sources.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that special attention has been directed by our critics to only this one kind of *data* in the several sections involved: those which seem to indicate division. It has been correspondingly diverted from those of another sort which tend to show the homogeneous nature of the material throughout. The collection of such expressions given elsewhere, it is safe to say, suffers nothing, either in the number or the quality of its examples, when compared with the entire sum of those of a contrary sort. At the same time their validity in an argument for the unity of Genesis over against the current scheme cannot be called in question.

These considerations in view, what is to be said of the reasoning from simultaneous linguistic differences in Genesis as a proof of its origin from three continuous sources? It must impress every candid mind as notably inconsequent and feeble. As already said, it might be of value if the position taken could be fairly defended on other grounds. Left to itself, as it must largely be, to furnish the weight of the argument, it fails to do the work expected of it.

And so we conclude, for the most part, our review of the theory of the origin of Genesis now most widely in vogue on the continent of Europe, and having many able adherents in England and America. The arguments offered in its support have been examined with sufficient minuteness and care to test adequately their worth. That we have always succeeded in maintaining a spirit of fairness and candor in their treatment we will not assert, but only that it has been honestly attempted. It seems clear, however, that the actual phenomena of the book of Genesis are not even fairly explained by the current theory. It requires too many wide-reaching presuppositions; in short, too much credulity and the acceptance of too many logical fallacies. We have, accordingly, next to inquire what other theory, or what modifications of the so-called traditional one, will satisfy fairly well the conditions of the problem.

be, at once humanity and divinity. Thus the doctrine of Christ's divinity is weakened into the deification of man.

In many high places of thought this reconstruction of the Gospel is now enthroned as the highest expression of the religious consciousness. From within the camp of the covenanted host in the very language of the word which it sets aside, and in grosser forms from the camp of the enemy, these same cries are echoing. "The distinction between the divine and the human is the anti-Christ of theology"—this is the "message," which one modern "prophet" bids us hear under dreadful penalties. "God is human and man is divine. The humanity and divinity of the Son of God were essentially the same."\* And again: "Fellowship with the sufferings of Christ is the common atonement which all who believe in Him may make for human sin. The atonement is ours as well as Christ's." A much more notable writer † strikes the same keynote, declaring that Paul attributes to Jesus "a kind of separation from humanity, and a kind of identification with God, which is practically a return to the old Jewish opposition of God and man. . . . In this way he seems to deny the union between the human and the divine, which was the essential lesson of the life of Jesus." "The theological doctrine of the two natures in Christ . . . has never found an echo in the voice of immediate religious experience. . . . Christ is divine *just because* he is the most human of men . . . the Son of man who reveals what is in humanity, *just because* he is the purest revelation of God in man." It would be easy to append a catena of similar quotations gathered almost at random from current theological literature—all variations upon the one theme, the essential identity of God and man. Phillips Brooks' latest eulogist ‡ phrases it boldly: "The soul of man is substantial with God." Lovely and pleasant in their lives the apostles of this other Gospel may be; but all the more because they are, and because this prince of preachers charmed his generation with his magnetic eloquence and uttered much vital truth, the Church of God must not fail to expose the glittering delusions so strangely fused therewith. One of their own poets also § has foretold what must come to pass if we should be blind to the attempt to compromise truth and falsehood—

"If e'er when faith had fallen asleep  
I heard a voice 'Believe no more,'  
And heard an ever-breaking shore  
That tumbled in the Godless deep."

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.

JOHN FOX.

\* *The New Redemption*, by Prof. George D. Herron, pp. 48, 133.

† *The Evolution of Religion*, by Prof. Edward Caird, Vol. ii, pp. 213, 214, 232, 233.

‡ *The Theology of Phillips Brooks*, by Rev. L. Parks, D.D., p. 21.

§ *In Memoriam*, cxxiii.

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II.

THE ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF  
GENESIS.

THE UNITY AND CONTINUITY OF GENESIS.

**T**HE unity of a literary work may be shown in a variety of ways. The most natural signs of unity are oneness of plan and the mutual dependence of constituent parts. Over against a theory of compilation from various sources homogeneity of style and vocabulary also, if they exist, may properly be urged as subsidiary arguments. A general external unity in Genesis is now nowhere denied. Neither is it denied that its author, or final compiler, had for a definite purpose to prepare a work introductory to the history of Israel or the theocracy. A deeper question, however, must be kept in view: Is the actual, demonstrable unity of Genesis only of such a sort as to allow the theory of its origin now so widely current, or does it, *per se*, exclude it?

According to Tuch,\* the aim of Genesis, in its relation to the other books of the Pentateuch, is to show how, under the special care of God, His chosen people, from the beginning, were separated from other peoples, through the moral elevation of the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; how they were fitted for theocratic relations; and how to these same patriarchs was revealed the fundamental law of such relationship and was given the promise of possessing Canaan. Similarly Ewald:† "The goal which the author of Genesis set before him is sufficiently clear from his work. He employs himself with the fortunes in Canaan of the three ancestors of Israel. His plan is to trace the history of the people of God from its origin to the period of its transplanting to Egypt."

These conceptions of the immediate purpose of Genesis we may adopt, in their general features, and proceed to inquire how the author carried them out in detail. First, what is the object of the matter preliminary to the history of Abraham in Genesis? Evidently it has more than one object. As it respects the patriarch personally, it is first to show his genealogical descent. Genesis presents

\* *Com. über die Genesis*, xvii.  
† *Die Composition der Genesis*, p. 267.

no more marked feature than its interest in the genealogies of its principal characters. Accordingly, it was not enough to say that Abraham was the son of Terah. He had Noah also for an ancestor. And who was Noah? Once in the period of the Flood, it was impossible not to go further back. What was the occasion of the dreadful visitation? Whence the evils that were then adjudged? Whence these divergent moral currents? Whence was man himself and the earth on which he exists?

But there were weightier reasons why our author began with the beginning of things. There had been definite historic stages before the days of Abraham; the Flood had marked the close of one, the confusion of tongues at Babel another. To give the remarkable call of the patriarch its proper perspective and setting, it was needful to display also great events. A new start, so to speak, was to be made with him. To have failed to indicate this fact would have been to fail in what is one evident aim of the book. Then too, in Abraham there was the principle of selection illustrated. Terah had other sons; Abraham was the one chosen, separated from his kindred by special call to receive the revelations of God and become an exceptional agent of His will. It was an important point with the writer to show that this principle had not taken its rise with Abraham. It had also been manifest in the choice of Shem from among the sons of Noah, in the rescue of Noah himself out of the midst of a drowning world, and even still further back in the contrasted lines of Cain and Seth. Whence the necessity of such selection? Evil was in conflict with the good. Whence came the evil? From God? No; the world and man as made by God were "very good."

So it was not alone, or chiefly, because of his interest in tracing genealogies that the author of Genesis was led to begin his work with the creation. One of his main purposes plainly stamped on every part of the book, genealogies not excepted, was to show that Israel, in a peculiar sense, was a chosen people. Its history is represented not indeed as something apart from the world's history, but as, under God's control, the best fruit of it and destined finally to be the world's richest blessing. Let us notice more particularly how this law of selection governs throughout the work and so serves as a peculiar sign of its unity.

Cain, as already suggested, was driven forth (iv. 14) in order to leave in freedom those who would call on Jehovah's name (iv. 26). With the failure of this plan through subsequent intermarriage of the races, Noah was chosen for a new trial. When a like moral deterioration showed itself in his descendants, culminating once more in the dominance of the evil, a third start was made with

Abraham; but under the same law of separation and restriction. Terah sets out with his family for the land of Canaan; Abraham and Lot alone really enter it. Soon Lot is set aside, and with as manifest a purpose as previously Cain, Ham and Japheth had been. So among the descendants of the patriarch, there is no point which there is a more special effort on the part of the historian to make clear than that it is not Hagar's son or Keturah's children who are to represent the chosen line of promise, but Isaac, the son of Sarah; it is not Esau but Jacob. The rejection of one is scarcely less marked than the choice of the other.

It is worth noting how this fact appears in what one might regard as the most unchangeable features of the book, its genealogical lists. They are constructed in a way to lead us to suppose that it was a special object of the writer to display it. We are given, for instance, a list of Cain's descendants as well as of those of Seth. The difference is that, in the case of Cain, there the matter drops; while in that of his brother the genealogy is made the connecting link conducting to the history. Of the sons of Noah, the genealogy of each is given; Shem's alone is represented in the following narrative. And there is a curious circumstance which here enhances the contrast. The order of the sons' names as they usually occur is Shem, Ham, Japheth; but the order of the genealogy is Japheth, Ham, Shem,—evidently in order to make the transition to the succeeding narrative more easy and natural.

In the same way in Terah's family (xix. 37, 38), Lot's descendants are named only to pass out of the immediate history, while it goes on with Abraham. Of Abraham's seed, the descendants of Ishmael (xxv. 12-15) and of Keturah (xxv. 2-4) are given; the story concerns itself only with Isaac. So, in each case, the subordinate branches of the family are first disposed of, the slag, as it were, separated from the ore, in order then to go on with what was the main concern of the writer. Of Nahor's seed there is a list of eight names recorded of whom nothing more is said excepting of Rebecca. Of Isaac's seed, the descendants of Esau are named, to disappear from Genesis; while the story of Jacob and his sons occupies the remainder of the book. This peculiarity of the work vanishes at this point simply for the reason that with Jacob the line of promise is complete for the time. Of the same purport is the way in which the family relations of the chosen people are jealously guarded from corruption or confusion. It had been intermarriages, a free intermingling on common ground, that had been the fatal step in the two earlier epochs of the race. Now there was to be exclusion. This is quite sufficient to explain what otherwise might have been puzzling in the narrative; why, three times, incidents are

given in the lives of Abraham and Isaac in connection with the royal courts in Egypt and Gerar which are very similar in their general character, and could not be regarded as creditable to the patriarchs (xii. 10-20, xx. 1-18, xxvi. 6-11). It was in order not to leave any ground for suspicion, on occasions when such suspicion might easily have arisen, that the promised seed was not in the line of promise. With special emphasis it was impressed on Abraham's mind, in the presence of misgivings, that Sarah should be the mother of the promised seed. The peremptoriness of race separation could hardly have been given a sign clearer than in the rite of circumcision. Ishmael, "the wild ass among men," might ally himself in marriage with the people of his mother; Esau take to him wives of the daughters of Canaan, though to the grief of his parents; but with Isaac and Jacob it was not to be tolerated. "Abraham said unto his servant . . . I will make thee swear by the Lord, the God of heaven and the God of earth, that thou shalt not take a wife for my son of the daughters of the Canaanites among whom I dwell" (xxiv. 3). It is a most significant fact to which attention cannot be too strongly directed, as showing the importance of this matter in the view of the author of Genesis, that the story of the procuring a wife for Isaac is given an extraordinary prominence. It is the longest chapter in Genesis. It occupies two and one-half of its fifty-eight pages. Even greater prominence is given to the same matter in Jacob's history. "Isaac called Jacob and blessed him, and charged him, and said unto him, Thou shalt not take a wife of the daughters of Canaan" (xxviii. 1). In Genesis the spirit of exclusion as it respected other nations becomes so strong as even to appear almost like repugnance, as shown in the case of Hamor the son of Shechem and the daughter of Jacob (chaps. xxxiv and xxxv).

Could there well be stronger evidence than these examples afford that the author of Genesis deliberately set out so to use the sources at his command as to show what is said in Deuteronomy (vii. 6), that God had chosen Israel "to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth?" Plainly, too, he made the freest use of his sources for the end he had in view. He was not their slave, but their master. Far beyond the impression made upon us of mere material of various sorts to be conserved or regarded, is the decided pragmatism of the writer. Genesis has no more marked literary characteristic than the purpose which rules in it.

We have shown this as it respects the divine choice of a people; it is no less manifest as it respects the choice of a land. Here the beginning is made with Abraham. If we except the evident foreshadowing of the destiny of Canaan already in chaps. ix. 20-26 and

x. 15-19, the end, which is the Conquest, lies outside the bounds of Genesis. If one purpose bind the first two-thirds of the book together in an unmistakable unity, the other does it for the last two-thirds. Abraham is commanded of God to go into a country which He will show him (xii. 1). He proceeds to Canaan, fulfilling God's purpose as truly thereby as he would have done had it not been the original intencion of Terah to emigrate thither. We are not left in ignorance of the true state of things. "The Canaanite," it is said, "was then in the land." But this declaration is immediately followed by another that "God appeared unto Abram and said, Unto thy seed"—note the exact nature of the first promise—"will I give this land" (xii. 4-7). From this time the subject is never long out of sight. In the following chapter it is repeated, after the patriarch's separation from Lot, with added breadth and intensity (xiii. 14, 15). Two chapters later the bounds are named—"from the river of Egypt unto the Euphrates"—and the gift is ratified by a covenant (xv. 18). Two chapters later still it is said, in connection with the rite of circumcision: "And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession." The promise is never simply repeated in the old terms. Again to Isaac, when tempted through famine to leave the country, it is said (xxvi. 3-5): "Sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee, and will bless thee; for unto thee and unto thy seed I will give all these lands, and I will establish the oath which I sware unto Abraham thy father." This becomes afterwards the favorite form of reference to the promise. It is an interesting circumstance that while both Abraham and Jacob temporarily left the land of Canaan, Isaac was not permitted to do so. Once more the promise is repeated to Jacob in terms recalling earlier utterances (xxviii. 13-15), on the occasion of his fleeing from the wrath of Esau unto Mesopotamia, and again on his return (xxxv. 12):\* "And the land which I gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee I will give it, and to thy seed after thee will I give the land." So likewise on the patriarch's going down to Egypt. He seems to hesitate to make the change without the divine permission, which he secures at Beersheba (xlvi. 4): "I will go down with thee into Egypt; and I will also surely bring thee up again." As was natural to expect, Jacob did not forget this pledge. When death was drawing near he made Joseph, who alone had the power to bring it about, swear by a peculiarly solemn form of oath, found elsewhere only in the history of Abraham, that

\* The importance which is attached to this first appearance of Jehovah to Jacob is seen in the fact that it is referred to on the occasion of each subsequent one (xxxi. 13, xxxv. 1, 7, xlvi. 3, 15, 16).

he should not be buried in Egypt (xlvii. 29, 30): "When I sleep with my fathers, thou shalt carry me out of Egypt, and bury me in their burying place. And he said, I will do as thou hast said. And he said, Swear unto me: and he sware unto him." The same assurance he afterwards required from the remaining sons (xlix. 29-32). And Genesis is brought to an appropriate close with a circumstantial record of the burial of Jacob in Machpelah by his sons, including Joseph, together with a record of the dying words of Joseph (l. 24, 25): "I die; but God will surely visit you, and bring you up out of this land unto the land which he sware unto Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob. And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you, and ye shall carry up my bones from hence." This they also did as we are told in Joshua (xxiv. 32), burying them in Shechem, "in the parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor, the father of Shechem."

Not only is the matter of the future possession of the land of Canaan by Israel thus conspicuously and indelibly stamped on every principal feature of the story, there is an evident purpose also to show that it would be no usurpation on Israel's part to have and to hold it. It was, first and foremost, a warranty from God (xii. 7). Its present inhabitants were there by sufferance alone. Through the grossest forms of sin they had forfeited any supposable rights arising from preoccupation. The detailed description of Sodom and its inhabitants (chaps. xviii, xix) is no mere episode. "Now the men of Sodom were wicked and sinners against the Lord exceedingly" (xiii. 13). The sole reason given why Abraham and his seed were not put in immediate possession of the country was that the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full (xv. 13-16).

Pains are taken to show that, although the patriarchs on certain occasions had temporarily vacated the land, it was with the express intention of returning thither (xii. 10, xxvi. 1, xxviii. 10, xlv. 1, etc.). They never renounced, so to speak, their right of domicile. It was, accordingly, no misnomer to apply to Canaan the title in the later parts of Genesis, "land of the fathers" (xxviii. 41). Critics have objected to the phrase, "the land of the Hebrews," in the mouth of Joseph as an anachronism (xl. 15). If, however, "the land of the Perizzite" and "the land of the Hivite" were in place, "the land of the Hebrews" was quite as much so. A tendency is clearly observable to bring into view the part the patriarchs took in the affairs of the land. Abraham, on winning against large odds an important victory over its oppressors—though he had interposed particularly on Lot's account—is publicly blessed by the priest-king of Salem. With the political leaders, however, he asserts his independence, refusing an offered reward lest it should be said that

they had made Abraham rich (chap. xiv). Abimelech proffers him the freedom of the land (xx. 15), as did later his successor with Isaac (xxvi. 26-31), and desires an alliance with him.

On what other literary ground is it, moreover, that an entire chapter is devoted to an account of the purchase by Abraham of a burying place? The most minute details of the transaction are thought worthy of record, including the witnesses and the purchasing price to a shekel. On every subsequent reference to the affair—three times altogether in the book—the fact that it was a purchase from Ephron the Hittite and that the adjoining field was included in the sale are noted (xxv. 9, 10, xlix. 29-32, l. 13). So it is stated that Jacob bought a piece of ground in Shechem when he returned from Paddan-aram, paying for it one hundred *kesitahs*, a coin named only here in the Bible. This purchase he looked upon as giving him proprietary rights, and we find him later, apparently, bestowing it upon Joseph as a legacy (xlviii. 22).

Nor is this all. In the choice of the people we saw how, throughout the narrative, the principle of separation and elimination dominated. It is equally true, and along the same lines, as it respects the land. It is a feature that concerns not alone the native population, but also the descendants of the patriarchs outside one clear line of demarcation. It is not enough for the writer to describe how by Lot's voluntary choice of the plain of the Jordan, Abraham was left free range in Canaan. It must be noted later that, through their incestuous origin, his descendants made impossible every claim to the possession of the land along with Abraham's seed (xix. 30-38). An effective farewell is taken of them in the words, "The same is the father of the Moabites," "the same is the father of the children of Ammon unto this day." Of Ishmael it is predicted before his birth that his home will be apart from his brethren (xvi. 12). Of his descendants we are carefully informed that they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur that is before Egypt (xxv. 18). So the second possibility of a disputed claim was shut out. In the case of Keturah's children, the object of the narrative could not be plainer were it directly stated (xxv. 6): "But unto the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts; and he sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country." So far, then, an unclouded title belonged to Abraham and by him was transmitted unimpaired to his son.

How was it with Jacob? Here matters are more involved. Esau is the first-born. In a moment of physical distress he sells his birthright. Still he looks and works for the coveted blessing. In this he is shrewdly outwitted by Jacob and Rebecca. Yet the undoubted

physical power is on the side of "My lord Esau." Will he not secure by force what he had failed to get through natural channels? The interest of the story, through several chapters, centres in this contest. All the more marked, therefore, is the issue. Esau had been flitting, apparently undetermined, back and forth from Canaan to Mount Seir. On Jacob's return to Canaan, after the joint burial of their father, to our great surprise he takes voluntary and final leave of the promised land. "And Esau took his wives and his sons, and his daughters, and all the souls of his house, and his cattle and all his beasts, and all his possessions, which he had gathered in the land of Canaan and went into a land away from his brother Jacob" (xxxvi. 6). The event itself and the imperative reason behind it could not well have been more conspicuously displayed.

In chap. xxxix the historian had been particular to note a mere incidental peril to the patriarch's rights from another quarter. Laban and his friends had been wounded in their feelings, and believed themselves wronged in their property interests by the fugitive Jacob. Might not this become the occasion of future trouble? Laban's formal pledge is made to settle it (xxxix. 52): "This heap be a witness, and the pillar be witness that I will not pass over this heap to thee, and that thou shalt not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm." Thus Jacob is left in undisturbed possession of his ancestral rights in Canaan and the aim of the writer, as far as it concerns this second principal point, reaches its culmination. If one clear purpose, like a silken cord, runs through the pages of Genesis that God would separate unto Himself a people of His choice, another runs parallel to it in every part, that for His people, at the appointed time, He would have ready a land that should be all their own.

There is a third principal thought displayed on the pages of Genesis which should not be overlooked; it is that the patriarchs, not without trials to their faith or discipline, entered into their promised possessions. This is particularly true of Abraham and Jacob; it is less true of Isaac, of whom we have little information.\* No sooner is the promise of a numerous seed made to Abraham than the proving of his faith begins. He is seventy-five years of age. Sarah is barren. His riches increase apace, but not his family. Meantime the promise is renewed; once on his entering Canaan, again after his separation from Lot: "Unto thy seed will I

\* Though he, too, had sufficient occasion for the exercise of faith and hope, for Rebecca was barren. During twenty years they waited for the promised seed and when it came it was in a way to cause the gravest apprehensions (xxv. 22, 23). Isaac's death, his burial by Jacob and Esau, recorded along with a list of Jacob's sons (xxxv. 23-29), opens the notable tendency of the historian to keep strictly to his theme.

give this land" (xii. 7). "And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered" (xiii. 16). Still the expected blessing came not. After he had been in the land a period of years, we hear him uttering his thought in prayer after this manner: "O Lord Jehovah, what wilt thou give me, seeing I go childless, and he that shall be possessor of mine house is Dammesek Eliezer." "Behold to me thou hast given no seed" (xv. 2, 3). Now the promise takes a more definite form: "This man shall not be thine heir; but he that shall come forth out of thine own bowels shall be thine heir" (xv. 4). Abraham believes, but asks for a sign. It is given him with a fourth renewal of the promise (xv. 18). Time goes on until ten years have passed since the patriarch's arrival in Canaan. His faith begins again to waver. An heir born of his own flesh had been assured to him, but should it be by Sarah? Abetted by her, he takes Hagar as wife, and in his eighty-sixth year she bears him Ishmael. Hagar is vouchsafed a communication from the heavens; they are now seemingly shut to Abraham (xvi. 7). Thirteen years longer he waits. The dates are supplied, no doubt, with deliberate intention. Then Jehovah appears again, and for the fifth time communicates with His waiting servant. Hagar's child was not the promised seed. Within a year Sarah should bear a son; his name should be called Isaac. Through him she should become the "mother of nations." This was Jehovah's covenant. As a token of reciprocation, Abraham must adopt the rite of circumcision for his offspring (chap. xvii).

Hopes long deferred now seem on the eve of realization; but Sarah's faith is in need of quickening; hence a special theophany is granted on her account, but with a definite reference to the last: "At the set time I will return unto thee . . . and Sarah shall have a son" (xviii. 14). Meantime the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah takes place, with Lot's rescue, and, what is more to the point, Abraham's journey to Gerar and his trial with Abimelech. It is not without a purpose, as we have seen, that the writer gives this incident; it is with a special purpose that he introduces it at just this point. At last the event predicted twenty-five years before occurs, by the very course of the history plainly constructed on the plan of a graduated series of events. The attention had been continually and ever more closely riveted upon it. "And Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which God had spoken to him" (xxi. 2).

But the climax has not yet been reached. It lay in the divine command to Abraham to take this son of his, this only son whom he loved, and offer him up as a burnt offering. When in unques-

tioning obedience he carried out, as far as with him was possible, the injunction, the utterances of Jehovah to him reach their culminating point (xxii. 16). The revelation is in a form so wonderful that afterwards there is no more favorite designation of Canaan, as we have intimated, than as "the land which the Lord swore unto Abraham" (xxvi. 3, 1. 24). "By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord, because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son: that in blessing I will bless thee, and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is upon the seashore."

There had been at the beginning the promise of a numerous posterity; then that it should be from his own body; then that it should be through Sarah; then the name of the child and the date of his birth are given; and at last, after years of happy possession, the supreme trial whose issue assured to the patriarch the absolute certainty of all that had been previously spoken. Or, tracing the progression of thought along another line, we first find Jehovah speaking with Abraham (xii. 1); then appearing to him (xii. 7); then ratifying a covenant with him through a visible sign (xv. 17, 18); then appointing, on his part, a token of the mutual covenant (xvii. 9); then sharing with him as a guest a covenant meal, an act elsewhere unexampled in the Bible (xviii. 8); and, finally, swearing by Himself an oath of eternal faithfulness to all that He had promised, and accounting him, as Isaiah notes, His friend (cf. Isa. xli. 8). Thus the story of Abraham, in this particular, bespeaks from beginning to end a unity of purpose that is unmistakable.

Jacob's trials naturally had an individual stamp, but they are run in the same general mold. To no small extent they were the result of his own lack of faith and honesty, but they were real. His protracted banishment from his father's house; his peculiarly irksome service with Laban; his long continued and well-grounded fear of Esau; the peril into which he was brought by his lawless sons at Shechem; the temporary absence of Judah and his low life with Hira, the Adullamite; above all the deception practiced upon him who had grievously deceived his own father, by his sons in turn, in the matter of Joseph—these facts absorb the material of the book in this part of it and form a closely jointed narrative.

Like those of Abraham and Jacob, Joseph's history begins with revelations from heaven in which his future is foreshadowed; and like them he makes his way through trials to his providential destiny. The material, though in itself tolerably complete, is of one pattern with what goes before and looks towards the same end; to show how God was preparing a people for Himself. In fact, it is the life of Jacob which furnishes the key to that of Joseph. There it

has its beginning, that gives point to the transitions, and in the exaltation of Joseph it comes to its best fruitage and receives its highest reward. One is apt to overlook that this very turn is given to the narrative of Joseph by its title. It begins with the words, "These are the generations of Jacob" (xxxvii. 2); just as Jacob's history is placed under the rubric: "These are the generations of Isaac" (xxv. 19).

After Joseph is once fairly established in Egypt, the one thing of importance before the writer's mind seems to be to get Jacob and his family there. When they are there and have been presented to Pharaoh and had got them possessions therein and were "multiplied exceedingly," the next thing in order is the decease of Jacob. This stage of history was now complete; the family was ready to give place to the nation. As Noah, Abraham and Isaac had done, Jacob bestows his blessing upon his sons before his death. It is surprising how much of the history of the patriarch and his children reappears in this blessing, taken in connection with the family register placed a little earlier (chap. xlv). We recall again his experiences in Haran, including the birth of his children severally; the death of Judah's sons; Dinah's misfortune at Shechem, with the lamentable part taken in it, to their cost, by Simeon and Levi; Reuben's shameless act with Bilhah, by which he lost his birthright; and especially the place which, in the later time, Judah had won in the father's heart. Nothing is needed but a bare rehearsal of the facts recorded to show how inseparably they are woven together like warp and woof in the fabric of the story.

There is one thing more giving a peculiar cast to Genesis which should not be wholly omitted: I mean its predictive element. Deitzsch speaks of three concentric circles of revelation: (1) the seed of the woman, who is the conqueror of evil in mankind; (2) the seed of the patriarchs, who is the blessing of the nations; (3) the seed of David, who is the salvation and glory of Israel. Their order is exactly reversed in the fulfillment. It is a significant fact that two of these great circles lie within the bounds of Genesis. Of course our present interest in the matter is not so directly theological and religious as literary. How far do these predictions make a feature of the book inclusive of its several constituent parts?

It has been customary and seems reasonable to connect the promise of the coming seed (iii. 15) with Eve's words (iv. 1): "I have gotten a man with (the help of) the Lord;" and with Lamech—the tenth from Adam, the number of completion—who exclaimed on the birth of Noah (v. 29): "The same shall comfort us . . . because of the ground which Jehovah hath cursed." Clearly, moreover,

in the mind of the historian, who has arranged his matter with this in view, it was Shem among whose descendants the promised good should come to bloom. Canaan should be his servant; Japheth dwell in his tents (ix. 26, 27). Again, Abraham is Terah's son, the tenth, in turn, in the goodly line of Shem, and in him all the families of the earth should be blessed. With Abraham the promise entered its second stage of development. It is no longer the seed of the woman, but that of the patriarchs which is the goal of hope. How this special hope centres again in Isaac, then in Jacob, and what pains are taken to show beyond all cavil that there had been no divergence in the line of blessing, we have seen. In similar terms the promise is repeated to each of them. To the former it is said: "I will establish the oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father . . . and in thy seed shall the nations of the earth be blessed" (xxvi. 3, 4). To the latter: "I am the Lord, the God of Abraham, thy father" (again, "thy father" to Jacob), "and the God of Isaac . . . in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed" (xxviii. 13, 14; cf. xxviii. 3, 4).

From Jacob the blessing would naturally have descended to Reuben the first born. Isaac was Abraham's only son by Sarah. Esau had voluntarily relinquished his birthright in favor of Jacob, and God had accepted and ratified the transfer. On which of Jacob's sons would it fall? Reuben had forfeited his claim by incest (xlix. 3); Simeon and Levi more by their cruelty to the Shechemites (xlix. 5-7). Hence the blessing is divided; the material rights of primogeniture go to the favorite Joseph (xlix. 22-26); the primacy to Judah, the fourth son (xlix. 8-12). To him his father's sons should bow down. "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah," is the language of the announcement, "nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until Shiloh come and unto him shall the obedience of the peoples be." Whichever of the disputed renderings of the more essential clause be adopted—"until Shiloh come;" "until he come to Shiloh;" "until that [that is, the kingdom] come which is his"—it is impossible to vacate the passage of the great hope. It has been growing in intensity, while gradually narrowing in compass and range throughout our book. It is not necessary for us to insist here that this hope is Messianic, or looks at all beyond the Jewish people. It can and must be claimed that it is a marked peculiarity of Genesis, and transfuses it like a beam of light from first to last.

We now advance to a new stage of the inquiry. We have shown, in four particulars, that the author of Genesis had a distinct plan before him. These four objects of his are not of equal prominence, but they are in perfect harmony with one another and are

blended together in an obvious unity. If he had other objects in view, they were clearly subsidiary to these, and made to contribute to their unfolding. The conclusion is inevitable and is, in fact, so far undisputed. Genesis exhibits, superficially at least, a remarkable oneness in conception and design. In its general features it bears the marks of the same constructive mind. Each part is fitted to its place in the general plan and duly contributes to its development. What is the bearing of this fact on the current theory? Genesis, in its present form, must have been the work of one master mind. Can anything be known respecting the sources he had at his command? It can be shown, we think, with reasonable certainty, that the documents known as J, E and P, as such did not form the basis of his work. The facts hitherto set forth in this paper, although selected at random for their own sake and with no such secondary end immediately in view, have strongly suggested this inference already. The theory now in vogue is plainly incompatible with such a unity of plan, so carried out. With the presupposed redactor or compiler, it was less a question of clearly putting an object before his readers, or of teaching them some moral lesson, than of conserving and displaying his material. For the quasi-canonical matter he felt a tender, even a sacred interest. We are told that his frequent faults of judgment were generally due to a pardonable bias of feeling towards his sources. The evident purpose of the author of Genesis, on the other hand, shown in the four particulars named, demonstrates exactly the contrary feeling. He worked as a master. He made his material strictly subserve the ends he had in view. The matter selected, what it should be, whether genealogical or historical, whether little or much, whether drawn out in extreme detail or put in the form of bare statement, was selected, shaped and manipulated as it was, because the author had set before him a definite literary and moral goal which he never lost sight of. It was not because he had three documents to combine into a pleasing verisimilitude. We may safely challenge the judgment of every candid investigator whether *prima facie* this is not the case. If it be so, it is a fact which goes very far towards settling the question before us; it proves that Genesis is not a compilation from three continuous sources of the nature of J, E and P.

We have already considered how extremely improbable it is that three such works, so alike in material and chronological order, existed at the periods named. The difficulties of such an hypothesis are greatly enhanced by what has been said in the present paper. Each must also have been penetrated by the same purpose. We now see, as we have not before, what must have been, severally, their aim,

content, spirit and peculiar construction. Like Paley's mysterious watch, whose separate parts, when brought together, fitted each so nicely, they must have been proportioned and adapted to one another at the start, or their compiler was a greater wonder-worker than Moses in Egypt. We have the supposed documents delimited for us in Genesis and can easily test how they are severally related to this group of objects, together forming the manifest purpose of its author. Take first the principle of separation and exclusion through which the choice of a people was effected. Is it a feature of each of this trio of alleged early writers? To a certain extent it is. We have pointed out how the genealogies are employed; and have shown that in their relative position, and even in their inner construction, they give evidence of having been used to help the author in this aim (with iv. 16-19 cf. v. 3-30; and chaps. x, xi). This is P's testimony; but only in part. It singles out, like the others, Noah and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and marries the last two among their kindred. It is the document of the covenants and of circumcision. It marks, with approval, the growing estrangement from the Canaanites, little observable in the time of Abraham (xxvi. 35; chap. xxxiv); and allows to the Israelites a possession by themselves in the land of Egypt (xlvii. 11).

With reference to J and E it is less necessary to illustrate this point, since it would be generally admitted. Seth's substitution, Shem's exaltation, Abraham's call, most of the great promises of a numerous offspring, the three stories of special trial at royal courts; Jacob's purification at Bethlehem; the enucleation of the family alike in Canaan and in Egypt—these are here; and to crown all, Jacob's blessing upon his sons with his prophetic glance directed into the distant future as well as the nearer past.\*

Look, next, at the author's purpose respecting the land of Canaan. J records the call to Abraham to migrate; P equally shows whither; J has the first promise of the land as an inheritance (xii. 7); P soon after repeats, and emphasizes it by a covenant (xvii. 9); J gives information that centuries must pass before the promise is fulfilled (xv. 16); P tells how Abraham, in pledge of unabated confidence, bought for himself and family a burying place at Machpelah (chap. xxiii); J and E repeat (xxvi. 3, xli. 4) the promise of the land to Isaac and Jacob; the same is true of P (xvii. 8, xxxv. 11). And in the successive eliminations of possible counter-claimants each document, either by historical record or by pertinent state-

\* Let it be noted here once for all that, in this survey of the contents of the several documents, no distinction is made between what is known as J and J<sup>1</sup>; nor any attention given to mere excerpts of a document assigned by critics to the redactor in the obvious interests of the theory advocated.

ment, shares: in the dismissal of Lot, of Ishmael, of Keturah's children, and of Esau. Again, consider the common trials of the patriarchs. Is P colored by this fact? It is not ignorant of the clog that Lot proved to be to Abraham; it notes Sarah's barrenness and implies that of Rebecca (xxv. 21); speaks of the "grief of mind" that Esau's wives were to his parents; records Jacob's protracted absence in Paddan-aram; the perilous complications at Shechem on his return, and the dying of the patriarch in Egypt with his face turned towards Canaan. With respect to J and E, it is less necessary to enlarge. They divide between them the record of the long continued discipline of Abraham; of Jacob's experience at Haran; his grave differences with Laban and Esau; and of his sufferings from the injustice done to Joseph and the share he had in Egypt.

So, finally, as it regards the predictive matter of our book, the same result is reached. J has received from some the name of the "prophetical writer," to so large an extent is matter of this sort referred to it. It is not wanting in E, which predicts that Abraham's seed shall be as the stars; and, later, that in them shall be blessed all the nations of the earth (xv. 5; cf. xxii. 16, 17). Isaac's prophetic blessing upon Jacob is assigned by our analysts, partly to J, partly to E; so the narrative of the divine appearance to Jacob on the way to Haran, with its accompanying promise (xxviii. 10-22; cf. xxxv. 1). And it is E which records the vision accorded to Jacob on his way to Egypt and the promise that his bones shall finally rest in the land of his fathers (xlvi. 4, 5).

How is it with P—to a large extent a mass of dry statistics, names and dates? Did the spirit of prophecy touch it also? It is P which, looking forth to the end of time, declares that there shall no more be a flood to destroy the earth (ix. 11); corresponding to J's words, in view of the same event just passed: "While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease" (viii. 22). We have already seen with what consummate skill the author of Genesis divided P's genealogy of Shem in the midst (chaps. x, xi) in order to take it up later on, and so to concentrate attention on Shem's famous scion, the son of Terah.

Notwithstanding the disconnected and fragmentary nature of P's matter elsewhere, there is no mistaking its drift. Abraham goes to Canaan, grows there to be rich and powerful, becomes a party to the covenant by which substantially the same things are assured to him as by J and E (xxvii. 7, 8): "And I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee

and to thy seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land of thy sojournings, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession; and I will be their God." When Abraham is laid to rest in the significant Machpelah, it is P which remembers to record how God blessed his son Isaac, as in P it is noted that he had promised to do (xxv. 11).

It is P which puts into Isaac's mouth these words of benediction for Jacob: "God Almighty bless thee . . . that thou mayest be a company of peoples" (xxviii. 3); and into God's mouth an express prediction of like content: "A nation and a company of nations shall be of thee, and kings shall come out of thy loins . . . and the land which I gave unto Abraham and Isaac, to thee will I give it and to thy seed after thee will I give the land" (xxxv. 10-12). To this promise, found in P, Jacob, likewise in P, points back, in a conference with Joseph in Egypt, assigning to Joseph's two sons a portion in this land which was to be an "everlasting possession." Hence, P is not so wanting in this element of prediction as might be thought. It has enough of it to leave no just room for doubt that the same master hand, controlled by the same general purpose, shaped it and fitted it to its place.

It might be asked: Is not this reasoning a two-edged sword? Does it not tend to support, rather than to overthrow the theory that there are combined in Genesis three originally separate works, having similar contents? We answer, No, far from it, in the form presented. Such a theory might have plausibility in certain contingencies and to a certain limited degree. Followed out to a logical conclusion in the present case, it is a boomerang which comes back to confound its projectors. The argument from similarity of contents here proves too much to serve the theory. If it have the value of proof at all, it proves that J, E and P are inseparable parts of one work. Where was there ever a narrative of any length which could not be separated into parts, each more or less continuous in itself, and, in the nature of the case, bearing a striking resemblance to one another? That is in no sense extraordinary. The proof that the divisions are constituent parts of one and the same work and belong together is in the fact that when found together, or when put together, they form an organic whole; a whole that is obviously penetrated and dominated by certain ideas, which may appear and should indeed appear, to some degree, in the parts themselves, but unorganized, without a nice inner connection, without growth and without climax. That is the exact state of the case here. We have no mechanical junction of disconnected stories. We have a continuous evolution from primary ideas.

None of the supposed sources presents in their fullness and strength

the four ruling principles named. None of them fails to represent, in some form and degree, every one of them. J is prophetic, but so are E and P in a degree, and, what is more to the point, along the same lines and looking to the same objects. P offers powerful evidence here and there that its author was intent on showing how Israel became a people and inherited a land; but it is in scraps, unrelated segments. The circle is complete when to them are added the statements of J and E. On the other hand, it might be made out from J or E, and far better from both together, that it had pleased God to train His servants in patience and heroic trust. But the lesson would be below the standard clearly aimed at by the author of Genesis without the matter supplied by P. Simple walls are not meaningless; they have not the significance of walls converging to the arch. That is what these supposed sources do for one another. It is admitted that they are composed of the same material, that it is shaped to a like pattern; but some fail to see that apart, they are each loosely, if at all, connected and are feeble in suggestion. Together they come to their own, are alive with meaning throughout, and make up the palpable unity of Genesis.

Take, for example, the trial of Abraham respecting the promised seed. There is no more marked feature of the book, and each of the alleged sources contributes its part. Take J alone and you get the idea, but without some important side lights upon it touching Eliezer and Abraham's doubts (xv. 1-3). Without P the promise on which Abraham's hopes, as well as his own matchless faith are based, fail of their culminating point, and the related series of events lacks their proper perspective. Again, without P and J, E would be unintelligible; having a tolerable beginning, but without middle or end. We find Isaac, as we do Ishmael, in it, and the patriarch's trial at Jehovah-jireh. That is all. The last is an important contribution as such to the scheme of Genesis. Isolated in E, it is incomprehensible—would cause, in fact, the gravest perplexity.

This illustrates sufficiently well the point we have in view. To separate Genesis into three parts by the lines of cleavage laid down in the current analysis would be to rob the book of its admitted meaning. To admit such meaning, though only in part, and suppose it the product of little more than an external adjustment of originally dissevered independent works, mediated by how deft soever a hand, is to predicate an ethical and a literary impossibility,—if the hand were unskilled and clumsy, a gross absurdity. As Prof. Driver\* says of the "traditional view," the price at which such a theory must be maintained is too high.

\* *Introd.*, p. x.

The argument for the unity of Genesis derived from the quality of the Hebrew employed has been already given on both its negative and positive sides in the previous chapter. It is generally admitted that Genesis represents, to a considerable extent, the oldest form of the language. But it is said that in P, mingled with signs of antiquity, are elements characteristic of its latest form. This we beg leave to question on the ground of facts elsewhere presented; and we call for proof. What has been hitherto adduced as proof is plainly inadequate, finding a complete parallel, to say no more, in J and E. The conclusion, accordingly, to which we are necessarily driven by the data in hand is this: If from the general criteria of language and style it is impossible to say that Genesis did not originate in the time of the early kings (1000–800 B.C.), on the same ground it is impossible to deny that it might have arisen in the time of Moses.

One other ground for the unity and continuity of Genesis remains to be considered. It is the references of its several parts to one another. They are far more numerous than is generally supposed, and their bearing is unmistakable. The problem is complicated somewhat by differences of opinion among critics as to the relative order of the sources and the time of their union. For convenience we shall have in mind the hypothesis of the great majority who hold that J and E after circulating independently were first united; then, long after—not less than three centuries—were supplemented and completed from P. As might be expected, the redactor or compiler has here an important role. At each step his part is to be carefully scrutinized lest he exceed his prerogative or transgress the rules of logic, since, in the end, whoever else he may be, he is the responsible agent of the theory which created him.

There are found in Genesis, as we now have it, four classes of cross references: of P to P; of P to J or E; of J or E to P; and of J and E to one another. For present purposes the references of P to J or E, or *vice versâ*, will be sufficient. Actual references or a dependence of this sort are obviously out of harmony with the theory, in fact disprove it. If the matter of P refers to or presupposes that of J or E, it must have been written with reference to it. The same is true of J or E in relation to P. The only alternative is to suppose, that in these particulars the original form of all sources was virtually alike; that is to say, if the cases are numerous, instead of there being three distinct sources at the basis of Genesis, there was one Genesis from which the alleged sources were derived. Another possibility should not be overlooked. The way may be prepared in one part of Genesis for what appears later, without prejudice to the theory that the former may be an original

source on which the latter has freely built, that is, some form of a supplementary theory which is not yet altogether antiquated.

First, are there indications of the dependence of J or E on P? Throughout chaps. ii and iii (J) the word Elohim has generally been put in a way almost singular in the Bible, alongside of Jehovah, in obvious reference to chap. i (P). It is usually ascribed to the redactor. Was he then so theologically inclined? It must be conceded that he took a great deal of pains to emend his (three-hundred-year old) source, since he was obliged to insert the word not less than a score of times.\* Again, "heaven and earth," as a conception, in v. 29, is a remarkable interjection of a scrap of matter from J in the midst of P. It refers to the birth of Noah, which is the subject of the context. There are but two alternatives: either the matter is from J, and here depends on P's statement which immediately precedes, or it is P's matter, and refers back to J (iii. 17). Either supposition is out of harmony with the theory.

In vi. 7, vii. 23, it is admitted by all, that there is found in J a characteristic expression consisting of a dozen words in the English, of P (i. 26): "Let us make man in our image, and let him have dominion." By a clear evasion of strict logical consequences, however, it is charged to the redactor. A credible reason for these two lapses of the redactor, who was so careful in chaps. ii and iii to use words by line and plummet, has never been given. In vii. 1 (J), Noah is told to come into "the ark," though all that is previously said about "the ark" is said in P (vi. 13-16). In the same verse Jehovah is represented as saying to the patriarch: "Thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation," in obvious dependence on vi. 9 (P), as the peculiar coloring of the language shows and as is admitted by Dillmann.† In vii. 3, 9, the language again, it is universally conceded, shows that J is in the livery of P. But it is claimed, *redactor fecit*. A possible reason why critics might claim it, we have; any good reason why the redactor should do it, we have not.

In vii. 12 (J), the statement that the rain was upon the earth forty days is directly dependent on the verse just before, vii. 11 (P), which speaks of the opening of the windows of heaven; and in viii. 2<sup>b</sup> (J), there is a like dependence on viii. 2<sup>a</sup> (P). The declaration in viii. 20 (J), that Noah built an altar, presupposes his disembarkation recorded only by P in a previous section (viii. 4). In ix. 22 (J), there is a clear anticipation of a fact stated in x. 6 (P). It is

\* In ii. 18, "living creature" (cf. i. 21, etc.), claimed by critics as an expression peculiar to P, might fairly be cited as referring to i. 21, etc. (P).

† *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 656.

laid to the charge of the redactor, but in palpable avoidance of the logic of facts (cf. ix. 18, 19). In x. 15 (J), a genealogical statement is made that can be understood only by referring back to P (x. 6). It is held to be another of the redactor's adjustments. Would he have cut up J, the older family register, to piece out P's, and make a mess of both? He was more economical in chaps. iv and v, where, wittingly or not, he is supposed to have preserved one and the same register in two forms. In x. 24 the redactor is made to supplement P's register by a verse of his own. In doing so he has employed one of the most characteristic expressions of J ("begat" in the Hebrew). Working in the age and spirit of P, he should have been more shrewd. If, on the other hand, it was intended as an introductory link to J's list which follows, it is equally clumsy in showing a dependence in other respects on P.

Again, in xi. 1-9 (J), the account of the confusion of tongues is absolutely necessary to explain x. 5, 20, 31, 32 (P), which implies that the nations already had different tongues. Chap. xii. 4 (J), which speaks of Lot's going to Canaan with Abraham, is mystifying without xi. 27, 31 (P), which informs us who Lot is. In xii. 6 it is remarked that Abraham passed through the land. We only know what land it is from the preceding verse, contributed by P. In xviii. 10, 14 (J), Jehovah assures Abraham that he will surely fulfill his promise when the season comes round "at the set time." The time had just been marked in chap. xvii. 17 (P), as Sarah's ninetieth year (cf. xii. 4, xxi. 5). In xxi. 2 it is said that Sarah "bare Abraham a son in his old age," an obvious reference to P's statements concerning the patriarch's age, for they occur nowhere else in J. In xxi. 13 (E), we read: "And also of the son of the bondwoman will I make a nation, because he is thy seed." Its form suggests at once xvii. 20, where the promise concerning Ishmael has fuller expression (P). In xxiv. 6, 7 (J), the death of Sarah is directly implied. It had been previously recorded in xxiii. 1, 2 (P), and there alone. To say that the redactor inserted the reference in J is simply a sign of stress of weather, and does not change the matter an atom. In xxv. 18 we have another instance of the piecing of P with a scrap from J, and the scrap would be meaningless anywhere else. What such a fact means, a moment's reflection will suggest. A statement made in xxix. 30 (E), is logically dependent on what is said in the preceding verse (P), and the idea would be intolerable without it (cf., also, xxix. 23, 24). We claim further that what is said of Esau's movements in connection with Seir (xxxii. 3, xxxiii. 16, J), is only intelligible when taken together with what P supplies in various passages (xxxv.

29, xxxvi. 6-8; cf. xlv. 30, 31).\* Chap. xxxiv. shows throughout the mutual dependence of J and P.

The connection is as close in some cases as subject and predicate (vers. 1, 2); or the corresponding parts of a compound sentence (ver. 3). A matter proposed in P, in one case, is carried out in J (with 14-17 cf. 19). In ver. 25 we read: "And it came to pass on the third day, when they were sore, that (so far P) two of (J) the sons of Jacob (P), Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brethren (J), took each man his sword, and came upon the city unawares, and slew all the males" (P). We are asked to believe that a redactor working in the days of P used his scissors thus mercilessly on his sources, and for what purpose here? To supplement J in the interests of P? No; but to correct P and make it harmonize with J—a proceeding in polar contrast with his assumed attitude in general. And he did this when, if he had left P's representation unmodified, he would have had a more natural and easily accepted statement: namely, that all the brethren were concerned in the affair, instead of two only.

What now do these examples show? They show, as far as they go, and their scope is not inconsiderable, that J and E presuppose P, on which they so clearly depend. To ascribe the phenomena presented to the simple manipulation of the sources is manifestly out of the question. To say that the matter was originally alike in these particulars, or that the redactor has changed it to make it conform where it was unlike, are pure conjectures to which the advocates of the theory are not entitled, especially to any such extent. They have not, moreover, the merit of plausibility. In fact, they are suicidal. We have one original Genesis, and these three are extracts, not sources.

Changing now the point of view, let us note any instances where P refers to or presupposes J or E. As in the last case, an exhaustive induction is not attempted. In v. 1 we read: "The book of the generations of Adam." It is reasonable to suppose that this proper name, gradually introduced from chap. iii. 17 (cf. iv. 25), comes through J, where we find already a sense for the importance of names (cf. ii. 19, 23). In the following verse we read: "Male and female created he them and blessed them, and called their name Adam." This appears to refer to the work of creation as recorded in J (ii. 7), and to be a play upon the word Adam, that is, in its root-meaning, earth, the material from which they are there said to have been made ("dust from the ground"). The fact that Adam and his descendants are spoken of as dying (v. 5), looks back to ii. 17 (J), where death is threatened as the consequence of disobedience.

\* If there were a discrepancy—which there is not—it is in P when compared with itself.

The expression in v. 24, "Enoch walked with God," like a similar one at vi. 9, referring to Noah, implies the corruption of the earth described only in J. In vi. 11, the statement that the earth was corrupt, like the last passages, but more peremptorily, requires the account of the introduction of sin contained in J. Chap. i had concluded with the words: "And God saw everything that he had made, and behold it was very good."

In vi. 12 we are told that all "flesh" had corrupted his way upon the earth. The peculiar designation of the fallen race as "flesh," is derived from vi. 3 (J). In vii. 6 (P), the immediate announcement of the flood in J (vers. 1-5) is plainly presupposed. In vii. 17 (P), the flood is said to have been "forty days" on the earth, looking back to vii. 12 (J). It is laid to the redactor; but at the expense either of his good sense or his honesty. In ix. 3 (P), where flesh is allowed to man as food, there is doubtless a reference to the previous restriction to a vegetable diet, and most likely, from the phrasing of J's form of it (iii. 18; cf. ii. 16, J; i. 29, P). In ix. 5 (P), "and surely your blood will I require," etc., seems to allude to the account of Abel's murder (J), especially to the words: "The blood of thy brother crieth unto me from the ground." In xi. 31 (P), Sarah is spoken of as Abraham's wife. The fact of the marriage is noted two verses before in J. In xii. 4 Abraham's age is given when he started from Haran. The fact and the occasion of his going to Haran are found only in J, just before (xii. 1-4). In xiii. 6, the circumstance is mentioned that the substance of Abraham and Lot is too great to permit them to dwell together. How it comes to be so is described in J in the preceding context (xii. 16, xiii. 1-5). The same relation of the documents is true as it regards their recorded separation (xiii. 11, 12; cf. xiii. 7-11).

In xvi. 3, "Hagar *the Egyptian*" is introduced into the narrative of P. How Abraham came to have an Egyptian maid is told only and told very consistently in J (xii. 16, xvi. 1). In xvii. 7, God speaks of establishing His covenant with Abraham. That He had made one appears only from J and E, in previous chapters. In xix. 29 the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is alluded to as having taken place. The fact is described by J at length in the preceding context. In this same brief allusion to the event by P, Lot is said to have been delivered on Abraham's account, evidently implying Abraham's intercession recorded in J (xviii. 23-32). In xxxii. 2 (P), Abraham is noticeably spoken of as having *come* to mourn for Sarah. We are informed in E that he was in Beersheba at the time (xxii. 19), while Sarah had died at Hebron.

In xxv. 20 (P), the reference to Isaac's marriage looks back to the record of it in xxiv. 67 (J); that to Rebecca's relatives, including

Bethuel, "the Syrian of Paddan-aram," to J in xxii. 23, xxiv. 29. In xxv. 8 (P), Abraham is said to have died in a "good old age," an expression taken from the promise that he should do so, recorded in xv. 15, which is properly matter of J, although to avoid a collision assigned by critics to the redactor. In xxv. 11 (P), it is said that Isaac dwelt at Beer-lahai-roi, a statement based on a previous one (of P) that he had come up from there to meet and marry Rebecca (xxiv. 62; cf. xvi. 14). In xxviii. 1, Isaac's charge to Jacob is founded on the foregoing narrative of J and E; so xxviii. 2 on xxiv. 9, xxviii. 7 on xxvii. 42, although for no apparent reason except to avoid danger to the theory in the last case the redactor has been supposed to have made an insertion of two words in P's text. A part of ver. 18, chap. xxxi (P), is afloat, like a piece of cordage in the sea, unless it be connected with the narrative of J and E found immediately before. That it floats in a certain common direction does not prove it any the less a fragment. Who is the Dinah of whom the story is told by both P and J in chap. xxxiv? We are informed only in J (xxx. 21). How do we know that Hamor is the father of Shechem (xxxiv. 4, P)? E tells us a few verses earlier (xxxiii. 19). Critics think he ought not to have done so, but the "ought" has force from their point of view only. In xxxv. 9, God is said to have appeared unto Jacob "again" when he came from Paddan-aram. It can only relate to his first appearance to him when he went thither, recorded in E (xxviii. 11, 12). Critics would refer the one word *again* to the redactor. It is quite too small a buffer to stand the concussion of intervening history. In xxxv. 10 (P), where the change of Jacob's name from Jacob to Israel is recorded for the second time, the first account of it (xxxii. 25, J) is in view where alone its *raison d'être* appears. In xxxv. 26 (P), Zilpah is referred to as Leah's handmaid. It looks back to xxx. 9 (J) where the fact is stated in its original and fuller form. In xli. 46 (P), Joseph is introduced as having stood before Pharaoh. The circumstance is described in the context (J and E) just preceding. Without this connection, it is another piece of floating wreckage. In xlvi. 6, 7, xlvii. 5, 6, 7-11, there are like scraps from P relating to Joseph's going down to Egypt, which are similarly incomplete when considered apart. At this point, moreover, a long list of Jacob's descendants is given as a *résumé* of scattered information elsewhere. By a fundamental principle of the analysis it should be assigned to P. It is introduced by matter which is so assigned. It has some of P's alleged characteristic expressions (xlvi. 15). But it refers back to events peculiar to J and E (ver. 12, etc.). The criticism, accordingly, is between two fires. As is usual in such cases, it gives way in favor of the redactor to the extent of about twenty verses.

In xlvi. 27 (P) the expression "land of Goshen" is found, said to be at home only in J, P's being "land of Egypt," or "land of Rameses." To parry the blow, to the theory and save an alleged duplicate, the redactor is supposed to have inserted the two misleading words, the very thing he was there not to do (cf. xlvi. 11). If critics can give as forcible and necessary a reason for his doing it as they themselves have for holding that he did it, the hypothesis might be regarded as credible. In xlviii. 7, in P's context, and with his phraseology, Rachel's death is incidentally noted. A circumstantial description of the event appeared in JE long before (xxxv. 16-22). Here again resort is taken to the redactor, but against the judgment of some of the ablest of the critics themselves. It was not unnatural for Jacob in speaking with Joseph respecting his sons that he should refer to the decease of Joseph's own mother. A large part of chap. xlix is devoted to Jacob's final blessing upon his sons (vers. 1-27). To it in detail ver. 28 (P) makes clear reference in these words: "And this it is that their father spoke unto them and blessed them, every one according to his blessing, he blessed them." It is a fitting conclusion to this long list of instances in which P takes account of the matter of its supposed companion documents.

Again we ask, What is to be done with these facts? Some of them might be disputed. We do not claim absolute certainty in every case; only in the majority of cases. Whatever may be said of some of the instances cited cannot affect the validity of the rest. The argument is not like a chain whose strength is equal only to that of its weakest link. The point to be considered is: Are not these instances of cross reference just what might have been expected were Genesis as a literary work essentially a unit? Are they not fully as numerous in this case as they would be in that? And are they not of the same general character? It is to be remembered that the references of P to P and of J to E and *vice versâ* have not been considered, nor many others not so directly bearing on the theory before us. They would add immensely to the list. On the other hand, were Genesis constructed as claimed by the advocates of the current analysis, would not, must not, the fundamental differences cropping out be far greater, and these cross references much fewer and of a different character? So it seems to us. We would, as a matter of course, expect indications very marked and very clear of a literary make-up so pronounced.

We are pointed, it is true, to the evidence of language and of duplicate accounts. These we have considered elsewhere\* and do not find sufficiently strong to overcome the acknowledged and

\* See article in THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW for April, 1895.

demonstrable unity of the book. Were there no other testimony that the repetitions pointed out in Genesis are not marks of diverse documentary sources, the fact that many of the same sort remain in each of the supposed documents, after the analysis has been reduced to its lowest terms, would be fully adequate to disprove the theory at this its strongest point (cf. v. 32, vi. 10, x. 1, vi. 11, 12, vii. 14-16, 18-20 triplicate, ix. 9-11, 12-17, xii. 5, xvii. 8, 10). These are a few examples, taken somewhat at random, from the one document P, the one most scrupulously separated from the others. It is apparent that they are not signs of different documents, but mere reiterations for the purpose of emphasis or of clearness.

The methods adopted to weaken the force of the argument for the unity of Genesis from the many mutual references of the alleged sources have already been glanced at. Sometimes it is claimed that they are due to the mere juxtaposition or the skillful adjustment of somewhat similar original material. For this supposition the references are clearly too numerous and the dependence too direct, since the date of their origin respectively cannot be forgotten. More often the dependence is charged to alterations introduced by the redactor in his material. This might be admitted oftener in the score or so of cases alleged, if a really probable reason were given for the most of such changes from the point of view of a redactor. The necessity for them from the critic's point of view is perspicuous enough. It is needless to say that every such introduction of the redactor, as a mere puppet of the theory, is itself a strong, if indirect argument against the theory. At best it must be regarded as irregular, an exception to what is claimed. Beyond a certain narrow limit exceptions of this sort become an unbearable burden upon a theory, and that limit is here left far behind. A bare survey of the editorial matter of the Genesis of the analysis, on whatever side considered, can only awaken the gravest suspicion towards the theory it is brought to support.

It is to be remembered, too, that this evidence from cross references among the alleged documents in Genesis does not stand by itself. It comes to confirm a view still generally accepted and hitherto universally held. It comes to the support of other reasons for the unity of Genesis which would be quite conclusive were they offered in favor of another book. The four great lines of thought which we have discovered running through it are thus shown anew not to be factitious but real, organically connected not only among themselves, but with a multitude of other subordinate lines which contribute to their development. That there are, to some extent, original fragmentary documentary sources at the basis of the pres-

ent Genesis we are convinced, and shall attempt hereafter to show. It will be found to be in no consistent sense out of harmony with the positions already taken. That this original material lies there, however, still like massive blocks of sandstone alternating with granite and gneiss; that these blocks yet appear in the common structure, only covered here and there with bits of stucco and an occasional interchange of the material to make a verisimilitude, a semblance of uniformity—is more than disproved by the facts presented. Genesis represents not so much compilation as strenuous elimination and selection. It is characterized, not by bare uniformity, or a unity that is outward and in a few points. It has the unity of the landscape. The earth, the tree, the cloud are there, but each existing for the other, and by a subtile inner concord working together under the guidance of one controlling mind for common ends.

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### III.

## THE AUTHENTICITY AND GENUINENESS OF DANIEL.

**A**MONG the books of the Old Testament, that of Daniel stands in the forefront as a witness for Jesus Christ. Through all the centuries it has borne powerful testimony for the divine origin and claim of Christianity. It contains the supernatural element in a high degree. Its miracles and prophecies are of the most pronounced description and demand the direct agency of God for their production. These marked features of the book have incurred for it the displeasure of rationalistic critics, who have massed all the resources of the critical method for the purpose of destroying its authenticity and historical credibility, while evangelical scholars have been no less earnest in their defense. The history of the contest is an interesting one.

For more than two thousand years the Church of God has held that the Book of Daniel was written at Babylon during the exile and had Daniel for its author; and that its historic statements are true and its miracles and prophecies genuine. The first to dispute this position was Porphyry, a heathen philosopher of the New Platonic School, in the latter part of the third century of our era. He maintained that the book was a forgery, its miracles impossible, and its prophecies history written after the event. He frankly admitted that history had verified some of the prophecies of Daniel, "and then adroitly turned his admission into a weapon of attack, arguing that a record so exact could be made only after the events: Daniel played the part of an historian in the mask of a prophet." The matter rested for many centuries until the attack was resumed by the Dutch Jew Spinoza, the French infidel Voltaire, the German rationalist Berthold, and the English deist Anthony Collins, the actual precursors of the destructive critics of to-day, who reproduce the same arguments. In their view, the book does not come from Daniel and his times, but from the Maccabean age, when the Jews were persecuted by Antiochus Epiphanes. They hold that the predictive elements of the book, so far as there is any truth in them at all, are history in the form of prediction written after the

to the left or rationalistic wing. These were the theologians who led Zurich back again to rationalism. Over against the rationalistic teachings of the university of Zurich, the evangelicals called a professor extraordinary to the university and supported him privately. They also founded, through the liberality of Matilda Escher, the St. Anna Chapel, which has become the centre of all evangelical influences in the canton. In 1866, Antistes Brunner died and was succeeded by the present antistes, Diethelm George Finsler, a very able man, who has written a number of very valuable works such as a *History of the Theological Development of German Switzerland*. He represents the mediating school of theology as held by the late Prof. Hagenbach of Basle, but like Hagenbach and the mediates in general he is always anxious to give the same rights to each party in the Church. It is possible that he may be the last of the long series of antistes, as the parliament is now occupied with a new organization of the Church, which would eliminate that dignity.

We have thus traced the history of the antistes of Zurich through three centuries, and from the highest Calvinistic orthodoxy down to the completest rationalism. Zurich and its university to-day are the most rationalistic in German Switzerland, although we have learned with pleasure that within the last five years somewhat of a reaction has set in especially in the country parishes who are tired of rationalism and prefer orthodox pastors. But it is very sad to see how the main cities, historic in the Reformed faith, have gone off into rationalism, such as Geneva, Zurich and Heidelberg. O that some Zwingli would again rise to destroy the power of this new oppressor as he destroyed Romanism. Or would that some Hess might again come to lead the Zurich Church back to the Bible and to orthodoxy. The Alliance of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches could not do a better work than to establish English congregations in these old Reformed centres, which might serve to strengthen the things that remain and uphold the evangelical elements within the state churches by their sympathy, as well as be to them object lessons of the practical methods of church work among the English churches.

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## II.

### ORIGIN AND COMPOSITION OF GENESIS.

#### THE SITUATION PRESUPPOSED IN GENESIS.

**T**HEORIES of the origin of Old Testament books have, of late, been greatly in excess of admitted facts. To collect, classify, verify and learn the significance of facts is doubtless the inquirer's first business; it is certainly the quickest and surest path to valid results. The fifty chapters of Genesis furnish no small amount of material. It should be no hopeless task to determine, within certain general limits, the bearing of this material on questions of composition, authorship and date. What then is the actual situation presupposed in Genesis? What age of the world does it best reflect? If the book be six hundred or a thousand years later than the times, persons and things described in it, signs of this fact should be abundant and clear; while literary and historical criticism can have no more legitimate function than to point them out and show their true meaning. The work here, moreover, should be all the easier that the contents of Genesis are of such a peculiar cast. To a great extent, as its name imports, it is a book of beginnings. It professes to describe the beginnings of the material universe, of the earth, of man and his history, of the family, of human sin and redemption, of the Sabbath rest, of the building of altars and the anointing of pillars, of the public worship of Jehovah, of polygamy, of agriculture and the arts, of the abrupt decline of human life, of the confusion of tongues, and other things besides. Nor are these the only peculiarities of the book. Its geography and topography are characteristic, its local antiquities, the proverbs and the customs then current, its ethnic presuppositions, the measure and the kind of contact with the surrounding peoples everywhere implied, its family registers, and its religion both on the human and the divine side. In fact, our greatest embarrassment is to know how to treat properly such a mass of materials in the limits allowed. We will look first at some of the main points of the historical narratives of the book.

One specially marked feature of Genesis is its cosmogony. Many important questions concerning it still await solution. They need not, however, necessarily defeat a purpose to discover in what gen-

eral period the first chapter of Genesis took its present form. Is it a product of the Babylonian exile, as some maintain, or may it have been of Mosaic or even pre-Mosaic origin? There certainly seems to be decisive objections against its origin in the exile. The close relation between the Biblical and one of the Babylonian accounts of the creation no one doubts. In both the work is divided into seven successive stages. In both the beginning is a watery chaos, characterized by a word having the same root-meaning. In both the general order of creation, with man at the apex, is the same. In both the celestial bodies are appointed for "signs and for seasons, and for days and years."\* But these facts furnish no just ground for the conclusion that the Biblical account came from Babylon *at the time of the exile*, but quite the contrary; or even that it is dependent on the Babylonian. A common ultimate origin for both is all that can be safely inferred.†

(1) The Biblical account does not make upon us the impression that it is the product of special study or reflection, as one might expect if it came from so late a period as the middle of the fifth century B.C. It has a peculiar style, but it is lapidarian, that is to say, monumental in character. (2) That the Jews would adopt from their heathen masters of the exile period, in any form, so conspicuous a part of the Torah as the opening chapter of Genesis—that they would find among them the formative elements, or even the suggestions of its great spiritual truths, including its pure monotheism—is extremely improbable, not to say incredible. (3) The Babylonian story of the creation, as we have it, is demonstrably much earlier than the exile. It comes to us first from the period and the library of Assurbanipal (B.C. 668–626), where it was stored

\* See *Records of the Past*, 2d series, i, 130.

† Pinches (*Expository Times*, May, 1893, p. 350), a competent authority, thus expresses himself on this point: "No charge of plagiarism can be brought against the Hebrew writer on account of any parallels which may exist between his narrative or narratives and those of the Babylonians. They are parallels, and nothing more; for the two sets of narratives are so different, that no one, comparing them, would venture to say that either was copied from the other. That the legends current among the Babylonians were, at least to a certain extent, known to the scribes of the Hebrews, is very probable, and it is just as probable that the legends [?] current with the Hebrews were known to the scribes of Babylonia. That the Hebrew writer may have been influenced by the Babylonian legends, is not only possible but probable; but if he was so influenced, when he wrote, he has managed to suppress the fact in a remarkable way, for such parallels and similarities as these are only what might have been expected among writers so closely akin in race and language, belonging to nationalities whose forefathers had, in early times, inhabited the same country, and between whom there was much intercourse in later days. Two descriptions of the same event, especially if that event be the Creation, are, moreover, bound to contain a certain number of parallels."

as the treasured copy of an original older by many hundreds of years. Assyria, it is well known, became an independent empire about the eighteenth century B.C. Its literature, of the kind we are considering, was wholly inherited; it was the same as that of the Babylonians, and originally derived from the same Akkadian and Sumerian sources. We are pointed, accordingly, to the Babylonia of Abraham's time, if not much earlier, by these parallels. If one object to the simple and natural theory that it was through Abraham that the Hebrews received from antiquity the essential contents of the earlier chapters of Genesis, there is still another, much to be preferred on the score of probability to the one offered us by a certain class of critics. It has been placed beyond doubt, since recent discoveries in Southern Arabia and at Tel Loh in Mesopotamia, that a high Babylonian civilization had spread, to some extent, over Canaan and the surrounding nations considerably before the days of Abraham.\* Here then was an opportunity for the transmission to the future home of the Israelites of "this or other cosmogonies of possibly Babylonian origin."† (4) The peculiar structure of the creation narrative in Genesis is doubtless due to the formative idea underlying the chapter, which is that of six days of labor followed by a Sabbath of rest. This idea reaches back to the very dawn of history, appearing in the Babylonian record before it does in Genesis. That it is pre-Mosaic in Israel is clear from the language of the fourth commandment: "Remember the Sabbath day,"—showing a knowledge of the Sabbath, whatever may be said of its early observance. (5) There are numerous passages in the Psalms, early and late (Ps. viii, xxxiii. 9, xc. 2, cii. 25, 27, civ) in chap. xxxviii, and in Proverbs (viii. 22–30), which, to all appearances, refer to the Biblical account of the creation. In view of these facts, if one claim for it an exilic or even a post-Mosaic origin, the claim must be supported by something besides conjecture; there must be stringent reasons given for so unlikely a position.‡ As yet they have not been produced.

Three other narratives of Genesis which have more or less direct

\* See Erman, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, Sept., 1892; Conder, *Scottish Rev.*, Oct., 1894, on "The Earliest Ages of Hebrew History."

† See article by Hommel "The Oldest Cosmogony of the World," in the *S. S. Times*, February 17, 1894.

‡ To the hypothesis that the scheme of the creation on the basis of the so-called Hexahemeron is due to a later working over of the original material, Dillmann says (*Die Genesis*, 1892, p. 16) that it is an unnecessary and essentially impossible theory. Similarly, Delitzsch, *Com.*, 1887, p. 42; and Strack, *Com.*, 1892, pp. 4, 5. On the effort to get rid of the testimony of the Decalogue by claiming that Ex. xx. 11 is a later addition, Delitzsch (*ibid.*) refers to Deut. v. 13–15, where the existence of the Sabbath is predicated, though the motive urged for its observance is new.

connection with the monuments of Babylon are those of the Fall, the Deluge and of the Tower of Babel. All Assyrian scholars are not agreed that there is a clear tradition of the Fall recorded on the monuments. Recently, however, new discoveries have enlarged our knowledge of the subject. It is now held, at least by some of them, that while there is no complete monumental record of this event extant, there are in the same creation series fragmentary passages showing that the story was known to the Babylonians in a form resembling, in several important respects, the Biblical. Both have an earthly paradise, a tree of knowledge, and, apparently, a tree of life. In both the sin consists in the eating of forbidden fruit.

Thus runs, in part, the version :

“The great gods, all determiners of fate,  
They entered, and death, like the god, soon was filled.  
In sin one with the other in compact joins.  
The command was established, in the garden of the god.  
The tree Asnan they ate, they broke.  
Its stalk they destroyed.  
They drank the sweet juice which injures the body.  
Great was their sin. Themselves they exalted.

To Merodach their Redeemer he appointed their destiny.”\*

In addition to this fragment, there is a small Babylonian cylinder preserved in the British Museum, of uncertain, but, as is generally agreed, of very ancient date, which seems to make definite reference to the fall of man. It contains a picture of the tree of knowledge, or, according to Babylonian ideas, of the tree of life. On either side sit a man and woman, while behind the woman the serpent appears as if addressing himself to her. There can be no reasonable doubt what this pictorial representation was meant to teach. It shows that, in its most essential features, the Biblical story of the Fall was widely current among Shemitic peoples.

Here again, it is to be observed, whatever the ultimate relation of these accounts may prove to be, they transport us by their essential contents to the very earliest times. If, accordingly, one is pleased to conjecture that the Biblical narrative assumed its present form at a late period in the Hebrew history, he is entitled to all the support which an unlikely conjecture affords and to nothing more. Very late it cannot have been, since there are several references to it in the Proverbs ascribed to Solomon (Prov. iii. 18, xi. 30, xiii. 12, xv. 4), as well as in the earlier Prophets (Joel ii. 3; Hosea x. 8).† In fact, there seems to be nothing to forbid the nar-

\* See Boscawen, *Expository Times*, 1893, pp. 439-441; but cf. Pinches, *ibid.*, 1892, pp. 123-125.

† Only here, outside of Genesis, are the Hebrew words for thorns and thistles found in combination.

native of the fall in Genesis being the product of an age preceding Moses.

In the case of the Deluge, the Babylonian and Biblical accounts display, even in the smallest details, a most remarkable similarity. They agree in the main, as it respects the reason of the judgment; definitely stating that it was on account of sin, that the warning of it was first given to one man and that it was to be a flood of waters. This man is said to have done as he was bidden. The object of the vessel is declared to be to save the Babylonian Noah and others, so as "to preserve the seed of life." The flood has a second announcement as in the Bible. The hero embarks with his relatives and the beasts of the field. The door of the vessel is shut and the flood appears as announced. It is caused by rain and the convulsions of nature. Mankind without is totally destroyed. The duration of the flood is carefully stated. This other Noah, like the Biblical, opens a window. The ship stands in the region of Armenia. Birds are sent out after seven days. The occupants of the ship disembark. A sacrifice is offered to the gods, who are pleased with the odor, and, as the text is generally read, a rainbow appears in the sky and a promise is given that the world shall not again be destroyed. At the end, the man is blessed by Bel. This is the surprising Babylonian account.

Unlike the two preceding narratives examined, the first of which is ascribed by critics to the document P (dated B.C. 444), the second to J (dated B.C. 800), we have here combined together in the Bible, it is supposed, extracts from both these documents; hence the Biblical story, as a whole, is held not to be earlier than B.C. 444. The utter improbability of such a theory is patent on the surface. The Babylonian story of the Deluge, like that of the Creation and the Fall, reaches us through the library of Assurbanipal, two hundred years before the exile. It is an acknowledged copy of an original earlier by centuries, more properly millenniums.\* That is to say, obviously long before Moses, the principal contents of the Biblical narrative of the Flood, mostly in the Biblical order, were current in ancient Babylonia, the very region from which Abraham set out to find a home in Canaan. The monuments at Tel Loh were discovered by the French consul de Sarzeh at Bassorah (1880-1881). They are not later than the twenty-fourth century B.C. They furnish, it is said, the oldest Akkadian inscriptions yet found. Taking these, along with the Tel el-Amarna tablets, it is safe to infer that the political history

\* The legends of Gilgames, of which the flood story forms a part, were brought to Nineveh by the scribes of Assurbanipal from the Akkadian library of Erech, among the oldest of Chaldæa.

of Palestine previous to the conquest by Joshua included two periods: (1) That of the domination of the Akkadians, probably a Mongol people, and (2) that of the Egyptians as revealed in the Tel el-Amarna tablets. The first of these afforded occasion and opportunity for a considerable immigration of Shemitic tribes southward across the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish.\*

What room, then, is there for the hypothesis—for that is all that it is—that the Biblical account is made up of two different and discordant stories originating four hundred years apart and first united together B.C. 444? We do not say, observe, that the Biblical story is dependent on the Babylonian, or *vice versa*; but only that the great antiquity of the Babylonian, seeing that it reproduces to such a degree and in such form the Biblical, is *prima facie* evidence against the position of our critics.† More than that, it directly favors the view that this narrative, like the two preceding, came to the Hebrews through their Mesopotamian ancestors,—if not by means of Abraham on his immigration into Canaan, then by the considerably earlier spread of Babylonian civilization to the west and south.

The connection of the Tower of Babel, mentioned in Gen. xi. 3, 4, with the history of Babylonia is less clear. The "Land of Shinar" is doubtless the Sumer of the monuments. As a matter of fact, too, the bitumen said to have been used on the structure is still abundant in the neighborhood of Babylon, and the word for brick is common in the earlier and later Shemitic languages. Schrader ‡ insists that there can be no doubt that the Biblical story refers to a structure which once really existed and whose ruins may still exist. This need not be true as it respects the last part of the assertion; but if it were true, it would leave little to be desired in the matter of antiquity. Birs-Nimrud, near Borsippa, and Babil, more especially its temple of Merodach, with which, severally, the Tower of Babel has been identified by different writers, had their origin during the earlier Babylonian civilization. In any case, accordingly, there appears to be nothing to invalidate the theory of a pre-Mosaic date for the Biblical account.

Of the other earlier narratives of Genesis we will next look at those of Cain and Abel (iv. 1–24), the Nephilim (vi. 4), Noah after the Flood (ix. 18–27) and Nimrod (x. 8, 9). In the first, relating

\* Cf. Conder, in *The Scottish Review*, October, 1894, "The Earliest Ages of History."

† Strack (*Com., in loco*) candidly admits that the Babylonian account throughout runs parallel with that of the Bible. His inference, however, that originally P and J contained here much the same material is plainly suicidal for the current analysis.

‡ *Die Keilinschriften*, etc., 2te Auflage, p. 121.

to Cain and Abel, Cain is represented as a tiller of the ground and Abel a keeper of sheep. It will be noted, that the domestication of the sheep has taken place, and the distinction between an agricultural and a pastoral life is, to a degree, presupposed. The process of reaching it need not have been a long one. The same is true of the matter of sacrificing, in the simple form in which it is here presented. In the alarm which Cain, the murderer, felt lest he, in turn, might be put to death, there is shown the natural feeling which afterwards underlay the custom of blood revenge. It is unnecessary to suppose that such a custom already existed. That there were other children of Adam and Eve, of whom the narrative does not definitely speak, is clear from the context (iv. 17, v. 4). It is also in harmony with the situation that Cain, in his appeal to Jehovah, speaks of the remaining inhabitants of the world as though they were friends of Abel ("whosoever findeth me shall slay me"). The land of Nod, to which Cain fled, seems to mean no more than the land of his wanderings. When it is said that he afterwards "began to build a city,"—for that is the force of the words in Hebrew,—we are not to think of a city in the modern sense (cf. 2 Kgs. xvii. 9); but rather of a walled hamlet, meant largely, it is to be presumed, for Cain's own protection. The record of the beginning of plural marriages with Lamech, a descendant of Cain, is significant. It would hardly have been recorded unless it really marked the beginning of the deterioration. The same may be said of the statement concerning Jabal, Jubal and Tubal-Cain, that with them several of the arts began. It does not imply that they had reached any great development in their time, but the contrary. So, in conclusion, as there is a sufficient moral and religious reason for the insertion of this chapter at this point in Genesis, so there is nothing in its external form which makes it unsuitable as an introduction to Mosaic institutions.

The four verses prefixed to the story of the Flood (vi. 1-4), relating to the Nephilim, the Gibborim and the intermarriage of the "Sons of God" with the "daughters of men," are of considerable archæological interest. By a certain class of critics they are regarded as indisputable evidence of the survival of Hebrew myths in the Bible. By the sons of God, they believe, the angels are meant. If this were true it would at the same time be a sign of the highest antiquity. It is in far better harmony with the context, however, as well as with the teachings of the Bible generally, to suppose that by the sons of God the Sethites are intended. Their marriages with the daughters of *the rest of men*, as the race increased and they were brought into more immediate vicinity, would prove fatal to the earlier moral superiority of the Sethites, and so would be offensive to God. The product of such marriages was the

more notable because it was the union, as we have reason to suppose, of the best physical development of the time, in stature, longevity and the like, with the highest progress in mechanical skill, especially in the manufacture of weapons. That this view, most commonly held, can be exegetically defended has been shown among others recently by Strack, of Berlin.\*

Of Noah after the Flood it is said (ix. 18-27) that he began to be a husbandman and planted a vineyard. It is further noted that, apparently as the result of his ignorance, he was overcome by the wine which he had made. It is worthy of remark that the original home of the vine is claimed to have been in the regions of Armenia, whence, to some extent even in historic times, it has found its way to other peoples. It was domesticated in Palestine before the days of Abraham (xiv. 8). It might be claimed by some that the prophecy of Noah found in the context, especially in its curse of Canaan, reflects a far later period. If it be really a prophecy, as we believe, the peculiar reference to Canaan would be no valid objection to its early date. If it were to be admitted that it is no prophecy, it would bring us no further down than the times of Abraham, when, according to Genesis, the judgment on Canaan was already in prospect (xv. 16, etc.).

The reference to Nimrod in x. 8-11 is of a remarkable character, and he must have been an extraordinary personage. That he is spoken of as a "mighty hunter," is every way suitable to the habits of an oriental monarch of antiquity. The name Nimrod has not yet come to light on the monuments. The Bible seems to indicate that he was of Cassite origin ("And Cush begat Nimrod"). The centre of the Cassite supremacy, it is now known, was Babylon and its neighboring cities. He is further said to have gone forth (better it would seem, "One went forth") "from that land and builded Nineveh," etc. It used to be thought, in spite of the Bible, that Assyria was older than Babylonia; this theory has now, of course, been abandoned.† Of the cities of Assyria named in vers. 11, 12 all have not yet been identified. When Nineveh was founded, it is not known, but certainly long before Moses. It is fair to presume that Calah and Resin (Reheboth-Ir was simply a suburb of a city) were not much younger.‡

\* *Com., in loco.*

† Cf. Micah v. 6, where Assyria and the land of Nimrod are used synonymously.

‡ According to Schrader (*Die Keilinschriften*, etc., p. 96), an Assyrian king who reigned about B.C. 850, states that Calah was "founded" by Shalmaneser I, about B.C. 1300. It may well be doubted, in the circumstances, whether this king *founded* and did not rather *rebuild* the city. It needed rebuilding again in the ninth century B.C. Cf. *Com.* of Strack *in loco.* who renders the Assyrian

We now come to the life of Abraham. Genesis informs us that he came from "Ur of the Chaldees." Until recent times, outside of this Biblical reference, the place was quite unknown. It is now recognized as having been once a capital (town or city), whose political conditions at the time of the patriarch are fairly well understood. Even names corresponding to those of Abraham, Sarah and Milcah occur on the documents of the country. At the time of Terah's removal from his native city to Harran, a popular movement of the Babylonian people carrying with it their traditions and their civilization towards the west was taking place. Harran itself was a frontier town of Babylonia, 600 miles away, and like it worshipping the moon-god. The much traveled road to it led along the banks of the Euphrates. In view of these facts a distinguished archaeologist has written :\*

"Such a remarkable coincidence between the Biblical narrative and the evidence of archaeological research cannot be the result of chance. The narrative must be historical; no writer of late date, even if he were a Babylonian, could have invented a story so exactly in accordance with what we now know to have been the truth. For a story of the kind to have been the invention of Palestinian tradition is equally impossible. To the unprejudiced mind there is no escape from the conclusion that the history of the migration of Terah from Ur to Harran is founded on fact.

"If founded on fact, we may further conclude that it was recorded in contemporaneous documents. We have learned from the Tel el-Amarna tablets that before the age of the Exodus the Babylonian language and writing were used throughout Palestine, and that Babylonian literature must have been well known there; we have also learned from the cuneiform monuments of Babylonia itself that Babylonian armies had trodden the 'harran' or high road to Syria centuries before the birth of Abraham, and that Palestine had been subject to the Babylonian kings. When Abraham entered Canaan, the Canaanites were not only acquainted with the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia, they were also acquainted with the Babylonian language. The Elamite suzerain of Babylonia claimed to be lord of Palestine as well, and Abraham would thus have found himself in what might be considered a sort of province of the Babylonian empire. At all events it was a country into which the language and literature, the theology and beliefs, of the Babylonians had deeply penetrated."

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word by "gemacht," that is built. The passage referred to reads, "Kalhu, which Salmanaser, king of the land of Assyria, the prince my predecessor, had built (epu-ûš), that city had fallen into decay and ruin, that city anew I built (ab-ni)."

\* Sayce, *S. S. Times*, January 20, 1894.

That Abraham had a servant, Eliezer, the Damascene, seems to be one of the undesigned coincidences which mark the patriarch's journey to Canaan, as Hagar does a subsequent one to Egypt. The famine which drove Abraham to the Nile land was a common experience of his times. His treatment by the ruling monarch, the gifts he received, including camels\* and excluding horses, abundant in the period of Joseph, tally with the revelations of secular history, as far as known.† Verifications by the inscriptions of the episode in Abraham's life recorded in chap. xiv. are so numerous and so far reaching in their relations, that an entire paper would not suffice to set them adequately forth.‡ The antiquity of the material is clearly stamped on the language incidentally employed. We read of "Bela, the same is Zoar;" "the vale of Siddim, the same is the Salt Sea;" of "El-paran, which is by the wilderness;" of "En-mishpat, the same is Kadesh;" of "the vale of Shaveh, the same is the King's Vale," etc. Says Hommel: "If Genesis xiv were really 'a very late Midrash-like record from post-exilic times,' how in that event should the supposed author, who in this chapter created a masterpiece, have been able to make use of antiquated names and phrases, which he himself had to explain by accompanying glosses for the sake of intelligibility? . . . Was this perhaps a ruse of the author to give to his production the appearance of antiquity? If so, I must confess that such refinement of deception is without parallel in all the Old Testament, and that if indeed we were to credit the author with adopting such an artifice, it seems extraordinary that he should have used his old Babylonian data for the embellishment of just this scene belonging to the later period of Abraham's life, when there was a whole series of hoary records that afforded a much more inviting field for such operations."§ In other respects, the historical situation of the patriarch, as hitherto generally understood, is reproduced with a minuteness and an accuracy of detail most wonderful, even in this day of archaeological surprises. The rulers' names forming the alliance against

\* See Tomkins, *Times of Abraham.*, pp. 51, 52, and Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i, 365.

† Strack, *Com.*, in loco, quotes Wiedemann, *Geschichte von Alt-Egypten*, 1891, p. 77, who says that the presence of the camel in Egypt is verified by classical writers, and the fact that the animal does not appear on the monuments may be due, if not a mere accident, to religious considerations. Cf. Tomkins, *Times of Abraham*, p. 153, who notes that the animal is mentioned in several interesting texts in the nineteenth dynasty and that the gift of camels to Abraham would be natural from the shepherd-kings.

‡ The title Pharaoh is found in the oldest monuments and used as a title of the Egyptian kings down to the Persian conquest. On the story of Sarah see Spurrell, p. 129.

§ *S. S. Times*, March 5, 1893

the kings of the Canaanitish pentapolis, with a single exception, have all been identified. The Elamite supremacy in Palestine at this period, so long held to be an impossibility, is now one of the best recognized of facts. Even a personage analogous to the hitherto mysterious Melchizedek has been discovered in Ebed-Tob of the Tel el-Amarna tablets. It is no unexpected language, accordingly, which, in view of recent disclosures in the East, one of the most distinguished of the discoverers uses, who says: "Underneath the narratives of Genesis lie historical documents which come down from the age of the events which they record, and possess, accordingly, all the value of contemporaneous evidence. Whatever may have been the period when the book was compiled, its author or authors made use of written materials, and these written materials were as historically trustworthy as those on which we base our knowledge of the Persian wars with Greece. The history of Canaan before the Israelitish conquest was not a blank to be filled up by the legends and systematizing fictions of a later day; it belongs to a period when reading and writing were widely known and practiced, and when contemporaneous events were recorded on imperishable clay."\*

An important episode in the life of Abraham was the destruction of the cities of the plain (Gen. xix). The patriarch was then at Mamre near Hebron. The harmony of the Biblical record with the topography of the country (cf. Gen. xiii. 10, xviii. 16, xix. 27) and with its geological structure (xiv. 10) is most remarkable. The five cities, it is evident, lay to the north of the Dead Sea, between which and Abraham was the vale of Siddim with its pits of asphalt.† From his outlook on the heights east of Mamre he could easily have observed the smoke of the land going up "as the smoke of a furnace." The story of the incestuous origin of Ammon and Moab appended to this same chapter, moreover, is not the product of later Jewish hate, as some have affirmed. It has the correct historical perspective. We know from the Moabite stone in the ninth century B.C., that the language of Moab corresponded with that of Israel (*i.e.*, with the Hebrew)—in fact was Hebrew. The names of the peoples were suggested by their peculiar ancestry. Their title, "sons of Lot," is equally pertinent. They are constantly named together in the Bible (Num. xvii; 1 Sam. xiv. 47, etc.). As early as Deut. ii. 9, 19, their descent from Lot is made the ground why Israel, on its way to

\* Sayce, *Expository Times*, December, 1891, p. 117. Cf. article by Hommel, *S. S. Times*, March 5, 1892.

† Observe the route of the hostile forces from Mount Seir, El-Paran and Kadesh through the land of the Amalekites and Amorites to their battlefield before Sodom.

Canaan from Egypt, refused either to conquer or to molest them. The names of both Ammon and Moab appear on the Assyrian monuments, but in no way to conflict with Biblical statements.

In the account of Abraham's offering of Isaac, the event itself furnishes one of the best evidences of its antiquity. That it took place on an elevation in "the land of Moriah" is no indication of a post-Davidic period. All the conditions of the narrative point to this site. Beersheba, where Abraham was, is a twelve hours' ride away from Hebron, and thus another day's journey distant from Jerusalem. We read that on the third day the patriarch saw the place afar off—supposably on the brow of the hill lying between Bethlehem and Jerusalem. That in this same region Jehovah subsequently appeared to David and that the temple itself was built on Mt. Moriah are frankly admitted; and, at the same time, that "there is a wonderful fitness in connecting this stupendous act of piety (on Abraham's part) with the place where the glory of God should (afterwards) dwell, and where perfect atonement should be offered for the people of Israel."\* Even the incident of the ram caught by his horns in the thicket is not without its value as a corroborative testimony to the truthfulness of the record. We are told that the horns of the Syrian ram are remarkably twisted, and thus one might easily have become entangled as described.†

The detailed statement of the purchase by Abraham of a sepul-

\* Deane, *Life and Times of Abraham*, p. 143.

† On undesigned coincidences between the account of the destruction of the cities of the plain and topographical and geological data, see *S. S. Times*, Feb. 3, 1894, p. 70 (Beecher), and p. 71 (Geikie) and p. 68 (Tristram). The last is important enough to be cited as a whole:—

"Nothing strikes the careful observer on the spot, in the Holy Land, more than the wonderful exactness of minute and incidental expression, when tested by the actual topography of the country. It is so with respect to the situation of what may be termed the prehistoric cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah. It has often been imagined that these cities were submerged during the great convulsion of nature, and are now buried under the waters of the Dead Sea. There is no foundation in the Biblical story for such an idea. We are told that God rained fire and brimstone upon those cities, and overthrew them, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground. The word *kikkar*, rendered 'plain,' has the same sense as the modern Ghor, the name still applied to the Jordan valley, north of the Dead Sea. Geological investigation shows us that they never could have been in the area at present covered by the waters of the Dead Sea, which is simply a vast fissure, a continuation, a deepening, of the Jordan valley, with steep sloping sides. The geological evidence is that the cities must have been either north or south of the Dead Sea. A careful examination of the history of the invasion of Chedorlaomer shows that they could not have been south of the Dead Sea, but to the north of it; for, in returning from their raid in Mount Seir, they attack the Amorites in Hazazon-tamar, which is Engedi, and after that, meet the king of Sodom and his confederates. Had the cities been south of the Dead Sea, they

chre from the Hittite settlers of Canaan (chap. xxiii) is a faithful and striking protraiture, as far as it goes, of the historic situation there B.C. 1900. Evidence from the context of a comparatively civilized condition appears in the fact that burial is by entombment, that silver is circulated as money and that carefully drawn contracts are used in the exchange of property. But six hundred years earlier, it is said, the ancestors of these same Hittites cut cedars in northern Lebanon.\* And it is a fact of importance to us that in the eighth century B.C. this people disappears, as such, from Hebrew history, their power having been broken by the Assyrian Sargon.

The succeeding narratives of Isaac and Jacob, aside from the fact that they bear the same literary stamp as the matter with which they are associated, contain little to indicate the period in which they arose.† A circumstance of some importance, however, is recorded in the life of Judah, one of Jacob's sons. He is said to have been in possession of a signet ring, together with the cord by which it was suspended from the neck (xxxviii. 18). For a long time this signet ring was regarded as the only evidence in Genesis that the patriarchs may have been acquainted, to any extent, with written characters. In fact one of the most recent and fair-minded of commentators remarks that there was probably engraved on the ring

must have marched through their country before meeting the Amorites, whom they encounter in the vale of Siddim, and then proceed towards Damascus.

"Now, at the time of the destruction of Sodom, Abraham was encamped at Mamre, the site of which is universally identified very near Hebron. Abraham, we are told in the sixteenth verse, accompanied the angels who looked towards Sodom, to bring them on the way. That way could only be by ascending the range of hills immediately east of Mamre. Here Abraham halted, and remained standing before the Lord, whilst the two proceeded on their way.

"It is nowhere stated that they could see Sodom, but it is stated that on the following morning Abraham got up early and went to the same place, and thence looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah and towards all the land of the plain, and saw the smoke of the country going up as the smoke of a furnace. Now, looking from those heights towards the south end of the Dead Sea, the distant view is completely shut in, and it would be impossible to recognize whence any smoke might ascend. But towards the north, although it is impossible to see the surface of the plain of Jordan itself, yet the wide, flat depression, which is formed by the plain of Jericho on the one side and the plain of Shittim on the other, can be easily recognized by the wide gap between the lofty plateau on which we stand and the distant but still more lofty range of the mountains of Moab and Gilead on the other side of the Jordan valley, with a gauzy cloud of haze intervening. Thus the spectator could exactly locate the spot whence he saw the smoke arising, while smoke from no other part of the valley could be so identified. Hence the notable accuracy of the expression 'looked towards Sodom.'"

\* Conder, in Smith's *Bible Dict.*, 2d series, s. v. "Hittite." Cf. Sayce, *The Hittites*, 1890.

† Sayce: *S. S. Times*: 1894, p. 134, "Senjerli."

some kind of pictorial representation; but that one need not think of an inscription in connection with it, or of an acquaintance with the art of writing in the patriarchal period.\* As already intimated above, the time has more than passed when any doubt need be entertained on this subject. Scholars some time ago came to the conclusion that Shemitic alphabetic characters arose some centuries before the age of Moses.

One of them remarks: "The possible date of the origin of this alphabet is thus brought within definite limits. . . . The possible limits lie between the twenty-third and seventeenth centuries, and there seems to be no reason why we should not provisionally accept the approximate date which has been proposed by de Rougé and place it in or about the nineteenth century B.C." †

These conclusions are not matter of simple theory; they are based on actual archæological discoveries made in Egypt and especially in Southern Arabia. The so-called Minnæan inscriptions of the latter place brought to light by Dr. Glaser and others, as we are informed, prove that as early as the days of Abraham the nomadic tribes, passing back and forth between Babylonia and Egypt, among whom may be reckoned in a general way the Hebrews themselves, were in possession of a Shemitic alphabet, even though they may have made little general use of it, leaving it largely to the priests. "At that time Arabia was the seat of a cultured state, whose members practiced the art of alphabetical writing and had extended its power from the extreme south of the peninsula to Edom and the borders of Palestine." ‡ The fact, therefore, that Moses' father-in-law was a priest of Midian acquires through this new information an extraordinary interest; especially as the early rulers on the Arabian peninsula were themselves priests.

In the life of Joseph we find an unusual number of points of contact with the period in which he lived. Critics who dispute so early an origin for Genesis as the Mosaic epoch are inclined to make the most of the argument from silence and to put a disproportionate emphasis on certain data hitherto but imperfectly explained. Undoubtedly the judgment of Brugsch voices that of the great majority of competent Egyptian scholars. "It was long ago noted," he says, "and looked upon as a complete confirmation of the truthfulness of the Biblical record that the individual features of it, as far as they refer to the relations of Joseph to the Pharaoh of his time

\* Strack, *Com.*, in *loco.*; but see to the contrary, König, *Einleitung in das A. T.* p. 178.

† Isaac Taylor, *History of the Alphabet*. Cf. Glaser, *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1890, No. 1.

‡ See articles by Prof. Sayce, in *S. S. Times*, and in the *Academy*, Dec. 9, 1893.

and to the court life of the period, are thoroughly in harmony with the declarations of the monuments." \* "The outward details of life, the officers of the court, the traffic in slaves, the visits for corn, are all pictured on temple walls and stone slabs." †

It is to be assumed, with most, that it was in the latter half of the reign of the Hyksos, or shepherd kings, that the events recorded occurred. ‡ The caravan which bore Joseph to Egypt traded in spicery, balm and myrrh, characteristic articles from Canaan and Syria, and notably mentioned as such on the papyri. Joseph is sold to Potiphar, who is more than once named as an Egyptian, as if to distinguish him from the foreign conquerors of the country. His name, too, is confessedly that of a native. The Hebrew captive soon becomes a trusted servant in the house of his master, a sort of *major domo*, a thoroughly Egyptian institution. Through no fault of his, he incurs the resentment of his master's wife. A story quite analogous to this in many of its details has been discovered in the famous Orbiney papyrus, entitled *The Two Brothers*. Joseph is thrown into a prison, to which is given a characteristic Egyptian name. The dreams of two of his fellow-prisoners, former officials under Pharaoh, both in their essential character and in the interest they excite, are wholly in accord with supposed circumstances of the story. In Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, the introduction of wine as in use by the king, the recognition of the custom of carrying burdens on the head and that of decapitation with subsequent impaling as a punishment, are one and all in harmony with what we know from other sources was then true in Egypt. § The chief butler was restored to favor at a feast on Pharaoh's birthday. The Rosetta stone informs us that as late as Ptolemy Epiphanes this day was set apart as a holiday and was observed as an occasion of great rejoicing.

In Pharaoh's dream, in turn, no one would think of calling in question the relevancy of its surroundings. "The river," so-called, without a more definite name, as though one could not be mistaken in what was meant; the seven kine feeding in the sedge grass; the seven-eared wheat; the consultation with magicians, are, every one, simple and natural touches of local coloring, as unaffected as they are picturesque. And when Joseph is hurried in from prison to act as interpreter, it is not to be overlooked that "he shaved himself and changed his raiment," shaving being as essential to an Egyp-

\* *Steinschrift und Bibelwort* (1891), p. 80. Cf. Tompkins, *Life and Times of Joseph* (1891), pp. 40-92.

† St. Clair, *Buried Cities and Bible Countries*, p. 49.

‡ Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs* (1891), p. 120.

§ See Harper, *The Bible and Modern Discoveries* (1891), p. 45.

tian as it was an abomination to a Shemite. The Egyptian artists uniformly represent a person in low station as wearing a beard. So the pleasure and gratitude shown by Pharaoh at the explanation of his dream are presented in a costume of expressions and ideas, as the most competent Egyptian scholars inform us, that is throughout antique Egyptian. The signet ring, the robe of fine linen, the collar of gold, the Egyptian name selected for the honored benefactor, the additional titles of "father" and "lord," especially the permission to ride in a royal chariot and to be second to the king, are wholly in character and to be expected from an intelligent contemporary writer. The same is true of many subsequent details of the narrative. How changed the scenes to which Joseph's life and administration as governor of Egypt introduce us from that with which we are familiar in the history of the patriarchs! But the spirit of the narrative and its transparent artlessness remain unchanged. A seven years' famine may be rare along the banks of the Nile; it is not unprecedented.\* When the transfer to the Pharaohs of the ownership of the soil occurred we are not told outside the Bible, though the *fact is recognized* in the inscriptions as well as a time when it was not the case. It had already taken place in the period of the Rameses. To this day, in case of scarcity, the inhabitants of southern Palestine go down to Egypt to purchase corn.

Mr. Flinders Petrie has discovered that the custom obtained under the Hyksos kings of ruling through a series of viziers, who bearing the king's seal acted for him with respect to the treasury and taxes, royal edicts and official documents.† That the grand vizier should charge the incoming strangers with being spies, considering what the political relations of the peoples actually were, is not strange. Almost an exact parallel has come to light in an old papyrus: "Who," says an Egyptian official, "who sent thee here to this city of the South? How hast thou come to spy out?"‡

"By the life of Pharaoh," was a common form of Egyptian oath. Divination by cups in ancient Egypt is an indisputable fact; so too the custom of employing an interpreter at court. In the tablets recently recovered at Tel el-Amarna, dated between the time of Joseph and the Exodus, it is noted that an interpreter is sent from Mesopotamia into Egypt, and he bears the nearly Biblical title of

\* Brugsch, *ibid.*, p. 121, cites an ancient inscription which runs: "I collected corn as a friend of the harvest god. I was watchful at the time of sowing. And when famine arose, lasting many years, I distributed corn to the city each year of famine."

† Cf. St. Clair, *Buried Cities*, p. 60.

‡ Tompkins *ibid.*, p. 62.

*targumani*, that is the modern dragoman. The use of wagons for transportation in the time of Joseph is no anachronism. In the advice which he gives to his brethren, to tell Pharaoh that they are shepherds, assuming that it is the period of the Hyksos supremacy, there is a striking coincidence worth observing. While shepherds were an abomination to the *Egyptians*, they need not have been, and seem not to have been, to Pharaoh, who was not properly an Egyptian. He accepts accordingly their prearranged plan and even suggests that Joseph's brethren have the care of the royal herds.\* The limits of ancient Goshen are no longer known. The Bible places it in the land of Rameses. Rameses, or Ramses, was the title given to Zoan, or Tanis, by Rameses II. Tanis was the capital of the Hyksos empire. From the story itself we would gather that the palace of Joseph was not so very far from the home of his family. The land of Goshen was fertile; and, what perhaps was of equal importance to the Hebrews, the way from it back to Palestine was comparatively open. Here Jacob died, was embalmed and bewailed after the Egyptian fashion, and was carried to his burial in the distant Hebron from the Egyptian Zoan by a mixed company of his family and the servants of Pharaoh. "We can therefore understand," says Sayce, "why Zoan and Hebron are brought into such close relation in the well-known passage in Numbers (xiii. 22), where it is said that Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt. Hebron and Zoan were the two points around which centred the patriarchal history which is set before us in the Book of Genesis." †

Such are some of the marks of chronological unity and harmony in the Biblical life of Joseph which closes the historical narratives of Genesis. We are not yet ready for our final conclusion. One class of facts only has thus far been noted. But we already get some idea of the direction in which the facts uniformly tend. A distinguished German professor, in a recent introduction to the Old Testament, has asked the question: ‡ "Can one maintain that the references of the Pentateuch to Egypt may not be explained as the product of a tradition running back to the times of Moses, accompanied and revived by a later knowledge of Egyptian matters?" We have made no effort to exhaust the references to Egypt occurring even in the Book of Genesis; but it is clear that they are not of the kind to which our professor refers. The most of them are not of a nature to be transmitted by oral tradition through many centuries. Ac-

\* "The Egyptian contempt for herdsmen appears plainly on the monuments, where they are commonly represented as dirty and unshaven, and are sometimes caricatured as a deformed and unseemly race." St. Clair, *ibid.*, p. 51.

† *Fresh Lights*, etc., p. 54.

‡ Edouard König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (1893), p. 159.

quaintance with the great outlying facts of Egyptian history, and some general knowledge of the mode of life there in ancient times, may be safely predicated, perhaps, of the leading men in Israel in all periods. The information required to write Genesis in its present form is of quite a different sort. If there could have been a desire, there was neither the archæological information nor the literary skill among Hebrew writers of the time of Joash and Amaziah, much less of the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, to fit them to write into such a history the numerous and often obscure allusions to the coexisting customs and events it contains. They are indisputably, to a great extent, the purely incidental coloring, undesigned coincidences, of a contemporary writer.\*

In pursuing the subject of the bearing of the material of Genesis on the age of its composition, we pass to its genealogical and ethnographical matter. It is one of its most marked and familiar features, and is mostly assigned to one of the supposed documents—P, dated, it will be remembered, in the time of the exile. Do the facts justify this conclusion? The Hebrews were not at all peculiar among Shemitic peoples in the great attention which they paid to genealogies. And outside of Shemitic races, it was also, if not equally, characteristic of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. If the human race started, as the Bible represents, with a single family as the unit of society, we should not be surprised that family records occupy so large a space in the brief history of the antediluvian and postdiluvian worlds before Abraham. After Abraham it was still

\* The claim that the Egyptian name of Joseph and the word Poti-phera are not reflected on the Egyptian monuments until the seventh century B.C. is well set forth in *The Biblical World* for October, 1893, in an interesting article by Dr. Coburn, commending to American readers Dr. Steindorff's identification of Zaphenath-paneah, Asenath and Poti-phera (Gen. xli; 45, 50; xlvi; 20) with Egyptian names of a late period. This article intimates confidently that this identification offers a new and conclusive proof that Joseph and his relatives could not really have borne such names as the Bible gives them, and therefore that the passages in which the misstatements appear must have been written not earlier than 930 B.C., and most probably in the seventh century B.C., when such names became common.

This suggestion is not a startlingly new one. It has been four years or more since Dr. Steindorff openly published it in the *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, and it has been often referred to since in German and American reviews. That the discussion has been of any great significance in settling the date of Genesis it is difficult to believe for various reasons:

1. Divergent views have been and are yet held by competent Egyptologists as to what hieroglyphic groups exactly correspond to the names given above. Other groups than those preferred by Dr. Steindorff have been declared by distinguished Egyptologists to answer "letter for letter" to these Hebrew names.

2. Since the publication of Dr. Steindorff's views, it has been stated by high authority that the very groups which have been selected by him as exactly corresponding to the names in Genesis can be read upon monuments which are as

more to be expected. With him began the development of a chosen people from a chosen family. Its separation from other peoples, its assignment to a particular land, its orderly occupation of the same, above all its hereditary priesthood and the law governing its succession of kings, required a strict adherence to the lines of family descent.

Genealogical registers are strictly in place in Genesis. Is there any positive evidence, or any likelihood, that those found there are of post-Mosaic origin? On many grounds the contrary can be successfully maintained. If any of these lists needed to be transmitted orally for a considerable period—a position which is incapable of proof\*—it is at most the short ones recorded in chaps. iv and v, referring to antediluvian personages. The rest, including the numerous descendants of Noah (vi. 10), and his sons (chaps. x, xi), of Abraham's father (xi. 27), and brother Nahor (xxii. 21–24), of Abraham himself by Keturah (xxv. 1–4), and through Ishmael (xxv. 12–16), of Esau (chap. xxxvi) and of Jacob (xxxvi. 23–26, xlv. 8–25), might easily have been committed to tablets at once and, even in Abraham's time, as we have seen, written in alphabetic characters. For the out-and-out fabrication of such records, did the nature of the case permit, every sufficient motive is wanting. That they are complete, that they retain in every respect their original form, or that they can now be perfectly restored or explained, nobody would

old as the era of Joseph. This indeed seems to be granted in the case of Asenath by the writer of the paper in the issue of *The Biblical World* referred to.

3. Granting that the names given by Dr. Steindorff are exact equivalents of the Hebrew names, and granting also that they have never been found on any monument earlier than the tenth to seventh century B.C.; yet to infer from this that the book of Genesis was not written until the seventh century before our era, would seem to be a conclusion more generous than just.

These names may have been twenty-sixth dynasty explanations or translations of twelfth dynasty forms, just as "*Salvatorem Mundi*" was the fourth century translation of one of those very names given by St. Jerome in the Vulgate.

Again, the Egyptian literature is confessedly fragmentary, and an Egyptologist must be of very sanguine spirit who can argue with confidence that because those names have not been found on any recovered monument earlier than the twenty-second dynasty, therefore they were never used in Egypt previous to that date. If our Bible were torn in pieces and scattered to the four winds it would appear no bashful assumption if some foreigner, after examining a handful of leaves which he had succeeded in finding, should affirm that it was now settled that no man by the name of Joseph was ever mentioned in the Hebrew or Christian Scriptures, for no such name could be read on any of the fragments in his possession.

See, also, Tompkins *Life and Times of Joseph*, Appendix B.

Note an analogy in the Egyptian word for Oasis, *what*. It is found in monuments belonging to the sixth dynasty and not again for 2000 years! See *Proceeding of the Soc. for Bib. Arch.*, Vol. xvi, 24th session, pp. 50, 51.

\* See Lenormant, *Beginnings of History* (Brown's Translation, 1882), p. 387. Hasisatra (the Babylonian Noah) is bidden to bury in Sippara all that had been consigned to writing *before his day*.

attempt to prove. But that they are, in the main, genuine, quite germane to the history, and stand like so many granite pillars under the literary and ethical structure of Genesis, cannot well be doubted.

They may be considered from two points of view, that of Genesis and their own immediate context, and that of Chronicles where they are massed together with many others from various periods. The genealogy of Cain (iv. 17-21) has but six links, and noticeably breaks off with the murderer Lamech and his family, as it began with the murderer Cain. There is nothing in the number, names, or character of Cain's descendants to stamp the section in which they are found as ungentine. That there was other posterity of Adam before the birth of Seth is implied in the context (iv. 14, 17). That they are not more particularly referred to is, apparently, because their lives offered nothing worthy of note in a history so exceedingly pragmatical. A somewhat advanced civilization is foreshadowed in connection with Jubal and Tubal-cain, who are the latest descendants of Cain introduced. One is called the "father" of those handling the harp and shepherd's pipe (not "the organ"); the other, the "father" of workers in copper and iron. The passage has been challenged as an anachronism; but from the point of view of ancient Babylonian and Egyptian art, or even that of the ark itself, unjustly.

The main line of the genealogy of Adam, ending with Noah, is found in the fifth chapter. It has some noticeable characteristics which it shares with that of Shem (xi. 10-26). Each is made up of ten names, and in each we are told how old a person was before having a "son" and how long he lived afterwards. In this respect, these two lists are absolutely unique. The round number and this peculiar form, among other things, suggest that the lists are meant to be representative rather than exhaustive. That the first child named is not to be looked upon as in every case the first born of his parents is clear from the context (v. 3; cf. iv. 17, 25). Seth was not actually the first born of Adam. He had had, it would appear, several other children. The same may be true in the other cases. Such a conclusion is made the more certain by the length of time elapsing before the birth of a son is recorded; in one case, 105 years, in another 162, and in still another 187 years.

Still further, if we are guided by the analogy of other Biblical genealogies, not excepting that of our Lord in the Gospels, and a quite general Biblical usage, we may not assume that the word "son" as used here means, in many cases—how many we know not—anything more than descendant. The term "son" has from time immemorial been used throughout the East to denote connection by succession as well as by descent. Hence "the succession of generations here

may represent the succession to such and such an inheritance or headship of tribe or family, rather than the relationship of father and son."\* It has been usual to infer, it is true, that the author of Genesis meant by the peculiar form which he gave these two lists of patriarchs to indicate the exact chronology of the period they cover. Such an inference is wholly unwarranted. If the writer's object had been to make a hard and fast chronology of those times there should be direct indication of it. There is none whatever. No chronology is either attempted or by word or sign suggested in the Bible at this point. And he who seeks to deduce one from the indefinite data given does so at his peril.

When, for example, it is said that Methusaleh, in his 187th year, "begat" Lamech, one is not entitled to the conclusion, if we are governed by a common Biblical usage, either that Lamech was the first child born to Methusaleh, or that he was immediately begotten by him. One may have been begotten from whom Lamech long afterwards sprang. These two selected lists of Genesis were doubtless given for some other purpose: as, for instance, to preserve the names of the more eminent patriarchs; to show to what extraordinary limits certain lives attained in the early days; how the years of human life gradually diminished, comparing the second list with the first; and also in a general way to trace, for the purposes of history, the lines of family descent. The charge, accordingly, which has been made against these two genealogies that they cannot be authentic since they are out of harmony with what we already know of the age of man on the earth, is clearly invalid.

Another fact which is supposed to have an important bearing on the data of these genealogies of Adam and of Shem is a grammatical form almost peculiar to them in Genesis (found also vi. 10, xvii. 20, xxv. 19, xlviii. 6). It is the *Hiphil* of the word "*yaladh*" in the sense of "beget" for which elsewhere in Genesis the *Qal* is found. It is claimed that the *Hiphil*, in this sense, arose at a late period and so stamps the matter where it is found as itself late. The claim, however, that the form is of late origin must be first made good before one will be entitled to the conclusion. This will be found a more difficult task than might be supposed. The *Hiphil* may have arisen, historically and grammatically speaking, after the other in the sense used, and still synchronize with it perfectly as far as the Biblical books are concerned. It is used, it is true, in the sense of "beget" in these tables and, to some extent, elsewhere; but this meaning is not uniform for the *Hiphil* throughout the Bible. It also has the meaning "conceive" (Isa. lix. 4) and "cause to bring forth" (Isa. lv. 10, lxvi. 9); while its proper passive, the

\* Smith's *Bib. Dict.*, 2d ed., s.v. "Genealogy."

*Hophal*, is found once with the meaning of "birthday" (Gen. xl. 20) and twice with that of "be born" (Ezek. xvi. 4, 5). In fact there is given no other meaning for the *Hophal* in the Bible than "be born." Again it is important to compare the relative use and distribution of the *Qal* and the *Hiphil*. The *Qal* occurs outside of Genesis and the Chronicles in Deuteronomy (xxxii. 8), Job (xxxviii. 28), the Psalms (ii. 7), the Proverbs (xvii. 21, xxiii. 22, 24), Zechariah (xiii. 3, of both parents), Daniel (xi. 6). This by no means suggests the dying out of the form. The *Hiphil*, within the same limits, is found in Judges (1), Ruth (5), 2 Kings (1), Job (1), Ecclesiastes (1), Isaiah (1), Jeremiah (1), Ezekiel (3) and Nehemiah (2).\* This, on the other hand, does not show any marked growth in the use of the word during Biblical times. If now we turn to 1 Chronicles, where the tables of Genesis are massed together with other genealogies, we should expect to find, were the theory of our critics true, the Chronicler showing a preference for the *Hiphil* form in this sense. For the most part, however, he simply repeats the respective names without any connective whatever (1 Chron. i. 1-14, 17-28). When he has occasion to use either form he employs the one found in Genesis (1 Chron. i. 18), betraying in this respect no liking for one above the other. Moreover, the form in which the genealogical lists of Genesis are reproduced in 1 Chronicles implies that they were before the Chronicler as originals, as they now appear in Genesis. He not only takes them up in the same order, while condensing and shortening them, as might be expected from the evident purpose of his work, but he keeps them within the same essential limits. The list of chap. v. of Genesis, for example, is compressed into a single verse in Chronicles, and that of chap. xi (vers. 10-27) into three verses; but the exact names are there and no others, while between them, as in Genesis, is inserted the catalogue of the nations recorded in the tenth chapter. And when, in this way, the Chronicler has exhausted the various family registers of Genesis, he takes up, almost immediately, the line of David as found in the book of Ruth.†

For these reasons we cannot accept the theory of a late date

\* We omit passages where the *Hiphil* may have another meaning.

† König (*Einleitung*, pp. 168, 229, 230) seeks to break the force of the argument from the relative frequency of the *Qal* for "beget" by denying its pertinency in certain cases, it being used, he says, of "sexually indifferent" subjects. The objection is invalid. Though the *Qal* is used metaphorically (Deut. xxxii. 8; Job xxxviii. 28), it is not used with a sexually indifferent subject, but always of the male. Only one of the passages cited by König under this head is *ad rem*, the proper rendering being in most of them not "beget," but "bear," or, at least, doubtful. He says further that the Chronicler, in reproducing the tables of Genesis, has omitted in some instances the *Qal* form. It is true, but he has

for the two genealogies concerned on the simple ground of a diverse grammatical form. The most that can fairly be inferred from it is that these genealogies had a different origin from their immediate context; and there is a fact hitherto unnoticed which renders even this inference, to say the least, doubtful. The same Hebrew verb *yaladh*, which has two actives, a *Hiphil* and a *Qal*, each rendered "beget," has also two passive forms, a *Niphal* and a *Pual*,\* each rendered *be born*. These forms are almost equally numerous, one being used twenty-eight, the other thirty-six times in the Bible and are similarly distributed from Genesis to Chronicles. If, accordingly, the former are held to represent material of different origin because, being different forms, they are translated in the same way, by parity of reasoning why should not the latter represent material of different origin? Still no one thinks of applying the principle in more than the one instance.†

Looking now more particularly at the remaining genealogies of the Book of Genesis, there seems to be nothing in them generally implying a late, or even a post-Mosaic origin, but rather the contrary. For instance, a census of the house of Jacob is found in chap. xlv. If we compare the earlier part of it relating to Reuben, Simon and Levi, with a passage in Exodus (vi. 14-20), where the tribe of Levi is especially in view, it will be seen that the material in the latter

also omitted, and for the same reason it would appear,—for brevity's sake,—more than an equal number of cases of the *Hiphil* used in this sense in Genesis; in fact, he has reproduced but one of its many occurrences. König again adduces as evidence of the late origin of the *Hiphil* with the meaning given, the statement that when the Chronicler is not quoting but writing independently, he always uses this form. When we consider how the books of Chronicles are confessedly made up, how the Chronicler came by the major part of his matter, especially that found in his numerous genealogical tables, it is hazardous to affirm that he ever acts independently in the thing alleged. It would have been more to the point to say, for it would be true, that in Chronicles the *Hiphil* predominates over the *Qal* in this sense. This is most likely due to the fact of the more frequent use of the *Hiphil* in the sources from which he made his extracts. And such a fact should have its weight. On the other hand, another fact should also be given weight. The use of the *Hiphil* in the sense noted in two of the most prominent of the patriarchal registers might be expected to have great influence on its use in the later books without reference to the question whether it were a late or an early form. In the same manner, the use of the *Qal* in subsequent literature, if not in precisely the same degree, the form being less pronounced and determinate, may be accounted for.

\* Diestel's theory (*Theolog. Literatur Zeitung*, 1876, Nr. 4), that the original pointing of the *Qal* forms, with this meaning, made them *Piëls* is worthy of attention, especially as the Samaritan Pentateuch, with two exceptions (Gen. x. 8, xxii. 23), treats them so. But the position is beyond proof (cf. also in the Hebrew Prov. xvii. 21), and, were it proved, it would not be decisive as respects the main point at issue.

† It is not to be denied that the extended and exclusive use of the *Hiphil* (Gen. v. 3-32, xi. 10-26), is significant in its case.

passage has received considerable additions and been put, meantime, into a more formal order. The same thing, that is, the contemporaneousness and the normal growth of the genealogies, is indicated by another similar fact. A census was taken of the Israelites, it is said, while they were in the wilderness (Num., chaps. i–iii). On entering Canaan, thirty-eight years afterward, it was repeated, and the names of the new families which had arisen during this period added (Num., chap. xxvi).<sup>\*</sup> Such facts serve to corroborate, and all the more for being incidental, the genuineness of the early registers of this sort.

But we are pointed to one circumstance said to require an opposite conclusion. In the genealogy of Esau's descendants (chap. xxxvi) we read: "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." The names of eight kings follow, beginning with "Bela the son of Beor," and ending with a certain Hadar. It is said that the reference to kings as reigning over Israel implies a period as late, at least, as that of Saul, its first king. The inference would be the more stringent if there had been no thought of the reign of kings over Israel and no direct preparation for it previous to and for some time following the days of Esau. It is quite otherwise. The promise had been made to both Abraham and Jacob that they should be the progenitors of kings (xvii. 6, 16, xxxv. 11); to the latter, in the chapter immediately preceding the one we are considering. Moses is said in Deuteronomy (xvi. 14–20) to have made a law in the wilderness for the government of the kings of Israel when the people shall have entered Canaan; and another passage in the same book represents them as having one at a later period (Deut. xxviii. 36; cf. Num. xxiii. 21). Moses himself is called a king in one place (Deut. xxxiii. 5). How warmly the Israelites cherished the idea of an earthly sovereign appears from their efforts to induce Gideon to become their king (Jude viii. 22). And when in the time of Samuel they used their best persuasions to induce that prophet to give them a king to judge them "like all the nations," their language is signally colored by that of the law for the king in Deuteronomy (1 Sam. viii. 5). Again, the list of eight Edomitish kings named in our passage would be no anachronism in the pre-Mosaic period. As far as the time needed for them is concerned, it is ample, with many years to spare. There are several reasons why they are in place there. We note first that the genealogical material, in the midst of which the list is found, bears marks of gradual enlargement from an original form. We are told in the beginning of the sons born to Esau in Canaan (xxxvi. 1–5); then of the sons of these sons, to the second

<sup>\*</sup> See Smith's *Bible Dict.* s. v. "Genealogy."

generation from Esau, born to him in Edom (xxxvi. 6-19), some of whom became dukes, that is, family chiefs, or nobles. And finally we are informed of certain other descendants of Esau, eleven in number, who were also dukes (xxxvi. 40-43), without a word to indicate their immediate origin or date. With such literary indications there is no demand in our chapter for a long stretch of time subsequent to Esau. It is rather excluded. Further, along with these lists of Esau's descendants there is given in the same chapter a catalogue of the original Horite settlers with their family heads or dukes. Now, since we learn from Deuteronomy (ii. 12, 22) that these Horites are those whom Esau destroyed and succeeded, their names carry us back in part, at least, to a period before rather than after his day.

Again, inasmuch as the first class of dukes or subordinate ruler-named dates from the second generation after Esau, it is fair to conclude that the line of kings also did, whose electors they may well have been. That the dukes and kings had not the same rank and did not rule successively is clear, not only from their different titles, but from Ex. xv. 15, when compared with Num. xx. 14, where they are treated as contemporaneous. Still further, the form of the list in which kings appear and the historic statements connected with it, furnish strong, if indirect, evidence that they lived before Moses. The list is unelastic and it would appear strictly inclusive of all the Edomitish rulers of the period under review, it being stated that each succeeding king reigned in the last one's stead.\* Of the fourth king it is remarked that he "smote Midian in the field of Moab." Midian, as a people, ceased to exist at about the time of Gideon (Num. xxi. 20; Ruth i. 1).

The time between Gideon and Saul, if we make that the *terminus ad quem*, is too short for the four remaining kings. Much later it cannot be, since in the time of David the independence of Edom and the continuity of its line of sovereigns ceased.

Another marked indication of time is the manner in which the last king is spoken of. In every other case we are told of the death of the king. In this case not only is nothing said of that, but the family of his wife is somewhat circumstantially described. For this reason it has seemed to many, and the inference is a natural one, that the last king of the line was in power at the time of the writer, who gives the list. And since there was an Edomitish king in power at the period of the Exodus (Num. xx. 14; Jude xi. 17), the query of Delitzsch seems reasonable whether the last name in our list is not that of the king who refused to let the Israelites pass

\* The kings being elective and not hereditary, it does not surprise us that they are not more closely identified with the family of Esau.

through his land when on their way to Canaan. Be that as it may, there is no occasion for placing him subsequent to the Exodus.

But what, it might be asked, was the purpose of the writer of Genesis in giving this catalogue of foreign sovereigns in this place? His method elsewhere furnishes the answer. He had shown in the case of Cain and of Ishmael that while the worldly line had started off quite in advance of the line of promise in the rapidity of its development, it had later been overtaken and outstripped; the same, accordingly, might be expected here. The line of Esau comes early to its bloom, but that of Jacob inherits the promises.\*

As already suggested, along with the genealogical matter of Genesis there is associated not a little ethnographical matter. That is perhaps the proper term for it rather than ethnological.† No attempt is made in Genesis, strictly speaking, to give an account of the various races of the world; but in its tenth chapter there is a most remarkable conspectus of the descendants of Noah settled within a certain geographical area. It is a well-known idiom of Hebrew to speak of a people as the product of the country where it is found. A great city like Jerusalem, for example, was looked upon as the mother of its inhabitants. So here, the peoples grouped around Canaan are treated as though they had sprung from the several countries where they are found. When it is said, accordingly, that Canaan "begat" Zidon and Heth, a geographical rather than a strictly genealogical connection is referred to. So the three sons of Noah, being assigned to different localities, Japheth to the north, Ham to the south and Shem to the interior, the inhabitants occupying these localities at the time are looked upon as their descendants. In a general way this may also be true; but it is not to be forgotten that the point of view of the writer is geographical and political and not severely racial. Hence it follows that Egyptian and Canaanite, Elamite and Assyrian are classed together as though descendants from one ancestor. ‡

I have called the contents of the tenth chapter remarkable. They are so in many respects. The literatures of other nations contain lists of foreign peoples; but they are those whom they have subjugated. Their preservation is a mark of national pride. This one, on the contrary, is evidence of the universality of Israel's outlook.

\*The fact that there was a certain Edomitish Hadad ("Hadar"?) of royal blood living in the time of Solomon can have nothing to do with the Hadad who closes the list of kings of the period of Esau. The former married a daughter of Pharaoh and never reigned in Edom (1 Kgs. xi. 14-23).

†See Sayce, *The Races of the Old Testament*, p. 41.

‡The principle followed is well illustrated in the case of the tribe of Sheba, which spread so far from north to south that it is twice named, once under Ham, and once under Shem (vers. 7, 28).

It is not only meant to show the unity of the race, in its origin, but in its hope for the future. In the quest for salvation, so to speak, those chosen for that noble object take leave, for the time being, of those from whom they must separate, as the line of Seth of that of Cain, the line of Shem of that of Ham and Japheth, as the family of Abraham of the remaining families of the earth; but it is with the evident hope and purpose of meeting again to share the common rewards, when the goal has been reached and the quest ended. Whatever may be thought of the presence of mythical material elsewhere in Genesis, I am not aware that any one suggests its presence here. Certainly it is most unlikely. Scholars generally would agree with the statement of Rawlinson, approved by Delitzsch, that it is "the most authentic record we possess for the affiliations of nations" in the early times.\* The more fully it has been examined and understood, the more worthy it has shown itself of trust. Much in it that once was regarded as doubtful has proven itself, when considered from the right point of view, to be correct.

Can we, within reasonable limits, determine its date? The data on which reliance must chiefly be placed are these: the literary form of the material, and more especially what it contains and what it omits. If we compare the contents of the chapter with the lists of nations found in Jeremiah (xxv. 19-26) and Ezekiel (chap. xxvii and xxxiii. 17-30), it makes at once the impression of being not only isolated but ancient. The peculiar notice of Nimrod, the reference to the early civilizations of Babylon and Assyria, to the cities of the plain as though still standing, the significant break made in the line of Shem with Peleg, and the relatively small development of the line of Japheth to two generations only, all point in the same direction. The chapter contains nothing in fact positively requiring for it a post-Mosaic date.† None of the peoples named are carried in their development beyond the Exodus period; most of them are left far short of it. The prominence given to Zidon (ver. 15) appears to show that Tyre, which is unnamed, had not yet reached the preëminence it held in David's time. The recognition of Egypt in its two divisions, upper and lower, has its parallel on the oldest monuments of that country.‡ The omissions in the list of peoples, as far as they can be reasonably

\* Delitzsch, *Com. über die Genesis*, p. 201.

† For remarks on "Calah" (ver. 12) see above, p. 621. Assurbanipal says (885) that Shalmaneser I (1300) had this city "gemacht" ("epesu," עִפְסוּ; Sch., צִנְנָצ).

‡ The title was sometimes applied, it is true, to one division of the country alone (Isa. xi. 11; Jer. xlv. 1, 15). Strack (*Com., in loco.*) holds that the usual Hebrew word for Egypt is not a *dual*.

explained, are not out of harmony with this general conclusion. Among others the American, the Australian and the Chinese\* races are unnoticed. Were they unknown, or had they not yet arisen? More likely than the former supposition is another, that the writer purposely confined his view to a limited area. At least, as matter of fact, and for some reason now hidden, he did restrict himself to peoples grouped around the Mediterranean basin and its immediate vicinity. If among these we find omissions of important ancient peoples, it will be significant. There are some such. There is no reference to Arabia, first coming into notice in Solomon's day (1 Kgs. x. 15), nor to the Minni of Jeremiah's time (Jer. li. 27), nor to the great world empire of Persia dating from the reign of Cyrus (B.C. 538). These facts seem to make the theory of an exilic origin for the tenth chapter of Genesis impossible.

But why are such peoples as the Amalekites omitted, together with Edom, Moab, Ammon and Ishmael, and the descendants of Abraham by Keturah, and certain apparently aboriginal inhabitants of the district around and in Canaan, the Anakim, Rephaim, Emim and Zamzummim? † There is no one reason, probably, which would apply to all the cases. The Amalekites cannot have been omitted because they had so long before disappeared from history. The finishing stroke in their destruction as a people was given by Saul (1 Sam., chap. xv). But their very peculiar relations to Israel from the period of the Exodus would insure that their memory would be kept fresh long after this event (Ex. xvii. 16; cf. 1 Chron. iv. 43).‡ As it concerns the aboriginal tribes—more properly, perhaps, Amoritic clans—named, they mostly inhabited the region east of the Jordan. Their relative unimportance would well enough account for the failure to mention them. One has remarked concerning the amount of matter contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis, when compared with what it might have been: "The poverty of its lists and of its information is the proof of its genuineness."§ And as to Ishmael, Edom, Ammon, Moab and the rest, they are directly related to Abraham by kinship, of whom the subsequent history is to treat at the appropriate time and place; they receive all the attention called for in the circumstances.

In general, then, it may be said that the tenth chapter of Genesis

\* An effort has been made to connect the early civilization of China with that of ancient Akkadia.

† If a complete list of the early inhabitants of Canaan and vicinity before the conquest had been aimed at, we should have expected the names of the Perizzites, Kenites, Kenizzites and Kadmonites (x. 16; cf. xv. 19). See Sayce's *Races of the Old Testament*, chap. vi, and Köhler's *Bib. Geschichte*, pp. 72-94.

‡ See Strack, *Com.*, p. 41.

§ Herder quoted by Strack, *ibid.*, *in loco*.

seems to reflect a period previous to the conquest, not one after it. More definitely, it appears to point to the time just before the Egyptian supremacy, described in the tablets of Tel el-Amarna, began to make itself greatly felt in Palestine, that is about B.C. 1600. Previously, Canaan had been dominated from the north and east; and a considerable immigration had swept into it through the fords of the Euphrates at Carchemish.\*

CHICAGO.

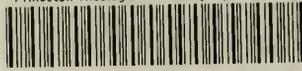
EDWIN CONE BISSELL.

\* See Sayce, *ibid.*, who speaks of the Philistines (cf. Gen. x. 14) as a guard established by the Egyptians on the southern border of Palestine; and cf. Conder, "The Earliest Ages of Hebrew History," in the *Scottish Review*, October, 1894.



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