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The Present State of Old
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STUDIES

GEORGE A. BARTON
University of Pennsylvania



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THE PRESENT STATE OF OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES

GEORGE A. BARTON
University of Pennsylvania

The general trend of Old Testament investigation during the last twenty years has been on the whole to concern itself less than formerly with the analysis of books into documents or sources. It has tended rather to the investigation of the historicity of the earlier books, to the understanding of the historical and didactic books in the light of increasing knowledge of the ancient oriental environment, and to the endeavor to secure a better understanding of the prophetic and devotional material in the Old Testament by discovering the "situation in life" which called it forth. When, for example, one knows all the circumstances of the occasion when a prophet uttered an oracle or a psalmist wrote a psalm, including the religious conceptions which prevailed, he is in a much better position to understand the meaning of the prophet or to enter into a sympathetic understanding of the praises or prayers of the psalmist.

In this effort scholars have been greatly aided by archaeological researches. Never has the spade of the excavator been so active as since the conclusion of the great war. Never before has such abundant material for the reconstruction of knowledge of ancient oriental life poured into the museums of the world, and never have scientific methods made the least promising utensils of ancient men contribute such intelligible information as to their culture and daily life. It has been and is an inspiring and fascinating period in which to live and work. Although the results of the fifty years of criticism which preceded the great war have been widely assimilated and

accepted, nevertheless the cleavage between "fundamentalist" and "critic" still exists, although among real scholars it has grown narrower. One evidence of the bridging of the gap is that of late scholars who are critics in spite of themselves have made extensive use of archaeology in the effort to establish the historicity of Abraham or to vindicate Archbishop Usher's date of the Exodus. On the whole, however, scholars have worked in harmony and the last twenty years have witnessed a steadily increased understanding of almost every phase of Old Testament study. This will become clearer, if we examine the progress made in the various branches of Old Testament study separately.

. The work of Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen had laid the foundations of Pentateuchal analysis on firm foundations more than fifty years ago and had wrought out with approximate certainty the division of the materials between the different documents. In spite of the natural desire of deeply religious scholars to reestablish belief in the tradition that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, the facts on which the documentary hypothesis rests are so incontrovertible that they carry conviction to the mind of all candid persons who really examine them. The investigations of the last twenty years have accordingly established more firmly belief in the once separate existence of the great documents, J, E, D, and P. The belief of the Graf-Wellhausen school that within these documents there are different strata justifying the use of the symbols J¹, J², E¹, E², D¹, D², P¹, P², P³ has been generally accepted by those who have participated in Pentateuchal researches during the past twenty years. Some differences of opinion as to the dates of these documents have developed. Thus Sellin¹ and his school hold that J is earlier than E and was composed in the reign of David or Solomon, and that E, though younger than J, cannot have been written later

than Solomon's reign. By this school they are accordingly both assigned to the tenth century B. C. Sellin cannot think that the laws of D were all drafted in the reign of Manasseh about 650 B. C., but accepting Steuernagel's analysis of D as composed of a "thou" source and a "ye" source,² he holds that the original D was an old temple-law on which Hezekiah's reform (2 Kgs. 18: 1-6) was based, and that the P document was composed about 500 B. C.³ With the exception of the date for P,⁴ Sellin's conception of the time of the composition of these sources has not been accepted. Eissfeldt, to quote but one scholar, in his *Einleitung* published in 1934 dates J in the time of Elijah and Elisha (ninth century), E, after the destruction of Samaria in 722 B. C. (Eissfeldt calls it 721), and P about 500 or before.⁵ Other opinions as to the dates of these documents and the places where they were written will be mentioned as we proceed.

In the investigation of the origin and nature of the Pentateuchal documents two important points have emerged during the last twenty years. Eissfeldt in 1922 reached the conclusion⁶ that the real J document was that which had been designated as J² and that the materials that had been ascribed to J¹ ought, to avoid confusion and misunderstanding, to be indicated by an entirely different symbol. Since this material consisted of stories of a popular nature, Eissfeldt thought of it as a book for the laity, contrasting in that respect strongly with P, which was a work particularly for priests. He accordingly designated it L, or the Lay document. The symbol has been accepted by some scholars. Perhaps in the future the four documents will be known as L, J, E, and P. D never contained a connected account of the whole history.

Another contribution of importance was made in 1927 by Julian Morgenstern,⁷ and has been accepted as valid by Eissfeldt.⁸ Morgenstern demonstrated that what had

been called "the decalogue of J"⁹ in Exodus 34 was part of a document which he called "the Kenite document" and designated by the symbol K. This, he claimed, is the oldest document in the Hexateuch, arguing that it was written before the year 899 B. C. in Judah, and was in that year made the basis of the reform carried out by king Asa as described in 1 Kgs. 15: 9-15. This book, Morgenstern believed, began with the story of the birth of Moses, told of his leaving Egypt, his journey to the desert, his marriage to Zipporah, sister of Hobab, priest of the Kenites, of his return to Egypt, his leading forth the Israelites, the self-revelation of Yahweh to Moses at the sacred mountain, the violation of the sanctity of the place connected somehow with the worship of an image, because of which Yahweh commanded Moses to lead the people away from the mountain, whereupon there followed the incidents described in Exodus 33 and 34. Thus, according to K, the covenant between Israel and Yahweh was established. Yahweh directed Moses to make a "Tent of Meeting," promising to come, when Israel was in need, from the sacred mountain and meet Moses there, to give the people guidance through him. Hobab afterward visited Moses and gave him advice about judging the people and Moses asked him to accompany them, together with his tribe, and guide them through the desert. Morgenstern believes that after both J (L) and E had borrowed freely from the Kenite document, J² incorporated fragments of the document into the J code. Morgenstern supports his positions with great learning and convincing arguments and the present writer agrees with Eissfeldt that his conclusions are valid. It is the most noteworthy addition to our knowledge of the literary origins of the Pentateuch made during the last twenty years.

、 Apart from the analysis into documents much study

has been devoted during the past twenty years to other aspects of the Pentateuch. The recovery of the Hittite laws and a part of an Assyrian code, in addition to the code of Hammurabi, which had been recovered in 1901, gave new zest to the study of the Pentateuchal laws. In this connection, as was inevitable, the Decalogue has been subjected to renewed historical research. On the one hand writers like Sellin¹⁰ assume that, because Egyptians and Babylonians formulated ethical precepts in pungent commands, it could be taken for granted that the moral decalogue of Ex. 20 and Deut. 5 was the work of Moses. At the other extreme Sigmund Mowinckel¹¹ in a learned monograph contends that the moral decalogue was not formulated until after the time of Isaiah, and that it assumed its fundamental form before the Babylonian Exile. The form in which it appears in Ex. 20 betrays in the motive assigned for the observance of the Sabbath the influence of the P document. It cannot, accordingly, have been brought into its present form until post-exilic times, and is probably a late editorial insertion where it now stands. The present writer has been convinced for some years that this ethical Decalogue originally took shape to embody and perpetuate the teachings of Elijah.¹² That he still believes, but is not convinced that it need be later than Isaiah.

The discovery originally made by Goethe and later demonstrated by Wellhausen that there is a ritualistic Decalogue in Ex. 34 has been confirmed by the researches of the last twenty years and is now one of the axioms of Old Testament study.^{12a} R. H. Pfeiffer devoted to it a searching investigation in 1924¹³ and Julian Morgenstern further elucidated it in his study of the Kenite document.¹⁴ Pfeiffer dates it about 1200 B. C.

The relation of the laws of the "Book of the Covenant" (Ex. 20: 24—23: 19) to the Babylonian, Hittite

and Assyrian codes has called forth much greater effort. The discussion was begun by an American scholar, Professor Leroy Waterman, in 1921, who contended that the Code of Hammurabi had been current among the ancient Canaanites, particularly those of Shechem, that many of its laws had been adapted by them to Palestinian conditions, and had then been taken over by the Israelites at Shechem in pre-Mosaic times.¹⁵

Waterman was followed by Jirku¹⁶ and Jepsen,¹⁷ who endeavored by employing the methods of the pan-oriental school to discredit the work of Wellhausen. They formulated the theory of an old Hebrew body of laws distinguishable from strictly Israelite laws. Laws which exhibit affinity to the oriental codes were assigned to the former; those not so related, to the latter group. In his later work¹⁸ Jirku made, however, an important and far-reaching discovery. He demonstrated that culturally the Hebrew laws were more primitive than the corresponding laws of the Babylonians and Hittites. This fact has no necessary bearing on the relative dates of the codes in question; a culturally backward community may exist long after one more highly cultured has passed away. It is evidence, however, that the Hebrew laws are in origin independent of the other oriental laws.

On the other hand Ring¹⁹ and Morgenstern²⁰ have demonstrated the native Palestinian origin of the laws of the "Book of the Covenant." Morgenstern in particular in three successive and exhaustive monographs has shown that the code so designated was of gradual growth and continued to receive additions until after the Babylonian Exile. As it stands it is composed partly of *mishpatim*, or laws that begin with "If a man" do so and so, and laws which begin with "Thou shalt not." The laws of the first group follow the pattern of the laws in the other oriental codes and are probably derived from a compen-

dium of legal decisions; they refer as a rule to secular matters. The latter are of a more ritualistic or religious nature. There are two bodies of *mishpatim*, one in the "Book of the Covenant" and the other in Deuteronomy. Morgenstern believes that the former was taken from a code compiled in the kingdom of Israel; the latter, from a similar code compiled in the kingdom of Judah. He traces the beginning of such legal enactments, as opposed to mere custom, to king David, and holds that later political authorities added similar enactments. There must have been in both kingdoms a much larger body of laws than the excerpts which are found in the Pentateuch.²¹

In 1934 Professor Albrecht Alt, other of whose works will be mentioned presently, took up the argument of those who believe that Israel's laws were not a native development,²² and endeavored to show that the *mishpatim* were formulated by the Canaanites and were adopted by the Hebrews during the settlement in Palestine and the reign of Saul. To the present writer his argument is quite unconvincing. That of Morgenstern is much more logical and in accord with known facts.

In connection with the investigations of the "Book of the Covenant" mention must also be made of the discussions concerning the code of Deuteronomy. Since the days of De Wette (1805) it had been believed²³ that the reform of king Josiah in 621 B. C. was based on the code of Deuteronomy, and that that code has been compiled either in the reign of Hezekiah, or of Manasseh, or of Josiah. Within the past twenty years this "fixed point" of Pentateuchal criticism has been challenged in two directions. On the one hand it has been claimed that Deuteronomy is a body of old North Israelitish laws that originally made no effort to centralize worship, but only to keep it free from contamination with Canaanite cults; on the other it has been held that Deuteronomy is a post-

Exilic compilation of impractical laws that were never seriously intended to be enforced.

The advocates of the early date of Deuteronomy are Oestreicher,²⁴ Staerk,²⁵ and Adam Welch, the veteran Professor of Hebrew in New College, Edinburgh.²⁶ Oestreicher maintained that the aim of Josiah's reform was not to centralize the cult, but to purify it; not *Kulteinheit*, but *Kultreinheit*, and that the provision for centralization in Jerusalem was not regarded by the king as a permanent, but a temporary arrangement. Welch's treatment was much more brilliant and persuasive. Finding that the only regulation which confined the worship to one place is in Deut. 12:1-7, Welch argued that this is a later addition to the code. The code itself, in Welch's opinion, arose in Northern Israel. Its purpose was to caution the Israelites from worshipping in heathen shrines—shrines of Baal and Astarte. It was the result of the prophetic teaching and influence which began with the preaching of Samuel. Both Welch and Oestreicher interpret "the place which Yahweh your God shall choose" (Deut. 12:5) to mean "any place which Yahweh shall choose." They think the regulation identical with that of Ex. 20:24. Welch denies that the Hebrews ever took over Canaanite shrines. They were, he claims, tempted to worship in them, and he regards this law as the crystallization of the efforts of successive prophets to confine their worship to shrines of Yahweh's own founding. Two fatal objections confront the theory. As Bewer has shown,²⁷ the Hebrew translated "in the place which Yahweh thy God shall choose" can mean nothing else, and it is never in Deuteronomy contrasted with heathen shrines, but with the private residences of the Hebrews. Further, the historical sources in the Old Testament are silent as to the sort of prophetic effort which Welch postulates. For such reasons Welch's conclusions have not been widely accepted.

Nevertheless he, himself, has continued to advocate them in two further works,²⁸ and to reconstruct history in accordance with his theory.

The theory that Deuteronomy was a product of post-exilic Judaism was first propounded by C. P. W. Gramberg²⁹ in 1829 and was during the nineteenth century advocated by one or two German scholars and some disciples of Edouard Reuss.³⁰ In 1920 it was revived independently by G. R. Berry in America³¹ and by R. H. Kennett in England.³² Berry contended that the code of Deuteronomy is later than the code of Holiness (Lev. 17-26), or at least later than the kernel of that code, that Deuteronomy is dependent on Jeremiah, and that Deuteronomy was probably the law read by Ezra in the post-exilic gathering at Jerusalem described in Neh. 8-10. The code found in the temple, on which Josiah's reform was based, was, Berry urges, an early form of H. Kennett is, so far as Deuteronomy is concerned, in substantial agreement. In 1922 Hölscher advocated a similar point of view in an elaborate article entitled "*Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*."³³ He first sought to determine the limits of the original Deuteronomy. His results in this were in substantial agreement with those of Steuernagel. His conclusion as to its date was that "Deuteronomy originated in the same priestly circles which later showed themselves hostile to Nehemiah. . . . It was no officially introduced law book, but a program of reform prepared under priestly auspices." In 1923 Friedrich Horst published two articles, "*Die Anfänge des Propheten Jeremias*"³⁴ and "*Die Kultusreform des Königs Josia*"³⁵ in which he enthusiastically supported Hölscher's theory. While these views were eagerly welcomed by a few scholars, they were vigorously opposed by a larger number, and have not been generally accepted. Hölscher and Horst, in order to maintain their thesis, find it neces-

sary to contend that the account of Josiah's reform in 2 Kgs. 22, 23 is thoroughly unhistorical—a view that does not commend itself. The more moderate theory of Berry and Kennett has not won its way. Not because of any dogmatic temper on the part of critics, but because of the inherent persuasiveness of the arguments in its favor, the conception of the date and function of Deuteronomy demonstrated by De Wette is still generally accepted.³⁶

The problem of the historical value of the Pentateuchal narratives is of perennial interest and has received marked attention in the last two decades. It has been approached in different ways. The late Professor M. G. Kyle issued in 1920 two volumes, in one of which he proposed a new solution of the composition of the Pentateuch on the basis of different kinds of laws, mnemonic, descriptive, and hortatory, all of which he believed originated with Moses;³⁷ in the other, he endeavored to prove from archaeology that the whole Pentateuch is trustworthy history and may be taken at its face value.³⁸ The volumes were acute and learned, but revealed a mind incapable of appreciating the evidence on which the modern conceptions of the Pentateuch rest.

In Europe Jirku, Sellin, and Alt, accepting in broad outline the documentary theory, have sought in other ways to vindicate its substantial historicity. Jirku in 1918 attacked the question in a monograph, *Die Hauptprobleme der Anfangsgeschichte Israels*. He conceded that in Genesis many peoples were personified as persons. In Gen. 10 that is obvious. Jirku also regarded the twelve sons of Jacob as the personified tribes of Israel. The Habiri of the El-Amarna tablets he identified with the Hebrews, and regarded their presence in the El-Amarna letters as a confirmation of the historicity of Genesis 31-32. As the names Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph had been found in Babylonian and Egyptian sources, they must be

regarded as historical individuals. The sojourn in Egypt was a historical fact, but perhaps not all the Bne Israel participated in it. Moses led from Egypt the portion of the sons of Jacob who had settled there, mediated to them the covenant with Yahweh, the basis of which was an ethical decalogue analogous in its requirements to chapter CXXV of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*. He failed to enter Palestine from Kadesh and, after wandering in the wilderness, conquered Sihon, king of the Amorites, after leading Israel through Edom and Moab. Moses, however, did not institute the body of laws known as "The Book of the Covenant." That, in Jirku's opinion, was adopted from the corpus of oriental law after the settlement in Palestine. Jirku thus, while conceding much more than Kyle, maintained the historicity of personalities whom he regarded as vital. He especially emphasized the historical character of Genesis 14, accepting the identification of Amraphel as Hammurabi. Jirku's *Altorientalische Kommentar zum alten Testament*,³⁹ while not discussing in detail the points made in his earlier work, was intended to supply a larger background of knowledge for the confirmation of his views.

Sellin, to whom Jirku dedicated his earlier work, expressed in 1923 in his history of Israel⁴⁰ substantially the same views. Later Albrecht Alt attacked the problem from a new angle.⁴¹ He gathered instances which indicated that to refer to a god as the god of such and such a man was a Semitic custom. He inferred accordingly that all such instances must involve historical persons. Because Yahweh is called God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, therefore, Alt reasoned, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob must be historical persons. The argument is, however, fallacious. Even if the principle underlying it were sound, it proves nothing. Writers of fiction in every age give verisimilitude to their stories by

applying to their characters expressions used in real life of actual men. Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego of the third chapter of Daniel, whom Alt includes in his list, can hardly now be claimed as actual men by any serious scholar.

The theory that there were two settlements of Hebrews in Palestine and that only a part of the tribes were in Egypt was not original with Jirku; it had been convincingly set forth twenty-five years ago by the late L. B. Paton,⁴² and accepted by the present writer.⁴³ Although combatted by J. W. Jack⁴⁴ and others, the archaeological evidences in its favor accumulating as the years pass are gradually turning the scales in its favor. As excavations have progressed, theory has given way to theory. Doubtless some of this history will be treated in another chapter of this volume. Since Olmstead's discovery that Joshua is mentioned in the El-Amarna tablets and that his activity appears to have been in the region of Pella and the Hauran,⁴⁵ there has been a growing conviction among scholars that in the Biblical traditions the heroic acts of the two conquests are often telescoped together in such a way that the historical perspective is lost. The latest attempt to disentangle the skein is that of T. J. Meek in his able book, *Hebrew Origins*.⁴⁶ According to Meek the Habiru were plunderers and soldiers, known to the Near East from the twentieth century to the eleventh. The name was originally an appellative, but it became a gentilic; the Hebrews sprang from this mass. They came into Palestine in two waves, one from the northwest with the Hurrians about 1800 B. C., the other from the northeast about 1400 B. C. The former Meek identifies with the Abrahamic migration, the latter with the Israelite (Jacob). Joshua was connected with this migration. They formed a confederacy and adopted a simple code of laws near Shechem.⁴⁷ The third immigration was a small tribe

(Levites) led by Moses from Egypt about 1200 B. C. They amalgamated with the Judahites, Simeonites, Kenites, and Calebites and formed a southern confederacy with its own code of laws accepted at Kadesh. Later they pushed northward into what was later Judaeen territory.⁴⁸ This theory reverses the order of Joshua and Moses and raises, perhaps, more questions than it solves. It has, however, the merit of courageously grappling with the problem.⁴⁹

In reality the problem is not yet solved; we are only beginning to realize what the elements for its solution are. Were the present writer to venture an opinion, it would be that Abraham, Jacob and Joseph were real individual persons, but that many of the stories told of them were originally told of others. It is a well established fact that popular stories travel. Originally told of one character in one environment or nationality, they are transferred with modifications to another character in another environment. The parallel between certain features of the Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers" and the unjust accusation made against Joseph in the house of Potiphar (Gen. 39) has long been known.⁴⁹ There may well have been an individual Joseph in Palestine, for whom the city Joseph-el was named, while in the tales later told of him an episode may have been borrowed from the "Tale of the Two Brothers." Similarly there may well have been an individual Abraham in Palestine as well as in Babylonia, while some of the features of his life as recorded in Gen. 12-25 may have been borrowed from other traditions. Abraham's father is said to have been Terah (Gen. 11:26, 27). In the old Palestinian stories and myths, which are being recovered from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) there is a Terah, who appears to be a moon-god. In a recently discovered myth or legend⁵⁰ Terah appears as a chieftain who fights the people of

northern Palestine, including the tribes of Asher and Zebulun. At times he is a man; at times a god. Theodor Gaster believes that later Hebrew tradition made Abraham the son of Terah and transferred to him the heroic characteristics which the older non-Israelitish story had attributed to Terah.⁵¹ This is quite possible, but it is too early to dogmatize. Later discoveries will, we hope, give us more materials and afford a basis for more certain conclusions. We only suggest that a combination of individual historicity with unhistorical legend is perfectly possible.

. During the past twenty years a considerable volume of research has been published concerning the Historical Books of the Old Testament, especially in Germany,⁵² but it has not materially altered the trend of opinion established in previous decades. Judges and Samuel have been more closely scrutinized for sources, and efforts have been made to date them, but the general outlines of the picture previously drawn have not been materially altered. Two works in English deserve to be mentioned. C. F. Burney's *Book of Judges*, London, 1918, is an outstanding exposition of the book comparable to the commentary of George F. Moore in the *International Critical Commentary*. John Garstang's *Foundations of Bible History*, New York, 1931, is an attempt to test by archaeological and topographical studies the historical value of the oldest strata by detailed comparison of their statements with Palestinian topographical and archaeological studies. Garstang had undertaken the excavation of Jericho with the hope of gaining an exact date for its destruction, and had made numerous topographical studies in other parts of Palestine. In 1931 he thought he had reached fairly secure results, but more recent excavations have led to fuller knowledge, and the date of the Exodus, in which Garstang was especially interested, is not yet settled.

[v. *BASOR*, No. 58 (April, 1935), pp. 10-18; *RB* (1930), p. 403 ff., (1932), p. 264 ff.; *PEFQS* (1934), p. 123 ff.; Alt, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina*, Leipzig, 1925 ed.]

Most of the extensive literature devoted during the last two decades to the Book of Isaiah has followed the lead set in 1892 by Bernhard Duhm in his *Jesaia* in Nowack's *Hand Kommentar*. Until then chapters 40-66 had been regarded as a unity and the work of Second Isaiah. Duhm adduced such convincing arguments for regarding chs. 56-66 as the work of a Trito-Isaiah that to this day the majority of Old Testament scholars follow him. During the past twenty years the great majority of writers on the subject have taken Duhm's contention as demonstrated and have discussed whether the servant poems were or were not quoted from another author, or have prosecuted those refinements of criticism which detect glosses which have been added to an earlier work. Into this atmosphere of microscopic dissection Professor Charles C. Torrey breathed a much needed draught of fresh air by the publication in 1928 of his book, *The Second Isaiah, a New Interpretation*.⁵³ Torrey maintains the unity of chs. 40-66 and believes that chs. 34-35 were written by the same poet as an introduction to them.⁵⁴ He finds in the whole work a few glosses, among which are the two references to Cyrus (ch. 44:28 and 45:1). These are shown to be interpolations by several considerations, one of which is that they dislocate the Hebrew meter in which contiguous matter is written. He thus integrates a work which criticism had sadly disintegrated. He makes it a consistent whole. He believes the prophet who wrote it lived in Palestine at the end of the fifth or the beginning of the fourth century before Christ. To the present writer Torrey's arguments are convincing, but they have not proven so to the great majority of scholars,

who continue to hold the views of Duhm.⁵³ The matter cannot accordingly be said to have been settled in favor of Torrey's theory.

The most noteworthy contributions to the understanding of the Book of Jeremiah during the past twenty years have been made by English scholars. Germans who have written on the book have devoted themselves more assiduously to the Hebrew text. Foremost among the English books is the late John Skinner's *Prophecy and Religion, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*, Cambridge, 1922. Beside it stands Sir George Adam Smith's *Jeremiah, the Book, the Man, the Prophet*, New York, 1923. These books take one into the heart of the many problems with which the Book of Jeremiah bristles and help one to an intelligible idea of Jeremiah, his work, and his times. Of a more popular character are Raymond Calkins' *Jeremiah the Prophet*, New York, 1930, and T. Crouther Gordon's *The Rebel Prophet, Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*, London, 1931. These books do much to unveil to the student one of the greatest contributors to the progress of religious thought in the whole Old Testament—a figure which the prosaic work of Baruch and other scribes had done much to conceal.

The Book of Ezekiel, which presented to students of former generations the appearance of a unified work, has revealed itself to students of the last twenty years in quite different guise and has called forth a number of conflicting and mutually exclusive theories. As long ago as 1900 Kraetschmar had noted that many passages said the same thing as other passages and drew the conclusion that the book once circulated in two recensions which had been woven together.⁵⁴ Jahn explained these repetitions as glosses that had crept into the text.⁵⁵ Hermann thought the repetition due to the fact that the oral prophecies of Ezekiel were written down by others.⁵⁶ Gustav Hölscher

in 1924 published an investigation of the book, in which he claimed that only the oracles in Ezekiel that were cast in poetic form were genuine.⁵⁷ To him Ezekiel was a poet, not a legalist. All that seems legalistic and diffuse was added by another. By employing this criterion Hölscher left to Ezekiel only about 143 out of a total of 1272 verses. Even the poems thus declared to be genuine had to be purged of many excrescences, so that the whole result was problematical. He found in the prose expansions of the book what he took to be references to the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 B. C. and even to the rebuilding of the temple in 515 B. C. He accordingly dated the composition of the book between 500 and 450 B. C.

In 1930 Professor Charles C. Torrey published his book, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy*.⁵⁸ Torrey's theory is in brief this. A man, probably of priestly rank, living in Jerusalem in the third century B. C. on the basis of 2 Kgs. 21:10, put into the mouth of a prophet of the time of Manasseh (he thinks that the "thirtieth year" in Eze. 1:1 can only be the 30th year of Manasseh) passionate warnings, and then reminded his readers how, when the warnings were disregarded, dire punishment followed. Some thirty years later an editor, in the interest of what Torrey believes was then a new theory, viz: that there was a Babylonian captivity and a return, inserted in Eze. 1:2, 3 references to the captivity and made other editorial additions which so successfully transferred all the prophecies to Babylon that for two thousand years no one perceived the hoax. The theory is set forth with all of Torrey's ingenuity (and he is very ingenious) and persuasiveness. It is, however, too ingenious. As one reads he is led to doubt that, were the theory true, even Torrey could have detected it!

In 1931 Dr. James Smith of St. Andrews, Scotland,

also published a new interpretation of Ezekiel.⁵⁹ As his book was in press before Torrey's was published, his work was quite independent of that of the American scholar. Like Torrey, Smith held that the prophecies in Ezekiel were addressed to the people of Palestine and appear to come from the reign of Manasseh. He also believes that they were spoken in Palestine and not in Babylonia. He differs from Torrey in believing that they are actually the words of a man of God who lived in Manasseh's reign, and that the prophet was a North Israelite who spoke to North Israelites. He interprets the "captivity" of Eze. 33:21 as the captivity of Dan and Naphtali inflicted by Tiglath-pileser in 734 B. C.

In the next year Volkmar Hertrich presented still another study of Ezekiel.⁶⁰ In a manner similar to that of Torrey and Smith he demonstrates that many of the prophecies in Ezekiel were delivered in Palestine. He found in the book, however, a Babylonian framework which he believed to be the work of an exile, who desired to claim Ezekiel for the captivity. He concluded accordingly that two authors had contributed to the book.

In 1935 Canon John Battersby Harford issued his *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*.⁶¹ After reviewing the work of the scholars already mentioned, he examined the phenomena presented by the book and concluded that it contains the work of a pre-exilic prophet who lived in Jerusalem, which was expanded and enlarged by an editor who lived in Babylonia. It was this editor who added chs. 40-48.

The phenomena on which these writers base their theories of dual authorship are various. They include not only the repetitions already mentioned, but two accounts of the prophet's call, one in ch. 1:4—2:4 and the other in 2:6—3:9. At times the prophet is in Babylonia, at times he is "carried in the spirit" to Jerusalem, but on these

occasions he performs symbolical acts, which, in order to be significant, must have been witnessed by the people of Jerusalem in reality and not simply "in the spirit."

Another contribution to the problem is by Alfred Bertholet in his commentary written for the series edited by Eissfeldt.⁶² Bertholet believes that Ezekiel uttered oracles in three places, in Jerusalem before its fall, in some city not far from Jerusalem (the "other place" of ch. 12:3 ff.), and among the exiles of Babylonia. He was called twice: first to his Jerusalem ministry by the vision of the roll (2:9 ff.) in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity (593 B. C.), and again in the thirteenth (which Bertholet reads instead of "thirtieth" in 1:1) year (585 B. C.) by the vision of the chariot-throne (1:4 ff.). It is thus explained why many prophecies should be placed in Jerusalem, how, being in a city of Judah, Ezekiel could hear of Jerusalem's fall on the same day (ch. 33:21). The circumstances which took Ezekiel to Babylon are not given, but indications are that he went unwillingly and that he never felt himself a member of the Jewish community there. The theory accounts for the change of tone in the prophecies from threats and doom in those uttered in Jerusalem to words of encouragement and promise spoken in Babylonia. The captives sorely needed consolation.

G. A. Cooke, in *The Book of Ezekiel* in the *International Critical Commentary*, which was issued in the autumn of 1937, but left the author's hands in 1936, concludes that Ezekiel is the work of a prophet whose activity extended from 593 to 573 B. C., but that it has been at many points worked over and interpolated by later hands. Among these interpolations are chs. 38, 39, the Gog and Magog apocalypse, and parts of chs. 40-48. Cooke's work was completed before that of Bertholet appeared.

At the moment the problem of Ezekiel is the most

difficult and thorny in the whole Old Testament, but the theory of Bertholet seems to promise a sane solution.

Of the literature devoted to the Book of Daniel during the last twenty years the two most weighty volumes are in English. They are by James A. Montgomery⁶³ and R. H. Charles.⁶⁴ Both are learned and exhaustive. While they differ as to whether chs. 2-6 were Babylonian stories written a century earlier and adapted to the Maccabaeen crisis, they mark no new trends in the general understanding of the book. They confirm the main conclusions of previous criticism.

In no department of Old Testament study has more progress been made in the last two decades than in the understanding of the Psalter. Through the labors of the Norse scholar Sigmund Mowinckel,⁶⁵ the American John P. Peters,⁶⁶ the German Hermann Gunkel,⁶⁷ and the English C. C. Keet,⁶⁸ the study of the Psalter has been revolutionized. It is now sought to discover the situation in life (*Sitz im Leben*) which each psalm expressed or to which it ministered. The psalms were employed in the temple services in connection with the sacrifices and the feasts and then, when the temple was far away or was destroyed, were adapted to worship in the synagogue. In the case of many psalms accordingly the situation in life leads the student back to a study of the liturgy of the temple. This is nowhere described for us; it can only be pieced together from clues that have survived here and there. When reconstructed it reveals phases in the pre-exilic religion of ancient Israel that were previously hardly suspected. For example, Mowinckel has demonstrated that a feature of the great festival of the New Year was the ceremony of the enthronement of Yahweh. A procession marched about the temple or the city carrying, in pre-exilic times, the ark. This they brought to the temple and enthroned Yahweh in his sanctuary. Psalms 24, 132, 96,

97, 98, and 99 were psalms employed at this ceremony of enthronement. Among the ancient Hebrews as among other oriental peoples the king was also a priest. Solomon, for example, officiated at the dedication of the temple. The Psalter contains not only a prayer for the king (Ps. 20), but a psalm to be uttered by the king (Ps. 18).⁶⁹ This last was not David as the superscription indicates, but was written for David's successor as verse 50 shows.

Former scholars such as Cheyne, Duhm, and Haupt believed that all psalms which referred to kings spoke of Persian, Hellenistic, or Asmonaeon kings. That view is now regarded as a mistake. Psalms which refer to kings are believed to be pre-exilic or, if reworked later, to have a pre-exilic nucleus. The Psalter, though compiled in its present form in the centuries of post-exilic Judaism, is seen (thanks to the newer method of study) to have its roots in the nation's life before the exile.

This aspect of the subject is reinforced by a study of Babylonian and Egyptian psalms and a comparison of them with the Psalter. Unique as Israel's religion became, its background was the common oriental culture of the other nations. Not only the hymns of Babylon and Egypt, but now those of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) are coming to our aid in the study of the psalms. Two scholars, at least, believe that Psalm 29 was adapted from the cults of North Palestine and Phoenicia.⁷⁰ Be that as it may, it is clear from a study of the psalms of Babylonia and Egypt that concepts once thought to be possible to Jews only after the exile are in reality much older. Ikhnaton's (Amenophis IV) hymn to Aton, composed before 1350 B. C., contains expressions strikingly like those in Ps. 104.⁷¹

This liturgical study of the Psalter takes us back close to the common life of ancient Israel. Some expressions, which are obscure to the modern man and which our

pious predecessors spiritualized, are now seen to have had their origin in the superstitions and beliefs of the ancient East. This is no disparagement. The Psalter speaks to the heart of the masses because it grew out of the life of the masses.

Some of the psalms are antiphonal. This is true not only of psalms of praise, but of psalms of prayer. In some psalms God answers. In Ps. 50 the greater part of the psalm is put into the mouth of God. It seems probable that in the early liturgical worship such portions were chanted by a priest, who spoke for God.

The Psalter, like the Babylonian collections of psalms, was not all devoted to public worship. It contains, like its Babylonian counterpart, psalms for private confession and devotion. In ancient as in modern times individuals stole away to a temple to pray.

The Psalter was collected after the exile. Many psalms were re-edited and expanded. New psalms were written. Some (1, 19:7 ff., and 119) were in praise of the newly adopted law. Perhaps as early as the eighth century prophets some psalmists revolted against animal sacrifice (see Psalms 50 and 51). Later editors endeavored to correct this (see Ps. 51:18, 19). In time the temple perished and the Psalter was taken over by the synagogue, but before that happened it had assumed its present form.

The trend of these studies has been to make us realize that the Psalter is the product of centuries of intense religious life and experience. It came out of realities that were necessarily crudely conceived at first, but which were refined by reinterpretation as experience advanced. Its essence is so real that it is still capable of such reinterpretation as to voice present-day experience.

To the "Wisdom Books" of the Old Testament much attention has been devoted during the last twenty years and considerable progress has been made in understand-

ing them. In the early part of the period marked contributions were made by English-speaking scholars. In 1921 Driver and Gray's *Job* was published in the *International Critical Commentary*—perhaps the best study of the book in any language.⁷² In the previous year Morris Jastrow had contributed his study,⁷³ in which he reached the conclusion that the author of *Job*, when he had written some twenty-seven chapters, found the problem too difficult for him and abandoned the task. He regarded the remainder of the work as due to other writers. In 1922 Moses Bottenwieser advocated in a learned volume⁷⁴ the theory that the text of *Job* had been greatly confused by transpositions made in ancient times, and that insight had been given him to restore the original order. He accordingly rearranged the material, including the Elihu-speeches (chs. 32-37), which the majority of scholars regard as a later addition, distributing the utterances where it seemed to him they belonged, thus making quite a different book. In the same year C. J. Ball endeavored to correct and explain the text.⁷⁵ He devoted considerable space to the elucidation of Hebrew tri-literal roots as originally bi-literal, adducing Sumerian bi-consonantal roots in comparison! Continental scholars have also added their contributions to the discussion.⁷⁶ An American scholar has sought to demonstrate that *Job* is translated from an Arabic original.⁷⁷ These studies serve to bring into clear view the fact that the problems connected with this remarkable book are far from solved.

The most outstanding contribution to the understanding of the Book of Proverbs made during the period covered by this review was the publication in 1923 of *The Wisdom of Amen-em-ope*,⁷⁸ an Egyptian work dealing with the problems of life. The date of the Egyptian work is uncertain. Griffith believed that in its present form it dates from about 600 B. C. and that the original was not

earlier than the eighth century. Many passages in Amen-em-ope closely resemble passages in Proverbs and, while scholarly opinion differs, it is highly probable that the Egyptian work profoundly influenced our book of Proverbs. Indeed, Oesterley believes that parts of the third section of the book (chs. 22: 17-23: 14) were directly translated from Amen-em-ope.⁷⁹ Babylonia has furnished also a considerable body of proverbs, and it is becoming clearer that the collection of Hebrew proverbs was influenced by the example of neighboring peoples and in some instances the collectors borrowed.

Study of the Book of Ecclesiastes during the last twenty years has not seriously modified the results previously reached. The body of the work is that of a pessimist; it was retouched by an orthodox hand and thus secured a place in the canon. The main question that has been debated is whether the author of Ecclesiastes was influenced by Greek thought. The present writer contended thirty years ago that he was not—that his point of view was a natural outgrowth of Semitic points of view to which certain Babylonian texts furnish a parallel.⁸⁰ This position was challenged in 1925 by a New Zealand scholar, who endeavored to prove that Ecclesiastes was profoundly influenced by Greek thought, especially by the writings of Theognis who lived before 500 B. C.⁸¹ It must be admitted that Ranston adduces some telling parallels, but it is still possible, I think, as Jastrow suggested, that Ecclesiastes, while influenced by the Greek scientific attitude of mind, held the Semitic point of view.⁸² Human minds work in much the same way when placed in similar environments, and the avenues for the expression of pessimism are particularly limited. It is possible that both Theognis and Ecclesiastes were influenced by Babylonian thought,⁸³ and it is also possible that the similarities are due to similar workings of the human mind. Borrowing on the part of Ecclesiastes is also possible.

If the Song of Songs be counted a "wisdom book," a word should be said about it here. Toward the understanding of this book two suggestions have been made during the period we are reviewing. To the previously discussed interpretations (that it was an allegory of Christ and the Church, that it was a drama, and that it was a collection of songs to be sung at wedding festivities) Jastrow, in a posthumous work,⁸⁴ taking a hint from the Arabic love songs published in Gustav Dalman's *Palästinische Diwan*,⁸⁵ held that the book was a collection of twenty-three love lyrics which originated as folk poetry. In the next year T. J. Meek defended the view⁸⁶ that Canticles originated in an early fertility cult (Astarte or Ishtar cult), which the Hebrews took over from the Canaanites. Later in a composite volume devoted to the book⁸⁷ Meek enlarged his treatment of the subject and W. H. Schoff came to his aid with an endeavor to show that the commodities mentioned in Canticles are festival offerings. Schoff argued that the fact that Canticles is appointed to be read at the Jewish Passover is evidence that it was originally connected with the spring festival. A similar view has been taken by Ebeling⁸⁸ and is held as possible by Eissfeldt.⁸⁹ Ebeling, instead of regarding the custom as ancient in Israel, thinks Manasseh introduced it. Since the Ugarit texts have yielded a liturgy which the present writer believes to be a liturgy for the spring festival at Jerusalem,⁹⁰ and in which such love plays an important part, and since such ministers of love were connected with the temple in Jerusalem down to the time of Josiah's reform (see 2 Kgs. 23:6, 7), he believes that we have in this theory the real explanation of the origin of the Song of Songs.

Apart from studies of particular books the Wisdom Books as a whole have received significant treatment. Ranston has devoted a volume to a discussion of their

problems and teachings,⁹¹ D. B. Macdonald another to the Hebrew philosophical genius as manifested in the wisdom literature,⁹² and O. S. Rankin still another to their influence on theology and religion.⁹³ Such studies take one away from mere problems of origins. Macdonald's volume is, like all his work, thoughtful, acute, and ingenious. It shows him as familiar with Greek thought as he is with that of the Arabs and Hebrews, but one wonders, on laying down his book, whether philosophy is quite the term to apply to the Hebrew genius. If it is, it has a different connotation than when applied to the Greek genius. Rankin's volume will reveal to those who find the Wisdom Books uninteresting or uninspiring reading that the early Christians held a different point of view. The influence of Hebrew wisdom has been profound.

A few books which look at the Hebrew people and history as a whole ought to be mentioned. Alfred Bertholet's *History of Hebrew Civilization*, translated by A. K. Dallas,⁹⁴ reviews the history and civilization of early Palestine, the civilization of the Hebrew invaders, their family and domestic life, as well as their political and intellectual life. John Pedersen's *Israel, its Life and Culture*,⁹⁵ after devoting nearly a hundred pages to such matters as Bertholet's book treats, discusses the Hebrew conception of the soul, the blessing, honor and shame, peace and salvation, righteousness and truth, how justice is to be maintained, sin and the curse, the world, life, and death. W. H. Graham and H. G. May's *Culture and Conscience*⁹⁶ passes in review the cultures of Palestine from the palaeolithic period onward, employing the successive cultures as a background against which to study the emergence of Israel's religion and ethics. Such studies take the reader far away from microscopic examination of individual problems and help him to see the makers of the Old Testament in perspective both of the long centuries which

have rolled over the East and that furnished by the many nations of the Levant. One cannot always accept without criticism the statements of writers who essay so much, as no scholar possesses a knowledge sufficiently wide to have an infallible judgment,⁹⁷ but this fallibility inheres in all scholarly work. These books no student of the Old Testament can afford to neglect.

A book devoted to a different aspect of Biblical appreciation is Duncan B. Macdonald's *Hebrew Literary Genius*.⁹⁸ The book has both the excellencies and the faults of the *Hebrew Philosophical Genius* already described. The author possesses keen literary appreciation and it has been cultivated by intimate contact with the best literature from that of the Greeks to the English. He has strong opinions and expresses them in ways that are often terse and striking. His points stick. Every line is instructive, though one is frequently compelled to differ from the opinions expressed. The book as a whole, however, helps one to get away from the mere criticism of documents, as though that were the end of all Biblical study, into that sanctuary which is the heart of great religious literature, in which the tools and the dust of mechanics are forgotten and one beholds God, beauty, and duty, and that which is dutiful is seen to be beautiful.

Perhaps in conclusion a word should be said about the advance during the period under discussion of our knowledge of the Hebrew language. The application to the Semitic tongues of the more exact principles of philological study by such scholars as Bergsträsser⁹⁹ and G. R. Driver¹⁰⁰ have given new conceptions not only of the functions of some of the parts of speech but also of their development. Arabic is no longer looked upon as the most primitive of all the tongues of the group, to the phenomena of which all forms should be referred for explanation, but it is now seen that either Akkadian or

possibly South Arabic (Minaean, Sabaean, and Qatabanian), which has many features in common with Akkadian, afford the better starting point for the study of origins.¹⁰¹ Just now the discoveries at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) are bringing to light much new material expressed in a language closely akin to Hebrew and written at an earlier period. This new material, added to the application of the better methods which have already yielded so much, promise even greater progress in the decade just before us.

As one reviews the trends of Old Testament study during the past two decades, he is impressed with the change of emphasis that has been brought about. We have passed from the stage where documents and literary criticism seem of supreme interest to an intensive effort to recover the inner meaning of the different parts of the Old Testament. This effort has been made possible largely through that increased knowledge of the Near East which exploration and archaeological research has made possible. More and more we are coming to see the "situation in life" which called each part of the Old Testament into being. While origins do not explain everything, when one understands the genesis and the development of an idea or a form of devotion, he is better able to understand the condition to which it may minister.

NOTES

¹ Cf. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, London, 1923, pp. 55 and 66.

² See Steuernagle, *Deuteronomium und Josua* in Nowack's *Handkommentar zu alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1900.

³ Sellin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁴ Cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, Tübingen, 1934, p. 234 f.

⁵ Cf. the work cited in the preceding note, pp. 222, 227, 234 f., 258-267.

⁶ Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, Leipzig, 1922, pp. ix and 11 f.

⁷ "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, IV, 1927, pp. 1-138; also issued separately.

⁸ *Einleitung*, p. 147.

⁹ See C. A. Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, New York, 1893, p. 189 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 40 f., and W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *The Hebrew Religion*, New York, 1930, p. 151 f.

¹¹ *Le Decalogue*, Paris, 1927.

¹² See *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, 1934, p. 352 ff.

^{12a} Compare, e. g., Gustav Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922, p. 130, note 6 and Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, 1934, p. 245.

¹³ Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLIII (1924), 294-310.

¹⁴ See the work cited above in note 7.

¹⁵ See "Pre-Israelite Laws in the Book of the Covenant," in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XXXVIII (1921), 36-54.

¹⁶ *Altorientalischer Kommentar zum alten Testament*, Leipzig-Erlangen, 1923.

¹⁷ *Untersuchungen zum Bundesbuch (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom alten und neuen Testament)*, Stuttgart, 1927.

¹⁸ *Das weltliche Recht im alten Testament*, Göttersloh, 1927.

¹⁹ *Israels Rechtleben im Lichte der neuentdeckten assyrischen und hethitischen Gesetzkunden*, Leipzig, 1926.

²⁰ "The Book of the Covenant," I, II, and III, in the *Hebrew Union College Annual*, Cincinnati, Vol. V (1928), 1-151; VII (1930), 19-258; and VIII-IX (1931-2), 1-150.

²¹ Cf. "The Book of the Covenant," II (*HUCA*, VII), 241-253.

²² Cf. "Die Ursprung des israelitischen Rechts," in *Berichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 86, Nr. 1, 1934.

²³ See De Wette's *Dissertatio critica*.

²⁴ *Das deuteronomische Grundgesetz*, 1923.

²⁵ *Das Problem des Deuteronomium. Ein Beitrag zur neuesten Pentateuchkritik*, 1924.

²⁶ *The Code of Deuteronomy*, London, 1924.

²⁷ Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XLVII (1928), 309 ff.

²⁸ See his *Deuteronomy. The Framework to the Code*, London, 1932, and *Post-Exilic Judaism*, London, 1935.

²⁹ *Kritische Geschichte der Religionsideen des alten Testaments*, pp. xxvi, 153 ff., and 305 ff.

³⁰ For a summary of those who held these views see L. B. Paton, *JBL*, XLVII, 322 f.

³¹ "The Code found in the Temple," *JBL*, XXXIX, 44-51.

³² *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue*, Cambridge, 1920.

³³ *ZATW*, XL (1922), 161-255.

³⁴ *ZATW*, XLI (1923), 94-153.

³⁵ *ZDMG*, LXXVII (1923), 220-238.

³⁶ In addition to the articles of Bewer and Paton already cited, see George Dahl, "The Case for the Currently Accepted Date of Deuteronomy," *JBL*, XLVII, 358-379.

³⁷ *The Problem of the Pentateuch, a New Solution by Archaeological Methods*, Oberlin and London, 1920.

³⁸ *Moses and the Monuments, Light from Archaeology on Pentateuchal Times*, Oberlin, 1920.

³⁹ Leipzig, 1923.

⁴⁰ *Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1923-32, I, pp. 22-78.

⁴¹ *Der Gott der Väter*, Stuttgart, 1929.

⁴² Cf. *JBL*, XXXII (1913), 1-53.

⁴³ *The Religion of Israel*, New York, 1918, ch. iii.

⁴⁴ *The Date of the Exodus*, Edinburgh, 1925.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York, 1931, 188.

⁴⁶ New York and London, 1936.

⁴⁷ This is the view of Waterman; see the reference above in n. 15. In the judgment of the present writer it is an untenable view.

⁴⁸ Meek's treatment of the work of Moses and the effect of the covenant on later religious and ethical development in Israel is lacking in insight and is quite inadequate. His rejection of the widely accepted theory of the Kenite origin of Yahweh is accompanied by no adequate theory for the explanation of the facts, and disregards the Biblical evidence on which two generations of leading scholars have built. When (p. 89) he contends that the adoption of Yahweh by the Hebrews as their God had no more significance than the adoption by the Babylonians of a god of another race (Marduk), he ignores entirely the difference between the gradual merging of cults through contact and the lapse of time, and the adoption of a new religion consciously and under circumstances which call forth intense emotion. A much more just and adequate treatment is given in Pythian-Adams's *The Call of Israel*, London, 1934. The volcanic eruption by which Yahweh was believed to have manifested himself made an impression so deep that it formed the core of the national religious consciousness ever after. No theory that overlooks such deeply significant religious facts can offer the real explanation of the origin of Israel's God.

⁴⁹ See G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., 1937, p. 365 ff.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ch. Virolleaud, *La Légende de Keret*, Paris, 1936.

⁵¹ See the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, July, 1937, p. 204.

⁵² For summaries of this literature see Eissfeldt's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1934, pp. 278, 288, 302, and 600.

⁵³ For reasons urged against accepting Torrey's results cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, pp. 369 and 384. On the other hand R. B. Y. Scott and A. T. Olmstead have supported Torrey's contention that Isa. 35 belongs with ch. 40 ff.; cf. *AJSL*, LII (April, 1936), 178-191 and LIII (July, 1937), 251-253. I. Glahan and L. Köhler have written a work entitled *Der Prophet der Heimkehr (Jesaja 40-66)*, (1934), the title of the first

volume of which is *Die Einheit von Kap. 40-66 des Buches Jesaja*, which would indicate that it might advocate a theory kindred to Torrey's, but the book is not accessible to me. I cannot share Torrey's belief that there was no exile and return.

⁵⁴ *Hesekiel* in Nowack's *Handkommentar*.

⁵⁵ G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, 1905.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Hermann, "Ezechielstudien" in *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament*, Nr. 2, 1908 and *Ezechiel* in Sellin's series of commentaries, 1924.

⁵⁷ *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, 1924.

⁵⁸ New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930.

⁵⁹ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*, London, 1931.

⁶⁰ *Ezechielprobleme* (Beihefte ZAW 61), 1932. Cf. also Sellin, *Geschichte*, II, 1932, pp. 33-52.

⁶¹ *Studies in the Book of Ezekiel*, Cambridge University Press, 1935.

⁶² *Hesekiel*, Tübingen, 1936.

⁶³ *Daniel in the International Critical Commentary*, New York and Edinburgh, 1927.

⁶⁴ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Oxford, 1929. For a summary of German works on Daniel see Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, p. 567.

⁶⁵ *Psalmsstudien*, I-V, Kristiana, 1921-24.

⁶⁶ *The Psalms as Liturgies*, New York, 1922.

⁶⁷ *Die Psalmen*, 4te Auf. in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, 1926.

⁶⁸ C. C. Keet and G. H. Box, *A Liturgical Study of the Psalter*, New York, 1928.

⁶⁹ Cf. Gressmann in *Studies in the Psalter*, edited by D. C. Simpson, Oxford, 1926, pp. 13-15.

⁷⁰ They are H. L. Ginsberg (see his *The Ugarit Texts*, Jerusalem, 1936, Appendix), and Theodor Gaster (see *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, July, 1937, p. 210).

⁷¹ See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 324 ff., and G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 7th ed., p. 502 f.

⁷² Edinburgh and New York, 1921.

⁷³ *The Book of Job*, Philadelphia, 1920.

⁷⁴ *The Book of Job*, New York, 1922.

⁷⁵ *The Book of Job*, Oxford, 1922.

⁷⁶ For titles cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung*, p. 505 f.

⁷⁷ Frank Hugh Foster, *AJSL*, XLIX (Oct. 1932), pp. 21-45.

⁷⁸ Cf. *The Teachings of Amen-em-apt, son of Kanecht*, by E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1924. See also G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 6th or 7th ed., Part II, XXIV, § 8 for a citation of literature on the subject.

⁷⁹ *The Book of Proverbs*, New York, 1929, p. xviii f. For parallels to the Book of Proverbs, see Oesterley, p. xlvi f., and Barton as cited in the preceding note.

⁸⁰ *Ecclesiastes*, in the *Inter. Crit. Commentary*.

⁸¹ Harry Ranston, *Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature*, London, 1925.

⁸² *A Gentle Cynic, being the Book of Ecclesiastes*, Philadelphia, 1919, pp. 150-152.

⁸³ See Ranston, *op. cit.* ch. IX.

⁸⁴ *The Song of Songs*, Philadelphia, 1921.

⁸⁵ Leipzig, 1901. Other similar collections are E. Littmann's *Neu-arabische Volkspoesie*, 1902, and that by J. Musil in his *Arabia Petraea*, 1908.

⁸⁶ See *AJSL*, XXXIX (Oct. 1922), pp. 1-14.

⁸⁷ *The Song of Songs, a Symposium*, by M. L. Margolis, J. A. Montgomery, W. W. Hyde, F. Edgerton, T. J. Meek, and W. H. Schoff, Philadelphia, 1924.

⁸⁸ Cf. *ZDMG*, LXXVIII (1924), p. lxxviii f.

⁸⁹ *Einleitung*, p. 534.

⁹⁰ Cf. *JBL*, LIII, 61-78 and *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, pp. 361-364.

⁹¹ Harry Ranston, *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and their Teaching*, London, 1930.

⁹² Princeton University Press, 1936.

⁹³ *Israel's Wisdom Literature, its Bearing on Theology and the History of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1936.

⁹⁴ London, 1926.

⁹⁵ London and Copenhagen, 1926.

⁹⁶ University of Chicago Press, 1936.

⁹⁷ For example, Graham and May, in *Culture and Conscience*, p. 119, question whether a liturgy found at Ras Shamra can be as old as the time of Abraham and Melchizedek on the ground that archaeological evidence shows that the cult of the mother goddess did not enter Palestine until the Hyksos period. They overlook the fact that the *qedasboth* in the text in question are not a part of the cult of the mother goddess, but of the god El. They are "wives of El." In reality anthropological study of mother goddesses reveals them as the oldest cult known. It can be traced back to Neanderthal man. Most of the early male divinities developed out of this cult. From it they brought into the cults of masculine deities consecrated women who represented the fertility aspect of the cult out of which the male deity had evolved. Such "wives of El" were perennial in such cults. The evidence they adduce does not, therefore, justify the conclusion drawn.

⁹⁸ London, 1933.

⁹⁹ *Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen*.

¹⁰⁰ *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, Edinburgh and New York, 1936.

¹⁰¹ Cf. G. A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins*, p. 28 f.

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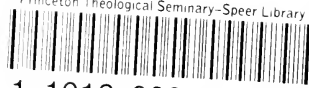


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