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A PRIMER OF THE BIBLE

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A

PRIMER OF THE BIBLE

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PREFACE

THE object of this Primer is to sketch, in the light of recent criticism, the history of the Bible; the composition of the books—as far as possible in chronological order; their relations to one another, and to the history of Israel, of Judaism, and of the Church; and the process by which they were chosen, collected, and set apart as Sacred Scriptures. In order to furnish a clear and intelligible outline of the subject, its treatment has been limited in two important directions. First, alternative theories are only referred to when they are based on the same general principles of criticism as those assumed in the Primer. An attempt to compare, in this little work, the opposing views of radically different schools would have only led to obscurity and confusion. Secondly, facts which must be familiar to anyone who is likely to read this work, are only referred to when some mention of them is necessary to make the treatment of a subject clear, continuous, and complete.

My obligations to the various standard works on the subject are far too manifold to be indicated in detail; and the works themselves are, for the most part, too well known to need enumerating. References are occasionally given in notes either to enable the reader to verify a statement, or to give an authority for a view which is not necessarily endorsed. Moreover, the book deals with a wide range, and includes subjects, especially in the New Testament, of which I have not been able to make any adequate inde-

pendent investigation. In such cases, the views advanced are those which seem to me to be dominant in current criticism.

A bibliography of this subject would occupy a larger volume than the present. I may mention as commentaries for English readers: *The Expositor's Bible*; *The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*; *Bishop Ellicott's O.T. Commentary for English Readers*, *and N.T. Commentary for English Readers*; and the volumes on Books of the Bible in *Handbooks for Bible Classes*, *etc.*, edited by *Prof. Marcus Dods* and *Dr Whyte*. Very full bibliographies of works on the books of the O.T. are given in *Dr C. H. H. Wright's Introduction to the O.T.*, and *Dr Driver's Introduction to the Literature of the O.T.* *Dr Cave's Introduction to Theology and its Literature* contains a very complete bibliography of the Bible and all connected studies.

I am indebted to the Rev. T. H. Darlow, M.A., for a careful reading of the proof-sheets and many valuable suggestions.

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A PRIMER OF THE BIBLE

PART I.—OLD TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Few doctrines have been more emphasized in recent years than that of the true character of the unity of the Bible. It is spiritual not mechanical. Though bound up in a single volume and called the "Bible," it is a collection of separate works, written by different authors at different dates. Doubtless even yet the concrete facts of name and binding make many readers oblivious of less obvious truths and exert some influence on all. But students endeavour to understand a passage in the light of the date and circumstances of its composition. The method is clearly essential in the case of the Old Testament, a collection of works written by a multiplicity of known and unknown authors, in the course of many centuries. But in applying this method, the table of contents of an English Bible is not a safe guide to the division of the Old Testament into its constituent works. We cannot take Numbers or Proverbs as a single complete work, so as to treat Numbers by itself or Proverbs as a homogeneous whole. Numbers is a mere mechanical division of the Pentateuch; Proverbs is avowedly an

Unity of O. T.

aggregate of different collections of wise sayings. Criticism has shown that the intimate relations of Numbers to the rest of the Pentateuch and the composite character of Proverbs illustrate characteristics very widely prevalent in the Old Testament.

To begin with the latter. In addition to Proverbs, the Psalter is avowedly a collection of works by different authors. Both therefore illustrate the practice of collecting into a single book under a single title distinct works by different authors. Hence it is maintained that the works now known under the titles of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, Zechariah, Job are similar collections.

Composite Character of O. T. Books.

The composition of the historical books is more complex. A modern historian studies his authorities, weighs conflicting evidence, combines information from various sources and thus reconstructs the nature, sequence and relation of events. His history is the homogeneous work of a single mind and rests primarily on the authority of its author. Its accuracy depends partly on the sources open to him; partly on his industry, honesty, intelligence and imagination. In the "Short History of the English People" the ordinary reader has simply the authority of Prof. Green. In larger works, such as those of Gardiner and Froude, the author not only gives his own reconstruction of the history, but annotates it with references to and extracts from his authorities. Here, therefore, the reader has not only the judgment of the modern historian but the ancient authorities on which it is based. An Old Testament History is roughly equivalent to the notes of such a work without the text. The historian did not usually attempt any reconstruction of history. He selected the more important passages of

his authorities and made a rough mosaic of them. He preferred to use these passages unaltered, but was constantly compelled to add or modify and still more frequently to omit. These changes enabled him to express his judgment as to past history. The method is, of course, not confined to the Old Testament. The best known example is the Synoptic Gospels where a comparison of the three shows that a large proportion of Matthew and Luke consists of material taken over from other sources with little or no alteration. Similarly, in the Old Testament, the composite character of the Books of Chronicles is at once manifest when they are compared with the other books of the Old Testament. Chronicles includes material borrowed verbally from the Pentateuch, Joshua, Ruth, and, especially, Samuel and Kings. This is combined with the author's additions or with sections from other works in the most intricate fashion. In the following passage, 2 Chronicles xxxiv. 8-12, the words in italics are the Chronicler's additions, etc., to the narrative in 2 Kings, xxii. 3-7. The material from Kings is in ordinary type.

"Now in the eighteenth year *of his reign*,[1] *when he had purged the land, and the house, he*[2] sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah,[3] *and Maaseiah the governor of the city, and Joah the son of Joahaz the recorder*, to *repair* the house of the Lord his God. *And they came*[4] to Hilkiah the high priest, *and delivered*[5] the money that was brought into the house of *God*,[6] which *the Levites*, the keepers of the door, had gathered *of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and*

[1] *Kings*, of King Josiah. [2] *Kings*, the king.
[3] *Kings adds* the son of Meshullam the scribe.
[4] *Kings*, saying, Go up to. [5] *Kings*, that he may sum.
[6] *Kings*, Jehovah.

of all the remnant of Israel and of all Judah and Benjamin, and of the inhabitants of Jerusalem.[1] And they delivered it into the hand of the workmen that had the oversight of the house of the Lord; and the workmen that wrought in the house of the Lord gave it *to amend* and repair[2] the house: even to the carpenters and to the builders[3] gave they it, to buy hewn stone, and timber *for couplings, and to make beams for the houses which the kings of Judah had destroyed. And the men* did the work faithfully:[4] *and the overseers of them were Jahath and Obadiah, the Levites, of the sons of Merari: and Zechariah and Meshullam, of the sons of the Kohathites, to set it forward: and other of the Levites, all that could skill of instruments of music"* (R.V.).

This example specially illustrates the way in which intricate changes and additions are made upon a foundation of ancient narrative, portions of which still survive unaltered. Elsewhere the Chronicler gives long passages from his source with very slight alteration. For instance 2 Chron. xviii., containing 34 verses is almost entirely a verbal reproduction of 1 Kings xxii. 1-35. A careful examination of the Pentateuch and other historical books has shown that they use earlier sources in a similar fashion. In the latter instances, unfortunately, we have not, as in Chronicles, any of the earlier sources still extant with which to compare

[1] *Kings*, of the people.

[2] *Kings has—repair* the breaches *of the house.*

[3] *Kings adds*—and to the masons.

[4] Abbreviated from 2 Kings xxii. 7. "Howbeit there was no reckoning made with them of the money that was delivered into their hand, because they dealt faithfully." *N.B.* Some minor difference, transpositions, etc., have been neglected for the sake of clearness. Most of the passage is a speech in Kings, but in the latter part the transformation to narrative is merely a matter of vowel points; which, of course, were absent from the Chronicler's MS.

the later history; but a careful comparison of parallel narratives of the same event, and of different parts of books has enabled critics to discern the existence of separate sources, to determine the character of these sources, and, to some extent, to ascertain to which source each passage is to be referred. Obviously, however, the assignment of sections to definite sources is only possible to a limited extent and with a margin of uncertainty. We shall return to this subject in dealing with the historical books and the Pentateuch.

The mention of the latter reminds us that its contents are largely legislation; it includes collections of legal ordinances and forms a national statute-book. Such a work is composite, according to universal analogy. A statute-book is an aggregation of laws of all ages, and is necessarily added to and modified as time goes on. Primitive maxims and modern glosses stand side by side, and obsolete laws still remain in the statute-book together with the later enactments by which they have been superseded. All this is true of the Pentateuch.

Other factors which determined the composite character of our Old Testament books were anonymity and transcription. In our present Bibles, most of the historical and poetical books are anonymous; the titles refer to the contents and not to the authors. There is no reason to doubt that the older works upon which these were based were, for the most part, anonymous. We think of a book as a piece of personal property, upon which the reputation of the author is staked. It must, therefore, be reproduced unaltered; or if any changes are made, they must be carefully and exactly indicated. No such ideas hampered the editors of Hebrew history or poetry. They were concerned that their readers should possess the best and

most edifying narratives, and handled their materials accordingly. An ancient history was not a literary work to be carefully kept separate as a finished product, and transmitted unaltered, but a nucleus round which supplementary material collected.

Transcription necessarily tended to modify the books copied and even to introduce new material. After the Christian era, the Jews guarded against modifications by copyists with most sedulous care and with almost entire success. But in the earlier periods no such precautions were taken. A comparison of the Masoretic Text with the LXX, and of passages which occur more than once in the Old Testament with each other, shows that the transmission of the books involved the usual results of copying. Printing produces a large number of identical copies, changes can only be introduced at each reprint; but when manuscripts are copied, each transcription is an opportunity for introducing changes, and more or less use is generally made of the opportunity. Each copy is in some measure a new edition. Moreover the possessor of a manuscript often made corrections of his own, wrote explanations of words and phrases between the lines or on the margin, and used the margins and other blank spaces to note down illustrations of the text, or additional information on its subject, or even entirely foreign matter. When parchment was dear and scarce, a blank page at the end of a manuscript would naturally be filled with anything the owner wished to preserve. An anonymous poem or prophecy would fittingly follow a MS. of Zechariah or Habakkuk. No special care was usually taken to distinguish additions from the original text. Even when additions were indicated by distinguishing marks,—as in Origen's Hexapla —they were constantly omitted in copying. Thus, in

transcription, interpretations, illustrations and appendices were apt to be combined with the original text. In view, therefore, of the anonymity of ancient works; of transmission by copying; of the writing of history by reproducing and supplementing older sources; and of the collection of works of the same character into single books, we must expect to find material by different authors and of different dates side by side in the same books and even in the same chapters.

The previous paragraphs seem to reduce the mechanical unity of the Old Testament to a minimum. But compensation may be found in the numerous and close relations between different books. If Genesis is resolved into three documents, these documents are traced not only throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua, but even in other historical books. Similarly the editors of Deuteronomy seem to have re-edited most of the earlier historical books. Joshua and the Pentateuch form a single work, as do Chronicles, Nehemiah and Ezra. Outside of the Prophetical Books scarcely anything is known of individual authors; but large groups of books have all passed in succession through the hands of the same schools. Each draws its earliest material from similar ancient sources, and embodies ideas of successive schools of Hebrew thought. They are like a group of ancient buildings, each of which has been added to and repaired by many subsequent generations. Each has its own individuality, and yet together they constitute a monument of national life.

It follows from what we have said that we cannot begin a study of the Bible with our books, as they stand. Its history is much more ancient. Most of the books contain material centuries older than the date at which they assumed their present form. We must therefore make

some attempt to indicate the nature of these ancient sources. But first, we must note that the history of the Old Testament goes even further back. It is not merely a religious text-book, it is the extant literature of a nation. As such the Hebrew Scriptures are the outcome of the whole national life of Israel. Prof. G. A. Smith has said that "religion is history—the freedom of the people and their education, the winning of the land and the defeat of the heathen foe; and then, when the land is firm and the home secure, it is the raising, upon that stage and shelter, of spiritual guides and examples."[1] Thus the Revelation to Israel began with its first experiences of the dealings of Divine Providence, perhaps long before any letter of the Old Testament was written. If we had sufficient knowledge, the sources of much Old Testament teaching might be traced to these ancient days, or even further back to the very beginning of Semitic history, in persons and events almost or entirely forgotten, in traditions and customs forms of which are still preserved in proverbs and snatches of ancient song embedded in the sacred pages. The next stage of the development of the Old Testament is found in the documents used by our books. Neglecting, for the present, the controversy about Joel, the earliest of our present books are the Prophets of the Eighth Century—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. Not that even these existed then exactly as they stand in our Bibles, but that the works of these prophets as then published—to borrow a modern term—are included in the books which now bear their names. We propose now to consider the other documents earlier than about B.C. 700.

Ancient Sources.

In the first place we have a group of lyrics. Amongst

[1] "The Twelve Prophets," p. 138.

these the earliest date is often assigned to the Song of Deborah, Judges v. This lyric celebrates the victory of a confederation of Israelite tribes under Deborah and Barak over the Northern Canaanites under Sisera, and is generally regarded as composed soon after that event.[1] Similarly the elegies for Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. i. 17 and for Abner, 2 Sam. iii. 33, are usually ascribed to David. The Sword-Song of Lamech, Gen. iv. 23, 24, celebrating the invention of weapons; and Noah's utterance concerning his sons, Gen. ix. 25-27, are probably very ancient, but there is no agreement as to their exact date. Other lyrical fragments are the quotation from the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, Num. xxi. 14, 15; the Song of the Well, Num. xxi. 17, 18; the Song of Triumph over Moab, Num. xxi. 27—30, quoted as recited by those "who speak in proverbs";[2] Joshua's address to the Sun and Moon at Aijalon, Josh. x. 12, 13, quoted from the Book of Jashar; and Solomon's utterance at the Dedication of the Temple, 1 Kings viii. 12, quoted from the Book of Jashar, according to the text used by the LXX. Nothing more is known of the Book of the Wars of the Lord and the Book of Jashar than what is indicated by these quotations, but they were apparently collections of popular poems, from which some of the other fragments may have been derived. The Book of Jashar is clearly later than the building of Solomon's Temple, and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah than the Conquest of Palestine; but they would contain older poems. Probably other similar collections were in existence and may be the source of some of the extant lyrics, and the basis of narratives contained in the historical books. Longer Lyrics contained in the Pentateuch are the Blessing of Jacob,

[1] Kautzsch, B.C. 1250.

[2] ham-moshelim; probably reciters of traditional songs.

Gen. xlix., 1-27; Moses' Song at the Red Sea, Exodus xv.; Balaam's Prophecies, Num. xxiii. and xxiv.; the Song of Moses, Dt. xxxii., and the Blessing of Moses, Dt. xxxiii. The Song of Triumph at the Red Sea is held by Dillmann to be based on a Mosaic original; but in its present form can scarcely be older than the time of Solomon. Balaam's Prophecies are a series of seven oracles concerning the glory of Israel and the humiliation of neighbouring tribes. The first four are referred to the time of David and Solomon; the last three—on Amalek, the Kenites and the Assyrians, are perhaps a later addition. The Song of Moses is a historical Psalm recounting the mercies of Jehovah and the unfaithfulness of Israel. It may be as early as the eighth century, though it is often placed later. The Blessing of Jacob and the Blessing of Moses are two poems of similar character. Each contains a series of oracles concerning the tribes of Israel. The Blessing of Jacob is the earlier; Judah and Joseph are pre-eminent and there is no hint that Levi is a sacerdotal tribe. It is usually referred to the period of the United Monarchy. In the Blessing of Moses there is no mention of Simeon; and Judah is treated with scant respect. Stress is laid on the priestly character of Levi and the prowess of Gad, but the premier tribe is clearly Joseph. The Blessing is ascribed to the flourishing period of the Northern Monarchy. Besides these poems there can be little doubt that the Psalter includes later editions of poems of the earliest period of Hebrew literature, but it is almost impossible to identify these with any certainty.[1] This is also true of some of the contents of the Book of Proverbs.

We have now to consider the documents upon which the historical works are based. A Book of Judges containing

[1] *Cf.* the section on the Psalter.

Sources of Historical Books.

accounts of the "Greater Judges," Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson, seems to have been composed during the early monarchy—according to Kautzsch about B.C. 920. The work from which the statements concerning the "Lesser Judges,"—Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon,—are taken is probably somewhat later. To the time of Solomon or Rehoboam is referred an ancient history of David composed in Judah, probably at Jerusalem, containing 2 Sam. vi., the Bringing of the Ark to Zion and 2 Sam. ix.-xx., the war against Ammon, the Murder of Uriah, etc., the history of Amnon, Tamar and Absalom. Somewhat later we have other histories of Samuel, David, and Saul from which most of the rest of the books of Samuel and 1 Kings i., ii. is taken; and later still the Elijah and Elisha narratives.

J and E.

We now come to the two great works,—often called the two Prophetic Narratives,—which were the main sources of the more ancient material of the Hexateuch. Both these narratives were in existence before B.C. 750, though they were probably modified and supplemented before they ceased to exist as separate works. On the other hand they cannot be earlier than the Monarchy; though, they in their turn, probably rest upon older sources. In fact they are two brief, anecdotal histories of Israel, extending from patriarchal times, as far perhaps as the monarchy. To a considerable extent, they cover the same ground and give alternative versions of the same stories. Hence they are evidently the termini of two diverging lines of tradition, which started originally from the same ancient source. Both belong to the pre-Deuteronomic, pre-Prophetic stage of the religion of Israel when the people worshipped with a clear conscience at the many

shrines—Bethel, Hebron, etc., consecrated by ancient associations with the Patriarchs. Both display a fresh and child-like interest in popular narratives; religious and didactic elements are sufficiently conspicuous, but there is also an obvious enjoyment of the dramatic aspects of life and history. Their relative priority, and the possibility that one is in some measure dependent upon the other, are still matters of controversy.

Unfortunately, no suitable names have yet been given to these narratives. One of them is called the Jehovistic Document, because it is the only document which uses the Divine Name Jehovah, before it was revealed to Moses in Exodus iii. 14, 15. Hence it is usually denoted by the symbol J. It has sometimes been called the Judæan Narrative, because it has often been supposed to have been composed in Judah; but according to others it originated in the Northern Kingdom. This narrative begins with the Creation and after giving accounts of the Fall, Flood, etc., traces the history of the Patriarchs, the Bondage in Egypt, the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. It even extends beyond the Hexateuch.[1] Judges i. is mainly identical with parts of Joshua, which belong to this document. Possibly other sections of Judges are derived from J. Similarly the Judæan history of David, 2 Sam. vi., ix.-xx., and some of the other sources of the Books of Samuel are regarded by some critics as sections of J.

J.

J is remarkable for its free use of anthropomorphism, *e.g.*, Jehovah *walks* in Eden, Gen. iii. 8 and *makes skin-coats* for Adam and Eve, Gen. iii. 21. It excels in picturesque narrative, *e.g.*, the account of the Destruction

[1] *i.e.*, Pentateuch + Joshua, which being a single work are most conveniently denoted by a single name.

of Sodom and the angelic mission to Abraham and Lot, Gen. xviii., xix. Its narratives of the Fall and the Flood show the same deep sense of the ethical nature of religion which we find in the prophets. J has also many peculiarities of style and vocabulary, the most striking of which is the use of Jehovah in Genesis, already mentioned.

The other prophetic narrative is the Elohistic Document, so called becauses it uses the Divine Name Elohim until the name Jehovah is revealed. It is denoted by the symbol E. It is sometimes called the Second Elohistic Document to distinguish it from another document which uses Elohim in the same way, and which was at one time supposed to be more ancient than E. The Elohistic Document was composed in the Northern Kingdom. Hence in its history of the Conquest special prominence is given to Joshua, the hero of Ephraim. It cannot be certainly traced earlier than Gen. xx.,—Abraham and Abimelech. It carries the history forward from that point not only to the conclusion of the Conquest, but possibly even to the times of Elijah and Elisha. It has been supposed that E incorporated in its work the history of the "Greater Judges" mentioned above. The narrative of the Philistines and the Ark, 1 Sam. iv.-viii., has often been referred to E; and, less frequently some of the other sources used in 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 Kings i., ii. Later paragraphs of Kings have also been ascribed to E.

E

E also has its peculiar style and vocabulary, of which its use of Elohim is an example. The Elohist frequently records revelations by means of dreams, Gen. xx. 3, etc. His interest in the prophetic movement is shown by his speaking of Abraham as a prophet, Gen. xx. 7. The absence of the name Jehovah from E in Genesis, the avoidance of anthropomorphism, combine with other features to

indicate a less simple and primitive doctrine of God than that of J.

So far we have been speaking of the narratives in J and E. There is also a legislative code, which is referred sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, *namely*, the *Book of the Covenant*, Exodus xx. 24—xxiii. 19. This code probably existed before the composition of J and E, though it is usually supposed to have been incorporated in one or other of them, most probably E. This code consists chiefly of laws for the protection of persons and property, but it also ordains the observance of the Sabbath and of the three great feasts. Like the narratives it recognises the legitimacy of the local sanctuaries—"An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me . . . in all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee," Exodus xx. 24. Another ancient code incorporated by E is the Decalogue, Exodus xx. 1-17. J also has a brief legislative section, Exodus xxxiv. 10-28, the contents of which are similar to parts of the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue. These codes are Mosaic, in the sense, that they are probably connected with Moses by a continuous tradition, and embody material and express principles derived from his teaching. The Prophetic Narratives had also incorporated some of the ancient poems already mentioned.

Thus taking our stand at the beginning of the period of the canonical prophets, we find important portions of the Old Testament already in existence though not in their present setting,—poems celebrating the victories won by Israel through the help of Jehovah; patriarchal narratives with their vivid reminiscences of the ancient nomadic life of Israel; brief annals of the prowess of Hebrew warriors, and of the glories and intrigues of the royal court; wise

saws and modern instances of the popular wisdom of Israel; and the concise maxims of its primitive law. Already more than one author had sought to construct out of this material a national history.

In closing this chapter we must try to guard against two possible misunderstandings. We must not forget that early Hebrew literature was not confined to what has been preserved in our Old Testament. Much similar material must have perished. Moreover the primitive literature cannot be judged by what has survived. The contents of the Old Testament have been determined by a long process of careful selection. Under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, successive editors excluded or eliminated what was inconsistent with a fuller Revelation. The prophetic narratives selected from and modified the material at their disposal, and have themselves been subjected to a similar process.

Again, it is convenient to use the term "Prophetic Narratives" for J and E because there is no other so well-established; but it must not, of course, be understood to mean that the canonical or any other prophets were directly concerned in their composition. These narratives are largely pre-prophetic, and are only prophetic (1) as representing those higher elements of the primitive religion which formed the starting point of the prophetic teaching: and (2) as belonging to an early stage of that great ethical and spiritual movement of which the prophets were the chief exponents. The name "prophetic" was given to these narratives, chiefly to emphasize the contrast between them and the later document, which was composed under sacerdotal influence—the Priestly Code.

CHAPTER II

THE PROPHETS OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY—AMOS, HOSEA, ISAIAH, AND MICAH

We have reached a point at which we have to deal with some of the books in the form in which we now have them,—at any rate in some measure. There is one limitation, already referred to,[1] of which we venture to remind the reader. It should be borne in mind throughout. Even when a book is extant substantially in the form given to it by its author, it is always probable that the text includes explanatory and other notes added by editors and scribes. Obviously, only a few of the longer and more important of such additions can be noticed in this volume.

Here too we may conveniently make, once for all, a statement which applies to almost all the books of the Old Testament. We know nothing about the books or their authors except what can be gathered from the books themselves, carefully studied in the light of the other books of the Old Testament, of contemporary history of other nations, and of comparative philology, sociology and religion. Rabbinical and patristic statements seem for the most part to be simply deductions, often very uncritical, from parts of the evidence now extant. These authorities were at a disadvantage both in knowledge of the data, and in critical method as compared with modern

[1] See page 6.

scholars. Doubtless they had some relevant information which we no longer possess; but there is nothing to indicate that it would have materially affected the criticism of the Old Testament.

No sharp chronological line can be drawn between the literature dealt with in the previous chapter and the earliest canonical prophets. Literature of the older type and spirit continued to be produced and transmitted after the prophets began to record their utterances. Nevertheless the new departure marked a radical change in the religion of Israel. The older writings breathe a spirit of proud and grateful exultation in the glory and prosperity which Jehovah has granted to Israel; the nation and its God are firmly united in mutual confidence and devotion. The burden of the prophets is that Israel has alienated Jehovah by its sins and must suffer condign punishment. The first representative of this new prophecy is Amos.

Amos prophesied in the reign of Jeroboam II., whose victories had raised Israel to a glory and prosperity almost equal to those of the days of Solomon. He tells us, vii. 14, that he had no connection with the established order of professional prophets, but was "a herdman and dresser of sycamore trees," a peasant of Tekoa, i. 1, in Judah, six miles south of Bethlehem. Though a Judæan his mission was to the Northern Kingdom. Jehovah "took him from following the flock, and said unto him, Go, prophesy unto my people," vii. 15. He appeared at the royal sanctuary of Bethel and announced that "Jeroboam should die by the sword and Israel be led captive out of his land," vii. 11. Amaziah, high priest of Bethel, drove him away, and the prophet departed, reiterating his threats against Israel,

Amos, cir. B.C. 750.

and adding others against Amaziah and his family. The utterance concerning Jeroboam and Israel is the key-note of the book. The prophecies are in three sections (*a*) i., ii. ; (*b*) iii.-vi. ; (*c*) vii.-ix.

(*a*) i., ii. introduces a feature found in most of the prophetical books—a series of oracles concerning foreign nations. The sins of Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab, and Judah[1] are in turn denounced, and they are threatened with punishment. These paragraphs lead up to a similar denunciation of Israel. The nation is to be destroyed, because its rulers and nobles have oppressed the poor and lived evil lives, while they sought to propitiate Jehovah by a profuse ritual.

(*b*) iii.-vi. insists with greater length and circumstantial detail on the theme of the last sentence. Amos attacks the popular faith that Jehovah was necessarily the Champion of Israel. As it is, the relation between the nation and its God will bring about—not championship—but chastisement : "You only have I known of all the families of the earth : therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities," iii. 2. The "Day of Jehovah" would bring Israel ruin and not triumph ; "The Day of Jehovah is darkness and not light," v. 18. As the immoral ritualism of Israel had been associated with the high-places, the local sanctuaries of Israel, and their worship had become corrupt, Amos attacks them and denounces Bethel, Gilgal, Beersheba, Dan and Samaria.

(*c*) vii.-ix. chiefly consists of visions ; locusts, a devouring fire, a plumb-line, a basket of summer fruit illustrate the divine judgments ; and in ix. 1-6 the prophet sees Jehovah Himself standing by the altar and superintending

[1] ii. 4, 5, with the other references to Judah—"in Zion" vi. 1 ; ix. 11, 12, are sometimes held to be later additions.

the punishment of His people. The account of the visions is interrupted by the episode of the prophet's collision with Amaziah, which perhaps arose out of a public description and application of the visions.

The book closes, ix. 7-15, with a prophecy of the ultimate restoration of Israel; which however is often held to be a later addition. Amongst other passages as to which similar views are held, we may mention the three quasi-doxologies, which describe the glory of God as Creator and Ruler of Nature and Man, "For, lo, he that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought, and maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth upon the high-places of the earth; Jehovah, God of Hosts is his name," iv. 13; v. 8, 9; ix. 5, 6.

Hosea, cir. 745-735.

Nothing is said as to Hosea's birth-place, social status or occupation; we are not even told whether he belonged to Israel or Judah; but the whole tenor of the book conclusively establishes the current theory that he was a citizen of the Northern Kingdom. He displays an intimate acquaintance with its social condition, and is moved to deep emotion by its impending misery. Moreover "our king," vii. 5, must clearly refer to a king of Israel. Hosea's mission must be dated somewhat later than that of Amos. When Amos visited Bethel, the prosperity of Israel was still unbroken, but in Hosea's time the anarchy and ruin which culminated in the Fall of Samaria had already begun. Hence his prophecies will fall in the last years of Jeroboam II. and in the reigns of his successors.

The book is in two sections, (*a*) i.-iii., (*b*) iv.-xiv. From (*a*) it appears that Hosea's wife had been unfaithful to him, and this experience is used as an allegory of the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jehovah. The nation had deserted

its husband, its true God, for lovers, the Baalim or false gods, and must therefore be punished; but the punishment will lead to repentance and restoration. It has often been maintained that the adultery of Hosea's wife is merely an allegory, and had no basis in fact; but this scarcely seems probable. On the other hand we need not suppose that all the statements which seem to refer to Hosea's family life are to be taken literally.

(*b*) iv.-xiv. is fragmentary and wanting in consecutiveness. Like Amos, Hosea denounces the combination of immorality and ritualism, and the high-places with which the latter was associated,—Bethel, Gilead and Gilgal; and attacks the nobles—Hosea especially mentions the priests—for their cruelty and oppression. Hosea also dwells on the idolatry of Israel, iv. 17, and condemns the policy of alliance with Egypt or Assyria, vii. 11. Israel is to be carried captive to Egypt and Assyria, ix. 3. We have already seen that the restoration of Israel is implied in (*a*), similar teaching is found in xiv.; but this chapter, and most of the references to Judah, *e.g.*, i. 7; i. 11—ii. 1; "David their King" in iii. 5; iv. 15; vi. 11—vii. 1; viii. 14, are often held to be later additions.

Isaiah's prophetic ministry was exercised at Jerusalem, of which he was probably a native. He was married; and two sons are mentioned as having been born to him during his ministry. Like Elisha in Israel, Isaiah in Judah constantly sought to control the home and foreign policy of the government, and was the chief power in the state during parts of Hezekiah's reign. Isaiah received his prophetic call in the last year of Uzziah's reign; the period of his ministry embraced the attack of Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria upon Ahaz; the deliverance of

Isaiah, cir. B.C. 740-690.

Ahaz through the intervention of Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria; the Fall of Samaria; the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib by the annihilation of the Assyrian army.

Isaiah's extant prophecies are contained in the following portions of our Book of Isaiah—i.-xi., xiv. 24—xxiii., xxviii.-xxxiii., xxxvii. 22-35; and may be summarised thus:—

I. *Prophecies before the Fall of Samaria.*

(*a*) Chap. vi. narrates the Call of Isaiah in "the year that King Uzziah died," and his vision of Jehovah and the Seraphim. The terms of the prophet's commission, 9-13, set forth some of the chief points of his teaching—appeals to a perverse people, who hardened their hearts under exhortation; the impending ruin of Judah; the salvation of a pious remnant; Jehovah's holiness, *i.e.*, His unique deity; and His glory, *i.e.*, His manifestation in Nature.

(*b*) Chapters ii-v., ix. 8—x. 4, xvii. 1-11, belong to the period before Rezin and Pekah attacked Ahaz. At this time Judah enjoyed great power and prosperity and had probably profited by the decline of the Northern Kingdom after the death of Jeroboam II.

α ii. 1-5 describes the exaltation of Zion as a central sanctuary and source of Revelation for the whole world. Verses 2-4 also occur as Micah iv. 1-3. Opinions are divided as to whether they were borrowed by both Isaiah and Micah from an older prophet; or composed by Isaiah; or composed by Micah; or are a later addition to both Isaiah and Micah.

β ii. 6—iv. 1 are very similar in spirit to the utterances of Amos and Hosea. The prophet denounces the insolent pride, engendered by prosperity, the cruelty and oppression

of the nobles, the superstition and idolatry on which their wealth had been squandered. He predicts the utter overthrow of all that is "high and lifted up" and of the nation itself. He specially denounces the ladies of Jerusalem.

γ iv. 2-6 describes the salvation of the Remnant in a purified Jerusalem. The section is often regarded as post-exilic.

δ v. 1-7 Judah the unfruitful vineyard of Jehovah which is to be laid waste.

ϵ v. 8-30, ix. 8—x. 4. A series of woes against those who are guilty of pride, oppression and debauchery; v. 8-24 seem addressed to Judah, while ix. 8—x. 4 deal with Israel. The latter section is in four strophes, each ending with the refrain, "For all this his anger is not turned away, but his hand is stretched out still." This refrain also closes v. 25, and perhaps indicates that v. 20-25 should be connected with ix. 8—x. 4: but the refrain in v. 25 may be an editorial addition. Cheyne regards v. 26-30 as the concluding strophe of ix. 7—x. 4.

ζ xvii. 1-11 probably uttered when Rezin and Pekah were menacing Judah, prophesy the overthrow of Damascus and Samaria, and the salvation of a remnant in Israel.

(*c*) Chapters vii.-ix. 7 are in the form of a narrative, and belong to the period of the war against Rezin and Pekah; chap. vii.—written in the third person—tells how Isaiah sought in vain to dissuade Ahaz from the Assyrian alliance; and prophesied to him the desolation of Judah by the Assyrians. Chapters viii. 1—ix. 7 are in the first person, and mainly pursue the same topic; but they also announce the overthrow of Pekah and Rezin by the Assyrians. Section (*b*) includes the two Messianic prophecies, the coming of Emmanuel, vii. 14, and of the

Royal Deliverer, "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace," ix. 6, 7.

(*d*) Chapter xxviii. 1-13, denounces the pride, folly and immorality of the Northern Kingdom, and shows how obstinate rejection of Jehovah's gracious invitations would lead to ruin. As nothing is said about Damascus, this section is probably later than the preceding, and belongs to the last days of the Kingdom of Israel.

II. *Prophecies of the wars with Assyria.*

Isaiah had already had occasion to speak of the Assyrians, as unholy allies for Judah, and as agents of Jehovah's chastisement alike of Israel and Judah. This group of prophecies is specially concerned with the relations of Judah and Assyria. At times Judah was the subject ally of Assyria, at others she became rebellious and had to bear the brunt of Assyrian invasion. We have only very incomplete information as to either the attitude of Judah, or the Assyrian campaigns. We know that Sargon King of Assyria, was in Palestine in B.C. 720 and B.C. 711. The evidence at present available does not point to any invasion of Judah by Sargon,[1] but his campaigns against the neighbouring Philistine cities awakened much anxious interest in Judah; they are stated to have been the occasion of some of Isaiah's prophecies and may have suggested others. But Sennacherib in B.C. 701 ravaged the country, took many of the fortresses and menaced Jerusalem, which was only delivered by the annihilation of the Assyrian army. It is not always easy to determine whether prophecies referring to Assyrian inva-

[1] Cheyne, Introduction to Isaiah, p. 217.

sions were suggested by the campaigns of Sargon or by those of Sennacherib.

(*a*) Chapter xx. is a prophecy that the Assyrians should lead captive the Egyptians and Ethiopians. It is referred by its title to the year of the Assyrian campaign against Ashdod, which we know from Assyrian monuments to have taken place in B.C. 711.

(*b*) The Assyrian campaigns were called forth by the revolt of confederations of subject-allies, instigated by Egypt. Hence they were the occasion of many utterances concerning the neighbours of Israel in addition to (*a*). It is mostly doubtful with which invasion these utterances were specially connected.

α xiv. 28-32 prophesies the ruin of Philistia. Zion shall be a safe refuge.

β xv., xvi. prophesies the ruin of Moab. It is remarkable for its deep sympathy with the doomed people, who are apparently invited to take refuge in Palestine, xvi. 2. These two chapters are generally regarded as an ancient prophecy, which Isaiah repeated in a form adapted to his own time. Jeremiah xlviii. is also based upon it.

γ xviii. prophesies the ruin of Ethiopia. It is generally connected with the invasion of Sennacherib. Verse 7 which anticipates the submission of Ethiopia to Jehovah is perhaps a post-exilic addition (Cheyne).

δ xix. falls into two parts. Verses 1-17 prophesy the utter ruin of Egypt. Verses 18-22 speak of five cities in Egypt which shall worship Jehovah, and of an altar and sacred pillar (*maṣṣeba*) to Him in Egypt. Verses 23-25 place Egypt and Assyria on the same level as Israel as the chosen people of Jehovah. "Whom Jehovah Sabaoth shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance,"

25. The Isaianic authorship of chap. xix. and especially of verses 18-25 is often challenged.

ϵ xxi. 1-10, "The Burden of the Wilderness of the Sea," is a vision of the Fall of Babylon, in which the prophet's sympathies are with Babylon. It may refer to one of the sieges of the city by Sargon and Sennacherib, when it was held against Assyria by Merodach-Baladan, Hezekiah's ally. Many critics however connect it with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, and regard it as exilic.

ζ xxi. 11, 12, "The burden of Dumah" is an obscure oracle concerning Edom.

η xxi. 13-17, "The Burden upon Arabia" predicts the ruin of the Bnê Kedar, the nomads of Northern Arabia.

θ xxiii. "The Burden of Tyre." The nations who profit by the world-wide commerce of Tyre are called upon to lament her coming overthrow. Verses 15-18 announcing the restoration of Tyre after seventy years are often regarded as a later addition.

(*c*) Similarly there is no general agreement as to the precise occasion of some of the prophecies dealing with the relations of Judah and Assyria.

α x. 5-27, the Assyrians were merely the instruments of God's purpose, "the rod of mine anger"; but they attributed their victories to their own strength, and defied Jehovah. "Shall the axe boast itself against him that heweth herewith?" Hence they would be defeated and Judah delivered.

β xiv. 24-27, announces the divine purpose that a catastrophe shall overtake the Assyrians in Judah. It has sometimes been regarded as the original conclusion of x. 5-15; x. 16-27 being a later addition, based, however, on utterances of Isaiah.

γ x. 28-34 vividly depict the terror caused along the

route of an Assyrian march upon Jerusalem from the north; verses 33, 34 foreshadow the defeat of the invader.

δ xvii. 12-14 similarly depicts the terrors of the coming invasion under the figure of a great storm, with floods and hurricane.

ε xi. 1-9, A Messianic passage, in which the Righteous King who is to deliver Israel is spoken of as "a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch (*neçer*) out of his roots." In his time "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb . . . and the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp." This section breathes the same spirit as ix. 6, 7; and is also sometimes referred to the period of the war of Pekah and Rezin against Ahaz.

ζ xi. 10-16 predicts the return of the exiles of Israel and Judah, their reconciliation, and supremacy over the neighbouring tribes. It is often supposed to be an exilic addition.

(*d*) There remain a group of passages which are usually associated with the adherence of Judah to the revolt against Sennacherib in B.C. 705, his campaign in Palestine and invasion of Judah in B.C. 701 and its disastrous termination.

α xxx. 1-17, xxxi. In this revolt the Palestinian states relied upon their alliance with Egypt, at whose instigation they had defied Assyria. These sections protest against the Egyptian alliance, as useless and even fatal. If Judah will trust in Jehovah instead of Egypt, it shall be saved.

β In xxii. 15-23, Isaiah, in the name of Jehovah, directs that the treasurer Shebna shall be deposed from his office and succeeded by Eliakim. Shebna was probably a partisan of the Egyptian alliance. Verses 24, 25 are supposed to have been added when Eliakim was deposed in his turn.

γ xxviii. 14—xxix. 24, xxx. 18-33 contain Jehovah's warnings and promises when the Assyrian invasion was imminent. xxviii. 14-22 denounces the proud self-confidence of the government, who considered themselves as safe as if they had made a covenant with death; whereas the land was to be scourged with manifold calamities.

xxviii. 23-29 reminds the prophet's hearers that the familiar principles of agriculture are divinely inspired—obviously implying that statesmen could not afford to ignore the counsels of Jehovah.

xxix. 1-14 predicts the siege of Ariel, *i.e.*, Jerusalem, within a year. Ariel must suffer great calamities—the figure of a tempest is again used—but in the end the besieging army will vanish like a dream.

xxix. 15-24 depicts the wonderful growth in the understanding of spiritual truth, which will follow the great deliverance. This paragraph, however, is often regarded as post-exilic.

xxx. 18-26 continues this topic and describes the material advantages which will accompany this spiritual blessing.

xxx. 27-33 tells how the King of Assyria will be overthrown by the wrath of Jehovah.

δ In chapter i. the Judah is already invaded, "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire . . . the daughter of Zion is left as a booth in a vineyard." Verses 10-23 explain the cause of this calamity. This section is the most definite and eloquent exposition of the main doctrine of the pre-exilic prophets—Jehovah's impatience of ritual combined with immorality, especially with cruelty and oppression. Forgiveness is not to be obtained by sacrifices and feasts, but by repentance and amendment. The impenitent must perish, hence—verses

24-31—Jehovah will purify Jerusalem by purging it of sinners. Verses 2-4 which speak of Judah's apostasy from Jehovah are supposed to be a later addition.

ϵ xxii. 1-14. The Burden of the Valley of Vision depicts the sufferings of Judah during the invasion, and rebukes the profane courtiers who sought comfort not from Jehovah but in feasts and wine: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die."

ξ In xxxvii. 22-35 we have the promise of deliverance of Jerusalem from Assyria, which was granted to Hezekiah's prayer for help. "I will defend this city to save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake." Stress is laid on Sennacherib's proud defiance of Jehovah.

η xxxii. xxxiii. describe the reign of the Righteous King after the deliverance. Religion and morality shall prevail and there shall be peace and prosperity. There are still however giddy women, xxxii. 9-14 and other sinners, xxxiii. 13, 14, to be dealt with. In xxxiii. 1-11 Judah is still suffering but in confident hope of speedy deliverance. These two chapters, however, are often regarded as post-exilic.

Micah, cir. B.C. 720-708.

Micah is called a Morasthite (i. 1) or native of Moresheth, which is probably to be identified with the Moresheth of Gath of i. 14. He, therefore, belonged to Judah. He was a contemporary of Isaiah's, beginning his ministry before the Fall of Samaria, B.C. 722. Jeremiah xxvi. 17, refers to Micah iii. 12 as uttered in the reign of Hezekiah. The book may be divided into :—

(*a*) Chapters i.-iii., which, like the other prophets of this period, denounce the idolatry, cruelty and oppression of rulers, priests and prophets; and predict the ruin alike of Samaria and Jerusalem. They include a promise of

restoration, ii. 12, 13, which is sometimes supposed to be a later addition.

(*b*) Chapters iv.-v. deal with the future restoration at greater length. iv. 1-5 have been referred to already under Isaiah.[1] After this picture of the exaltation of Zion, we are told how Judah in its distress is to be delivered by a Righteous Ruler from Bethlehem—David's birth-place,—who shall lay waste Assyria. Jehovah will deliver the land from superstition and idolatry, and enable it to dispense with horses and chariots and fortresses.

(*c*) vi.—vii. 6 give a fresh picture of the corruption of Judah, in even darker colours, vii. 2, 5, 6 suggest the violence and persecution of Manasseh, who "shed much innocent blood till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to the other," 2 Kings xxi. 16. The section is introduced by an account of Jehovah's controversy with His people. In accordance with the familiar prophetic doctrine, vi. 6-8 deny that Jehovah delights in sacrifices, especially child sacrifices, *cf.* 2 Kings xxi. 6; He requires His people "to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

(*d*) In vii. 7-20, Zion, in whose name the author speaks, is desolate and afflicted on account of her sins; yet she confidently expects that God will pardon and deliver her; and give her victory and dominion over her enemies.

The date and authorship of chapters iv.-vii. are the subjects of much controversy; iv., v. and vii., 7-20 are sometimes held to be exilic or post-exilic; vi. 1—vii. 6 is referred to the reign of Manasseh (*cf.* above); a theory which does not necessarily exclude authorship by Micah. Prof. G. A. Smith in his "Twelve Prophets" puts very forcibly the arguments that tend to show that the book is

[1] p. 21.

substantially Micah's—apart from interpolations and "the occurrence of certain verses of the prophet out of their proper order." He regards, however, vii. 7-20, as "a cento of several fragments, from periods far apart in the history of Israel."

This brief account of the earlier prophets and their remains will have already suggested that we get very imperfect ideas of them from the mere consecutive reading of our Bibles. They were preachers, not authors, though their preaching probably consisted very largely in the constant repetition of concise utterances on a few great themes. Our present books contain the notes of these discourses; possibly in some cases the prophet's own summary of his message; possibly, however, the brief record of sentences and paragraphs which had most forcibly impressed their hearers. The book of Amos may have been put into shape by the prophet himself: but Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah are collections made at a later time, when little was known as to the date and order of the prophecies, and when the editors could not always distinguish between the utterances of the earlier prophets, and inspired words whose authors were unknown. There are parts of these books which remind one of stained glass windows, which have been taken to pieces, and put together again by a craftsman who had not skill enough to reconstruct the original pattern. Each fragment is beautiful in itself, here and there we catch a glimpse of the design, and, in some measure, we can guess at the loveliness and grandeur of the artist's work.

CHAPTER III

THE PROPHETS OF THE LAST DAYS OF JUDAH—NAHUM, ZEPHANIAH, HABAKKUK, JEREMIAH, OBADIAH

THE prophets of the eighth century were constantly dealing with the relations of Israel, Judah and Assyria. In the reigns of Josiah and the last kings of Judah we have another group whose teaching was concerned with the relations of Chaldea and Judah, and the impending Fall of Jerusalem.

Nahum, cir. 625?

Nahum is, in some sense, a connecting link between the two groups. He announces the coming ruin of Nineveh, on account of its defiance of Jehovah (i. 1), its oppression of Judah (i. 15), and because it was a "bloody city, all full of lies and robbery" (iii. 1). The book probably belongs to the concluding years of the Assyrian empire, when the Chaldeans and their allies were already threatening its supremacy. Nahum is called the Elkoshite, probably as native of a village in Galilee, known to Jerome under the name of *Elkesi*. If so he would be an Israelite refugee residing in Judah.

Zephaniah, cir. 630-605.

Zephaniah was the great-great-grandson of Hezekiah, possibly of King Hezekiah. He writes before the Fall of Nineveh (ii. 13) and probably, in part at any rate, before Josiah's reforms, B.C. 621. His main theme is the "Day of Jehovah," in which He will pour out His wrath on all nations (iii. 8); on Judah because of the wickedness of her rulers, priests

and prophets; on the Philistine cities, and on Moab, Ammon and Assyria. Yet there shall be a remnant whom the Lord will bring back from captivity, iii. 12-20. Verses 14-20 are sometimes regarded as exilic.

Habakkuk, cir. B.C. 605.

Nothing is told us about Habakkuk except his name, but the contents of chapters i. and ii. suggest that they were composed in the early days of the revived Chaldean empire; when Judah was startled by their rapid and extensive conquests, but had not yet been invaded.

Chapters i. and ii. denounce the cruelty, injustice and idolatry of the Chaldeans, whom Jehovah has ordained for the judgment and correction of Judah; they are the wicked who are to "swallow up the man more righteous than himself," *i.e.*, the Jew, i. 12, 13. The prophet warns the Chaldeans that they must perish in their turn, ii. 8. Chapter ii. 6-20 contain a series of woes against them; but verses 9-20 deal rather with the sins of individuals than with those of nations, and may be a separate utterance of Habakkuk, or a later addition.

Chapter iii. is a psalm, with a heading similar to those in the Psalter; it is described as "a Prayer[1] of Habakkuk the Prophet" and has the musical direction "set to *Shigionoth*."[2] There is also a subscription in familiar terms "For the Chief Musician,[3] on my *neginoth*."[4] Verses 1-15 describe a theophany, in which Jehovah manifests Himself in thunder and tempest to deliver His people from their enemies. In verses 16-19 the Psalmist expresses his terror at the sight, which, at the same time inspires him with unalterable confidence:—

[1] *Cf.* Ps. xvii. A Prayer of David.
[2] *Cf.* Ps. vii. A Shiggaion of David.
[3] Passim in the Psalter.
[4] Psalms iv., vi., etc.

"For though the fig-tree shall not blossom,
Neither shall fruit be in the vines;
The labour of the olive shall fail,
And the fields shall yield no meat;
The flock shall be cut off from the fold,
And there shall be no herd in the stalls:
Yet I will rejoice in the Lord,
I will joy in the God of my salvation."

The separate heading suggests that this Psalm was originally a distinct work from chapters i. and ii. The ascription to Habakkuk is not universally accepted, and it has sometimes been regarded as post-exilic.

Jeremiah, cir. B.C. 626-586.

The Book of Jeremiah is not simply a collection of prophecies, but might well be called "The Life and Works of Jeremiah." It includes detailed accounts of some of the important events of his life. Though our Book of Jeremiah includes material belonging to a later age, yet the bulk of it is either by Jeremiah or about him, or based upon his utterances. Hence it is convenient to deal with it here.

Jeremiah belonged to a priestly family, whose home was at Anathoth, i. 2, three miles north of Jerusalem, in Benjamin. But, until its fall, he exercised his ministry in the capital itself. He remained unmarried, at the command of Jehovah, xvi. 2. His call is dated in the thirteenth year of Josiah, B.C. 626, i. 2, and as far as we know, his latest prophecy was uttered some months after the fall of Jerusalem, B.C. 586. Thus the period of his ministry embraced the publication of Deuteronomy (see next chapter); the reforms of Josiah; Josiah's war with Pharaoh Necho and his defeat and death; Jehoahaz' reign and his deposition by Necho; the reigns of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, their revolts and wars against Nebuchad-

nezzar, the Chaldean sieges of Jerusalem and deportations of the inhabitants of Judah; culminating in the last siege, the capture and destruction of the city and deportation of the choicest of the survivors. Jeremiah cast in his lot with the remnant who were left in Judah; and when a large body migrated to Egypt, he was compelled to accompany them.

Our book itself gives us an account of the formation of the two earliest collections of Jeremiah's prophecies. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, xxxvi. 1-4, Jeremiah, by the command of Jehovah, dictated to Baruch all his utterances against Israel, Judah and all the nations from the beginning of his ministry up till that time; and Baruch wrote them in a book in the form of a roll. This was read first to the people, then to some of the nobles, and lastly to Jehoiakim—who burnt it. Whereupon Jeremiah dictated his prophecies afresh to Baruch, with many suitable additions, xxxvi. 32, probably in the form of annotations, expansions and appendices. This MS. was, no doubt, the basis of our present book, though its editors have not, apparently, kept all the old material together in its original arrangement. We must note that the earliest prophecies, from B.C. 626 onwards, were first written down, some of them, twenty-three years after; and that in the earliest MS. which can have been used for our present book, the first record had already been supplemented by additions. Hence the same passage—though entirely by Jeremiah—may contain matter belonging to two quite different periods—a fact which seriously adds to the difficulty of determining the date of any individual section. The general order, however, of the prophecies is somewhat as follows :—

I. *Prophecies of the early part of Josiah's reign* (before the publication of Deuteronomy in B.C. 621).

(*a*) Chapter i., Jeremiah's call in B.C. 626 as a youth, 6. As in Isaiah vi. the prophet's commission includes some of the leading features of his subsequent teaching. He is a messenger of doom, "set over the nations and kingdoms, to pluck and break down, and to destroy and overthrow," 10. On account of idolatry, Judah and Jerusalem will endure calamity at the hands of the northern peoples. Jeremiah's position is to be one of defiant isolation, he is to be "a defenced city, an iron pillar and brasen walls against Judah and its kings, princes, priests and people," 18. Yet he is also set "to build and to plant."

(*b*) Chapters ii.-vi. contain a series of closely connected discourses. The ingratitude and treachery of Judah to Jehovah are described under Hosea's figures of whoredom and adultery. Jerusalem's former devotion to Jehovah, "the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals" had become a mere memory; Judah worshipped stocks and stones, ii. 27, iii. 9, and had as many gods as cities, ii. 28. Moreover, Jeremiah, like his predecessors, denounces the moral corruption of the people, ii. 34, vi. 25-31; and, in Jehovah's name, repudiates their ritual,—"Your burnt offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices pleasing unto me," vi. 20. This verse clearly shows that Judah had not formally renounced the worship of Jehovah and adopted "other gods" in His stead. The people protested: "I have not gone after the Baalim," ii. 23. The controversy between Jeremiah and his opponents concerned the association of Jehovah with "other gods" and His confusion with them.

We find also the familiar denunciation of alliances with Egypt and Assyria, ii. 18, 36.

The tone of these chapters is one of remonstrance and appeal; forgiveness is promised to repentance. But the prophet scarcely ventures to hope that Judah will repent; he is distressed by dark forebodings of the ruin impending over the country. Judah has already suffered from war, ii. 15, 16, and worse troubles are to come; iv. 19-31 give a vivid picture of the terror caused by an invasion; and v. 10-19 describe the laying waste of Judah by a mighty nation, who carry away a remnant into captivity.

We may note that iii. 19 is the immediate continuation of iii. 5, and that iii. 6-18, which breaks the connection, is misplaced. It has a separate heading "in the days of King Josiah" and a special topic, the greater guilt of Judah as compared with Israel; an invitation to *Israel* to confess and repent of its sins; and a promise of the reconciliation and restoration both of Israel and Judah.

II. *Prophecies of the reign of Jehoiakim.*

None of Jeremiah's utterances seem to belong to the interval between Josiah's reforms, B.C. 621, and the accession of Jehoiakim, B.C. 608. During this period Josiah was reigning according to the spirit of Jeremiah's teaching, and the prophet's commission as a herald of judgment was in abeyance. The defeat and death of Josiah, the deposition of Jehoahaz and the appointment of Jehoiakim by Pharaoh Necho, placed the government in the hands of the Egyptian party opposed to Jeremiah. The prophet forthwith renewed his denunciations. The prophecies of this reign may be conveniently classed under its two periods:—

(*a*) B.C. 608-605. Jehoiakim reigned as the vassal of Pharaoh Necho, who was supreme in Syria; so that the Egyptian party could rely upon his support.

(1) xxii. 10-12 is a lament over Jehoahaz; xxii. 13-19 denounces Jehoiakim for his oppression of his subjects, especially for building palaces by forced and unpaid labour.

(2) vii.-x., xxvi. Chapter xxvi. tells how, "in the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim," on a feast-day—"speak unto all the cities of Judah"—Jeremiah stationed himself in the court of the Temple and declared that, if the people did not repent, the Temple would be laid in ruins, as the sanctuary at Shiloh had been. This threat roused the people and the priests to fury, they dragged Jeremiah before the princes and demanded that he should be put to death; but the princes acquitted him. Apparently the substance of Jeremiah's discourse is included in vii. 1—viii. 3, which enlarges on the same theme. Encouraged by the deliverance from Sennacherib, the people trusted in the inviolability of the Temple, vii. 4, and in the profusion of their sacrifices, 21, 23, though they were given over to cruelty and vice, superstition and idolatry. In viii. 4—x. 25, similar denunciations are mingled with presages of coming calamity—invasion, siege, and captivity,—and with the prophet's lamentations over the woes of his people. The section concludes, x. 23-25, with the prophet's half desperate intercession for Judah.

We must note, however, that x. 1-16 is foreign to the context. It sets forth the folly of idolatry, and the impotence of idols as compared with Jehovah, very much in the manner of Isaiah xl., xli.; and is often considered exilic. Verse 11 is in Aramaic.

(3) In xi. 1-17 Jeremiah enforces his protest against

the ungodliness of the new *régime*, by appealing to the covenant entered into by Josiah and the people to observe the Deuteronomic laws, 2 Kings xxii., xxiii.

(*b*) B.C. 605-597. Nebuchadnezzar's victory at Carchemish placed Syria at his feet, and from that time Jehoiakim was either his reluctant vassal, mostly plotting rebellion; or else in actual revolt against him, and expecting a Chaldean invasion.

(1) Chapters xxv., xxxvi. 1-8, xlv. and xlvi. are dated in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, apparently after the Battle of Carchemish and before Nebuchadnezzar[1] had appeared in Judah; xxxvi. 9-32 is dated in the ninth month of the fifth year. Chapters xlvii. to xlix. are perhaps connected with this crisis.

a xxv., xlvi.-xlix. The victory of Carchemish decided the contest for the supremacy of Western Asia: not only Judah but all the former vassals of Assyria trembled at the approach of the conqueror. In chapter xxv., Jeremiah declares that Nebuchadnezzar is Jehovah's Servant, sent by Him to subdue and chastise the nations of Western Asia. Verses 12-14, which predict the ruin of Chaldea after seventy years, are often held to be post-exilic. Chapters xlvi.-xlix. deal with the nations individually; chapter xlvi. contains two utterances on Egypt; 3-12 is lyric ode in which the prophet exults over the defeat of Josiah's conqueror; 14-26 predict that Egypt will be conquered, and its people carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar. The editor has repeated xxx. 10, 11 in verse 27, 28. Chapter xlvii. deals with the Philistines, who are to be overthrown by an overwhelming flood from the north. This enemy is identified by the

[1] Usually *Nebuchadrezzar* in Jeremiah, which is a rather closer approximation to his actual name.

heading with Pharaoh Necho, but is more probably Nebuchadnezzar. Chapter xlviii. predicts the ruin of Moab; it has many points of contact with Isaiah xv., xvi. Chapter xlix. predicts calamity for Ammon, Edom,[1] Damascus, the Arabs of Kedar and Hazor, and Elam. Verse 34, the heading of the utterance on Elam, attributes it to the reign of Zedekiah; but if by Jeremiah, it is probably earlier. This verse is wanting in the Septuagint.

The prophet promises restoration to Egypt, xlvi. 26, Moab, xlviii. 47, Ammon, xlix. 6, Elam, xlix. 39.

The Jeremianic authorship of xlvi.-xlix. is sometimes challenged.

β Chapter xxxvi. describes the incidents in connection with the two rolls, already mentioned.[2] Chapter xlv. is an utterance—partly rebuke, and partly promise—addressed to Baruch; and possibly suggested by some remonstrance of his, against the terrible threats contained in the rolls.

γ Chapter xxxv. describes an incident in connection with the Rechabites. Under the stress of an actual or threatened invasion this nomad clan had taken refuge in Jerusalem. Jeremiah took the opportunity of giving the Jews an object-lesson; and contrasted the loyalty of the Rechabites to *their* sacred customs with the Jews' disobedience to the commands of Jehovah by the mouth of the prophets.

(2) Chapters xiv. 1—xvii. 18. The heading in xiv. 1 refers to a drought as the occasion of the following discourse. These chapters contain renewed warnings of the inevitable ruin, which sin must bring upon Judah. Jeremiah repeatedly intercedes for his people, but all his prayers are rejected: "Jehovah said unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could

[1] *Cf.* below on *Obadiah*. [2] p. 34.

not be towards this people," xv. 1. Jeremiah complains of the ungrateful task committed to him and of the persecutions to which he is exposed. Jehovah promises him protection and deliverance.

(3) In chapters xviii.-xx. the figure of a potter is used to set forth Jehovah's absolute sovereignty: "as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in my hand, O House of Israel." Hence there was no escape from the terrible calamities appointed for Judah. Jeremiah broke an earthen vessel in the presence of the elders as a symbol of the coming tribulation. Whereupon Pashhur ben Immer, the governor of the Temple, beat Jeremiah and set him in the stocks. The prophet renewed his threats and added others personal to Pashhur: then he broke into a bitter complaint to Jehovah of the universal hatred in which he was involved, and solemnly cursed the day of his birth.

(4) Chapters xi. 18—xii. In xi. 18-23 the prophet complains of attempts on his life by his kinsmen of Anathoth. Chapter xii. deplores the ruin brought on Judah by its rulers and by the evil influence of its neighbours, who will share its punishment.

(5) Chapter xiii. appears to belong to the brief reign of Jehoiachin, who succeeded his father Jehoiakim during a revolt against Nebuchadnezzar and was deposed and carried captive to Babylon. Jeremiah sets forth the coming ruin under the figure of the spoiling of a girdle buried by the Euphrates. The narrative of the prophet's journey, etc., is probably an allegory. Chapter xxii. 20-30, concerning Jehoiachin warning him of his coming captivity will also belong to this reign.

III. *Prophecies of the Reign of Zedekiah.*

B.C. 597-586. Though Zedekiah was the nominee of

Nebuchadnezzar, the attitude of his government towards his suzerain was the same as that of Jehoiakim. Zedekiah himself was well-disposed towards Jeremiah, but was little more than a figure-head.

These prophecies may also be divided according to the two main periods of the reign:

(*a*) B.C. 597-588, from the king's accession to the final revolt. During this period two opposing parties struggled for supremacy. Jeremiah and his friends sought to enforce the principles of Deuteronomy, and to prevent revolts against Babylon. The princes of the Egyptian party, supported by the priesthood and the prophetic order, sought to maintain the old corrupt worship and to organise a revolt against Babylon, in conjunction with Egypt and other allies.

(1) Chapters xxi. 11—xxiv. are a fierce polemic against the prophet's opponents. xxi. 11—xxii. 9 is an appeal to "the house of the King of Judah," *i.e.*, the princes who controlled the king. The appeal quickly passes into warnings and threats. Then are embodied the earlier utterances on Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin; to which is added a woe against the evil shepherds or rulers, with a promise that Jehovah will set up good shepherds, xxiii. 1-4. In xxiii. 5-8 we have a Messianic picture of the restoration of both Israel and Judah, under a righteous king, a branch (*ṣemaḥ*) of Judah.

Next, xxiii. 9-40, he attacks the prophets because they spoke in Jehovah's name without any commission from Him, and pandered to the prejudices of the dominant party.

In chapter xxiv. he alleges that the better classes of the people had been carried captive with Jehoiachin, and that the residue were "bad figs, too bad to be eaten," xxiv. 8.

(2) Chapters xxvii.-xxix. give the history of some episodes of the controversy which called forth the preceding prophecies. At the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah,[1] the Egyptian party were planning a revolt, with the support of the prophets, who promised success and especially that certain sacred vessels should be brought back from Babylon. Jeremiah sent yokes to the ambassadors of the allies in the proposed revolt, and predicted the ruin of any nation rebelling against the yoke of Babylon. The prophet further emphasized his message by wearing a yoke himself. The prophet Hananiah flatly contradicted Jeremiah in the name of Jehovah, and took the bar (or yoke) off his neck and broke it. Jeremiah reiterated his warning and threatened Hananiah with death, a threat which was speedily fulfilled. Chapter xxix. shows us that the teaching of Hananiah was prevalent also amongst the exiles in Chaldea, and tells us of a controversy by letters between Jeremiah and his opponents in exile.

(*b*) The final revolt and last sieges, B.C. 588-586.

(1) In chapter xxi. 1-10, Jeremiah, in answer to a deputation from the king, announces that the king and city will be captured and the city burnt. Safety is only to be found in deserting to the enemy; xxxiv. 1-7 contains a similar utterance, but promises that Zedekiah shall not be put to death.

(2) In xxxiv. 8-22 we are told how, when besieged by the Chaldeans, the nobles promised to release their Hebrew slaves, in accordance with Deut. xv. 12, but cancelled the promise when the city was relieved by Pharaoh Hophra. Hence—and also in xxxvii. 1-10—Jeremiah reiterates the threats of xxi. 1-10.

[1] The text of xxvii. 1 has *Jehoiakim*, but this is an obvious misreading.

(3) In xxxvii. 11—xxxviii. we have the history of Jeremiah till the capture of the city: his imprisonment on a charge of deserting to the Chaldeans, the attempt to starve him to death in a muddy oubliette, his restoration to the ordinary prison; and his interviews with the king, in which he repeated his former warnings, and tried to persuade him to surrender to the Chaldeans. Chapters xxxii.-xxxiii. are also referred by their titles to this imprisonment;[1] xxxii. describes how the prophet bought a field at Anathoth belonging to his uncle.

(4) Chapters xxx.-xxxiii. are closely connected, so that the incident just referred to seems to fix their date to this period. As the field at Anathoth was either in the possession or at the mercy of the Chaldeans, the prophet's purchase was a most convincing testimony to his faith in the ultimate restoration of Judah. Hence it is a most striking symbolic illustration of the great prophecy with which it is connected. Elsewhere there are incidental suggestions of a brighter future beyond the impending ruin; but for the most part the prophecies of restoration are gathered together in these four chapters. Jeremiah's enforced silence gave him leisure for meditation, and now that Judah was on the very verge of the ruin he had so long foretold, his thoughts turned to the future.

After the coming calamity has shown that foreign alliances, that all human help is useless, Jehovah Himself will deliver his people from foreign rule, bring them back to their own land, and set over them "David their king," *i.e.*, a prince of the House of David, xxx. Nor shall Judah alone be restored; Israel and Judah shall be reconciled and alike share in Jehovah's renewed mercy, xxxi.

In xxxi. 31-37 we have the great prophecy of the New

[1] *Cf.* below on xxx.-xxxiii.

Covenant, which was to govern this new order; a covenant not of external observances, but of inner loyalty to and fellowship with God, wherein all shall be spiritually enlightened, without need of priest or prophet. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know me from the least of them to the greatest." Chapters xxxii. and xxxiii. reiterate the promises of restoration after the great overthrow. In xxxiii. 14-26 a solemn promise is given that the Davidic dynasty and the Levitical priesthood shall endure for ever.

The Jeremianic authorship of xxx., xxxi., and xxxiii. has been attacked, but when allowance has been made for minor additions, they are substantially Jeremiah's. The most doubtful of the longer sections is xxxiii. 14-26, which is absent from the Septuagint, and shows an interest in the Levitical priests, which has no parallel in the rest of the book.

(5) Chapter xxxix. 15-18 promises safety to Ebed-melech, who had rescued Jeremiah from the oubliette.

IV. *Prophecies, etc., after the fall of Jerusalem.*

Chapters xxxix. 11-14, xl.-xliv. give an account of Jeremiah after the capture of the city; his friendly treatment by the Chaldeans; his decision to remain with the Jewish remnant at Mizpah; the flight of the survivors into Egypt, in spite of Jeremiah's protests; the prophet's forced share in that flight; his threats of ruin against both Egypt and the refugees; and his controversy with them, and especially with their wives, on account of their worship of the "Queen of Heaven."

V. *Passages commonly regarded as less directly connected with Jeremiah*—(in addition to similar passages already noticed in connection with the Jeremianic sections).

(*a*) Chapter xvii. 19-27, a command to observe the Sabbath, enforced by promises and threats. Such stress on an external observance does not seem consistent with the general tone of Jeremiah's teaching; and the passage is parallel to Nehemiah xiii. 15-22.

(*b*) Chapters l. 1—li. 58 are a long prophecy or series of prophecies, exulting over the coming ruin of Babylon; with a subscription, li. 59-64 giving an account of a roll written by Jeremiah and predicting the Fall of Babylon. This roll is evidently intended to be identified with the preceding prophecy. The standpoint of the section is that of the close of the Captivity.

(*c*) Chapter lii. 1-27, 29-34 = 2 Kings xxiv. 18—xxv. 21, xxv. 27-30; and Chapter xxxix. 1-10 is abridged from 2 Kings xxxv. 1-12.

So far we have considered the origin of the prophecies and the periods dealt with by the narratives; we have now to deal with the authorship of the narratives and the collecting and editing of the prophecies. We must first notice that the book is still extant in two very different editions. In the Hebrew Text, which is followed by the English Bible, we have the following arrangements.

i.-xx. Mostly undated, but as a whole earlier than the fourth year of Jehoiakim.

xxi.-xxiv. Two dated in the reign of Zedekiah, the rest undated, and probably of other reigns.

xxv.-xxvi. Dated in the reign of Jehoiakim.

xxvii.-xxxiv. Mostly dated in the reign of Zedekiah; and mainly a biography of Jeremiah with prophecies embedded in it.

xxxv.-xxxvi. Dated in the reign of Jehoiakim.
xxxvii.-xliv. Further biography of Jeremiah, from about the date of xxxiv.
xlv. Dated in the reign of Jehoiakim.
xlvi.-xlix. Utterances concerning the nations, Jehoiakim, Zedekiah and undated.
l., li. Utterance concerning Babylon, Zedekiah.
lii. Historical appendix.

In the Septuagint, the contents of the book are arranged thus :—

(*a*) i.-xxv. 13 as far as "all that is written in this book."

(*b*) xlix. 34-39, xlvi., l., li., xlvii., xlix. 7-22, 1-5, 28-33, 25-27, xlviii.

The utterances concerning the nations,—arranged in a different order to that of the Hebrew Text.

(*c*) xxv. 15—xlv.

(*d*) lii.

Moreover a comparison of the two texts discloses very numerous variations, transpositions, omissions and additions. It is stated that the matter contained in the Hebrew Text and absent from the Septuagint amounts to about 2700 words, or the eighth part of the Hebrew Text.

Apart from the original roll, critics have to depend upon conjecture for the solution of the problems as to the composition of this book. We do not even *know* the contents of the roll, though we may conclude that it contained the extant prophecies uttered before the fourth year of Jehoiakim with additions. It seems extremely probable that Baruch composed the narratives which are not in the first person, and it is also reasonable to attribute to him an edition of the prophecies set in this framework of narrative. But the utter absence of any chronological or other principle of arrangement in the two extant recensions forbids us to

ascribe either of them to Baruch. Probably when the extant editions assumed their present form, there were still current different collections of prophecies of, and narratives concerning, Jeremiah, and the remarkable arrangement of the book is due to a mechanical collation of these collections.

This would also account for the numerous repetitions. Such a collation cannot have been earlier than the end of the exile, and by no means closed the door to further additions.

Obadiah, cir. B.C. 586?

The Book of Obadiah is a denunciation of Edom for its ill-treatment of the Jews in the ruin of Judah. This short book has much in common with Jeremiah's prophecy on Edom—a fact which is probably best explained by the use of a common original.

CHAPTER IV

EZEKIEL, CIR. B.C. 592-570

EZEKIEL was a younger contemporary of Jeremiah and was also member of a priestly family. He was carried captive to Chaldea in B.C. 597 with Jehoiachin and the best of the population of Jerusalem: Ezek. i. 1-3, *cf.* xxxiii. 21, and 2 Kings xxiv. 14. He was settled in a colony of exiles at Tel Abib, iii. 15, by the River Chebar in Babylonia. Both Tel Abib and the Chebar are unknown. There he lived, with his wife, in a house of his own: his wife died some little time before the Fall of Jerusalem, xxiv. 16-18. The beginning of his ministry is dated in the fifth year B.C. 592, of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the latest date given in the book is the twenty-seventh year, *i.e.*, B.C. 570. His prophetic status was recognised by his fellow-exiles, and their elders came to his house to consult him, viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1. Like Jeremiah, xxiv., he had a more favourable opinion of the Jews carried captive with Jehoiachin than of their brethren who still remained in Judah xxxiii. 23-29. But at the same time he was keenly alive to the many faults of the exiles, and occupied a position of isolation and antagonism towards his hearers somewhat similar to that of Jeremiah at Jerusalem. In both cases the fulfilment of their threats against the city rendered the people more docile to the instructions of the prophets.

Ezekiel is specially important because he is in many

ways a connecting link between the old order and the new, between the ancient Israelite monarchy and later Judaism in Babylonia and Judæa. His book constantly shows the influence of Jeremiah; and, though Ezekiel may have had copies of some of the prophecies, yet it is probable that he had also been a personal disciple of Jeremiah. When Ezekiel was carried away captive in B.C. 597, he was probably not very youthful, and the elder prophet had been for many years the greatest personage in Judah, and was still zealously prosecuting his ministry. Thus Ezekiel carried with him into exile the memory and the traditions of the older prophecy, while his actual ministry was also controlled by the circumstances of the Captivity. Moreover, like Jeremiah, he was both priest and prophet; but Jeremiah was merely a member of a priestly family and apparently never exercised priestly functions; he was involved in a bitter feud with his own family and shows no interest in ritual. We are not told that Ezekiel had actually officiated as a priest, but his book shows the most lively interest in the priesthood and the Temple ritual, and effects a kind of reconciliation between the spirit of the older prophecy, and the system of external observances.

Moreover, Ezekiel marks the transition from the prophet to the scribe or theologian. He not only announces the Divine Revelation; but also discusses the relations of its various truths.

Ezekiel also unites the preacher and the author; the older prophets were first of all preachers, and their utterances were mostly reduced to writing, collected, and arranged by others. Ezekiel, however, not only delivered his prophecies to audiences, but also wrote them down, and in due time arranged them methodically in a book, and added any necessary finishing touches. Chapters xl.

xlviii. must have been a written composition from the first, and probably others of his prophecies were written before they were delivered.

The ascription of the book to Ezekiel is almost universally accepted, and there is no serious doubt as to the authorship of any considerable passage. The prophecies are mostly dated and arranged in chronological order. This arrangement is departed from in one or two cases for obvious reasons, *e.g.*, the utterances concerning Tyre are placed together and also those against Egypt: and xxix. 17-20 is a note to the prophecy which precedes.

The book falls into three parts:

(I) i.-xxiv. The Ruin of Judah and Jerusalem; (II) xxv.-xxxii. Utterances concerning Foreign Nations; (III) xxxiii.-xlviii. The Restoration of Israel.

(I) i.-xxiv. The Ruin of Judah and Jerusalem. This section is mainly occupied with the sins of the rulers, priests, prophets, and people; and with the calamities by which they are to be chastised. It is very much in the manner of the older prophets and especially of Jeremiah. The use of types or symbolic actions is extended and elaborated. The prophet describes numerous visions in minute detail: some are exceedingly graphic, *e.g.*, the idolatrous worship in the temple, the image of jealousy, the chambers of imagery, the women weeping for Tammuz, viii.; others are obscure, *e.g.*, the cherubim-chariot, x. The prophet's literary predilections seem not inaptly symbolised, when he is commanded to swallow a roll of a book, ii. 9; and his literary gifts are most strikingly shown in his elegies over Judah as a vine, xvii. 1-10, xix. 10-14, and over Judah and her captive kings as a lioness and its whelps, xix. 1-9. His interest in theology may be illustrated by his discussion of inherited guilt, xviii.: he

decides, v. 20, that "the soul that sinneth it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father," and that former sins will not condemn the penitent who has amended his ways, 21; neither will former righteousness save the backslider, 24.

In xxiv. 15-27 we are reminded that the prophet was so entirely absorbed in his mission, that all the events of his personal and family life become symbolic of aspects of his message. Jeremiah's celibacy typified the desolation of Judah, Jer. xvi. So when Ezekiel's wife died, he was forbidden to observe the usual rites of mourning, in order that his neglect might symbolise the overwhelming character of the coming calamity.

(II) xxv.-xxxii. Utterances concerning Foreign Nations.

In brief paragraphs the prophet denounces and threatens Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines for their ill-will towards, and ill-treatment of Judah, xxv.

Chapters xxvi.—xxviii. 19, contain a series of prophecies against Tyre, uttered shortly after the Fall of Jerusalem. The city is condemned, because she exulted over the ruin of Jerusalem, xxvi. 2, and was puffed up with pride, xxviii. 2, and because of her commercial trickery, xxviii. 18. The prophet dwells on her wealth and splendour, and in xxvii. gives a detailed account of her commerce; and pictures the dismay and distress caused by her rui amongst the nations with whom she traded. xxviii. 20-26 threatens Sidon with calamity as "a pricking brier unto the House of Israel" and promises restoration and prosperity to Israel.

Chapters xxix. to xxxii. deal with Egypt. Ezekiel endorses the severe judgment which Isaiah and Jeremiah had passed upon Egypt. xxix. 1-16 and xxx. 20—xxxi., were uttered shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem, and

xxxii. about nineteen months after that event. Egypt is to be laid waste, and her people carried captive by the King of Babylon, but she shall be restored after forty years. xxxii. 17-32 draws a grim picture of Pharaoh and his hosts descending into Sheol, and of their reception by the shades of the mighty dead. In xxix. 17-20 in B.C. 570,—sixteen years later—Ezekiel reiterates his promise that Nebuchadnezzar shall conquer Egypt. This reward is due to him, because he has besieged Tyre unsuccessfully.

(III) The Restoration of Israel, xxxiii.-xlviii. This section must be divided into two parts; (*a*) xxxiii.-xxxix.; (*b*) xl.-xlviii.

(*a*) xxxiii.-xxxix. Chapters xxxiii., xxxiv. lead up to the topic of Restoration. xxxiii. shows how the Fall of Jerusalem, as the fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecies, established his authority. In xxxiv. the shepherds or rulers of Israel are denounced, as in Jer. xxiii. 1-4. Through the carelessness of the shepherds, the sheep had been scattered, but Jehovah would gather them together, and set over them for a good shepherd "my Servant David," much as in Jer. xxiii. 5-8. Chapter xxxv. is a renewed denunciation of Edom. Chapter xxxvi. promises that the mountains of Israel and the whole country shall be populous and prosperous. In xxxvii. 1-14 the national revival is set forth under the figure of the resurrection of an army of dry bones, and xxxvii. 15-28 predicts the reconciliation of Judah and Israel, and their restoration under a Prince of the House of David. In xxxviii., xxxix., we have predicted apparently as a sequel to the restoration, that Israel will be attacked by a horde of nations under the headship of Gog. The destruction of this vast host will ensure the final establishment of Israel in glory and prosperity, and will vindicate the honour of Jehovah. Here, as elsewhere, Ezekiel

recognises that the humiliation of the Chosen People leads men to despise the God of Israel. Hence Jehovah must needs reinstate them "for His name's sake," xxxvi. 22.

(*b*) xl.-xlviii. The heading of these chapters gives a date in the twenty-fifth year of Jehoiachin's exile, B.C. 572; so that an interval of about twelve years had elapsed since the last dated prophecy, xxxii. 1. These last eight chapters form a legal code for the New Israel, in which everything is subordinated to the Temple, the ritual and the priesthood. They seem to adapt the institutions of the Monarchy to the probable necessities of the restored exiles after their expected return. We shall have to speak of this section again in connection with the Pentateuch.[1]

[1] p. 74.

CHAPTER V

LAMENTATIONS, SECOND ISAIAH, AND OTHER LITERATURE TO THE CLOSE OF THE EXILE

In the Hebrew Text the Book of Lamentations is anonymous, and its opening word *'Ekhah*, E.V. "How!" is used as a title, according to a familiar Jewish custom. The title "Lamentations" first occurs in the Septuagint,[1] but is also used[2] in the Talmud and Rabbinical writings. Some MSS. of the Septuagint expand the title to "Lamentations of Jeremiah," and this title has found its way into our English Bible through the Vulgate. The position of the Book in our Bible, as an appendix to the Book of Jeremiah, is also due to the Septuagint through the Vulgate. In the Hebrew Bible, Lamentations is one of the Five Rolls, and is not placed in the second class of canonical books—the prophets—but in the third class, the Hagiographa.

Lamentations, cir. B.C. 540.

An ancient tradition ascribes this work to Jeremiah. In 2 Chron. xxxv. 25, we read that "Jeremiah lamented for Josiah: and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold they are written in the lamentations." The "lamentations" referred to are clearly our book; and the Septuagint has a heading which expressly states that Jeremiah uttered this lamentation after Jerusalem was laid waste; subsequent authorities

[1] *Threnoi.*

[2] In the form of *Qinoth.*

repeat this tradition. Nevertheless, it is probably nothing more than an erroneous theory, suggested by certain obvious resemblances between Lamentations and the Book of Jeremiah. To begin with, the two earliest authorities are at variance as to the date, and the earlier—Chronicles cir. B.C. 300—is certainly wrong; the book refers to the Fall of Jerusalem and not to the death of Josiah. Moreover, the internal evidence is generally considered to be conclusive against Jeremiah's authorship; and a tradition which first appears two or three centuries after the time of Jeremiah is by no means convincing. The author therefore is unknown: it is possible that different parts of the book were written at different times and by different authors. It has been divided between three authors, in the following chronological order: (*a*) ii. and iv.; (*b*) i. and v.; (*c*) iii. One or other of these sections, *e.g.*, ii. and iv., is sometimes claimed for Jeremiah by critics who do advocate his authorship of the whole. On the other hand, the theory of a single author is strongly supported. In any case, the book was probably composed between the Fall of Jerusalem and the close of the exile. The place of composition is doubtful, opinions vary between Egypt, Judæa and Babylon.

The book consists of five independent poems, of a remarkable form and metre. The first four are alphabetical acrostics, and though the fifth is not an acrostic, it contains as many verses as there are letters in the Hebrew alphabet—as if the author had collected twenty-two sentiments for an alphabetical acrostic, but lacked leisure to express them so that each verse might begin with its proper initial. In chapters i., ii., and iv. each verse begins with a letter of the alphabet, but in iii. there are twenty-two groups of three short verses each, and each verse of a

group begins with the same letter of the alphabet. In ii., iii. and iv. the letters *P* and *Ayin* are transposed.

This book furnishes the most striking example of the Hebrew elegiac or *Qinah* metre, according to which each number of a verse [1] is divided into two unequal parts, the former being the longer. This arrangement gives the lines a sort of "dying fall" suited to a melancholy subject, *e.g.*:—

I. 4 *b.*	All her gates are desolate,	7	Hebrew Syllables.	
	—her priests sigh	6		
c.	Her virgins are afflicted,	6		
	—bitter is she.	3		

The English translation can only partially represent this peculiarity; and it is not strictly adhered to in the Hebrew, possibly in some measure through later modifications of the text.

The common theme of these five poems is the miseries of the Fall of Jerusalem and the Captivity. The treatment of the subject-matter is entirely in harmony with the form of the poems. The authors brood sadly over these calamities, and review their every aspect with melancholy iteration. Echoes of the older prophets meet us at every turn, for the catastrophe is the fulfilment of their predictions. Not only are there constant parallels with the book of Jeremiah, especially in ii.; but ii. and iv. are apparently dependent on Ezekiel.[2] Descriptions of the sack of the city, or of the miserable estate of the exiles alternate with the reasons for the calamity in the sin of the people and the anger of Jehovah; and with appeals for deliverance, and for vengeance on the oppressors. Amongst the latter, one is

[1] *Cf.* on Hebrew Parallelism, p. 100.

[2] Löhr, Klagelieder, xvi.

singled out. iv. 21, 22 strikes one of the keynotes of exilic and post-exilic Judaism—hatred of Edom. Though the hope of forgiveness for Israel occurs elsewhere in these poems, chapter iii. is distinguished from the rest by its preoccupation with the assured prospect of deliverance.

The renewed hopes of the Jews, in Lamentations iii., form a natural transition from the melancholy retrospect of the other chapters to the triumphant anticipations of deliverance, which, as the exile drew to a close, found expression in such utterances as Isaiah xl. The concluding section of our present Book of Isaiah, xl.-lxvi., has long been referred, in whole or in part, to the closing period of the exile. It is written from the standpoint of the exiles in Babylonia, at the time when Western Asia watched with breathless excitement the victorious career of Cyrus, and the Jews were prepared to hail him as their deliverer. No name of author or authors is known, but the chapters are evidently of Jewish origin throughout. The question of unity or plurality of authors is much debated, opinion inclines to the latter view. It will be convenient to deal with this question in reference to separate sections of the book; but we may say here that the substantial unity of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. is still strongly maintained, *e.g.*, Prof. Driver[1] writes "these chapters form a continuous prophecy." There is no agreement as to the natural divisions of the book. It was formerly usual to divide into three parts, xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lvii., lviii.-lxvi.; partly because both xlviii. and lvii. end with the clause "there is no peace, saith Jehovah, for the wicked," while the last verse of lxvi. was looked upon as an expansion of the same idea. Prof. Driver divides into xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lix., lx.-lxvi.; another

Second Isaiah, cir. B.C. 546-539.

[1] *Introduction*, 217.

very common mode of division is into xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lxii., lxiii.-lxvi.; others make a division at the end of lv. For our purposes it will be convenient to divide into xl.-lv., lv.-lxii., lxiii.-lxvi., and for the time being to confine ourselves to xl.-lv. as the acknowledged Second Isaiah, the remaining chapters being often ascribed to a different author.

The unfortunate term "Second Isaiah" is chiefly due to the accident that xl.-lxvi. have been added as an appendix to the book containing Isaiah's utterances. There are indeed numerous points of contact between these chapters and Isaiah's utterances; but similar, though fewer, parallels exist with Jeremiah. Moreover, these chapters do not depend upon Isaiah's prophecies in the way or to the extent which the title "Second Isaiah" suggests.

Chapters xl.-lv., however, are probably not quite homogeneous; we must distinguish between (*a*) these chapters generally, excluding the Servant Passages, and (*b*) the Passages dealing with the Personal Servant of Jehovah, xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13—liii. 12.

(*a*) xl.-lv. generally. Chapters xl.-xlviii. are a triumphant announcement of the coming restoration of Israel. It may be noted that from this point the Jewish remnant is identified with Israel, and the former use of the term for the Northern Kingdom has become antiquated. The restoration is assured because of the manifest superiority of Jehovah to Babylon and its gods. These nine chapters specially dwell on this topic. Jehovah claims the conquering might of Cyrus as his gift; Cyrus is His Shepherd, His Messiah or Anointed King, whom He has raised up to subdue nations, that he may bring about the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple, xliv. 24—xlv. 7.

The gods of Babylon cannot hinder the divine purpose, they are mere idols, while Jehovah is the only true God, the Creator and Governor of the world, xliv., xlv. 1-3, omnipotent (xl.) and omniscient (xlviii. 1-8). The prophet specially appeals to the revelations of the future and of the coming of Cyrus which Jehovah has made to His people; no other god has any similar power, xli. 21-29. Hence Babylon and its gods must perish ignominiously and Israel will be delivered, xlvi., xlvii.

This great exposition of the Doctrine of God was partly called forth by the weak faith of the Jews. Israel, indeed, is the "Servant of Jehovah," a title possibly suggested by Jer. xxx. 10;[1] or Ezek. xxxvii. 25; but this Servant is fearful and of little faith, needing to be constantly reassured and comforted, xli. 8-20, xliv. 1-5, 21-23. He is blind to the heavenly vision and deaf to the divine message, xlii. 19; yet in spite of all Jehovah forgives and redeems His people.

Chapters l.-lv. (omitting the Servant passages) contain renewed promises that in spite of Israel's sin and weakness, she shall indeed be restored and raised to great prosperity.

(*b*) Passages dealing with the Personal Servant of Jehovah, xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13—liii. 12.[2] These sections may have been composed by the author of Second Isaiah at the same time as their context as parts of the continuous work, xl.-lv.; but they are more often supposed to be taken from an earlier work, possibly by the same author. They are much more closely connected with one another than with the contexts in which they now stand. Their theme is the ideal Servant of Jehovah, who is no

[1] Driver, *Introduction*, p. 246. It is often, however, supposed that this verse is a gloss based upon Isaiah xliv. 2. Jer. xlvi. 27=xxx. 10 is also doubtful.

[2] Other passages are sometimes associated with these.

longer the nation, but a Person. He is a Prophet and Martyr commissioned to bring not only Jews but also the Gentiles to the true faith in Jehovah. He is a leper, is persecuted and put to death, but redeems mankind by His sufferings and martyrdom. Much that is said of the Servant of Jehovah reminds us of Jeremiah, and these passages are often supposed to be based upon that prophet's experiences. There is great variety of opinion as to the interpretation of these passages—whether they are reminiscence or anticipation; whether the Servant is still, as in the context, Israel in some sense or other, the whole nation or a part of it being personified; or a personification of the prophetic order; or a coming Prophet and Redeemer. Difference of opinion, however, as to the form in which the prophecy was originally expressed need not occasion any doubt as to its fulfilment in Christ. Prof. G. A. Smith writes,[1] "We . . . assert, what none but prejudiced Jews have ever denied, that this great prophecy, known as the fifty-third of Isaiah, was fulfilled in One Person, Jesus of Nazareth, and achieved in all its details by Him alone."

Certain passages which have been incorporated in Isaiah i.-xxxix., were probably composed in this period. These are the great poem on the Fall of Babylon, Isaiah xiii.—xiv. 23; and the two connected utterances, Jehovah's vengeance upon Edom, Isaiah xxxiv., and the return of the exiles, by a highway through the wilderness made well-watered and fertile, Isaiah xxxv. All three are written from the same standpoint as Isaiah xl.-lv.

Probably various collections of Jeremiah's works, etc., were made in this period; and perhaps, before the close of the exile, the bulk of the book existed in its present form.

[1] Isaiah xl.-lxvi., p. 267.

Moreover the works of Isaiah and the other pre-exilic prophets were probably collected and edited.

Throughout the periods already dealt with, the aggregation of some of the poems and epigrams which ultimately formed the books of Psalms and Proverbs must have been going on, but the history of the process and the dates of individual poems are so uncertain, that it is convenient to defer the consideration of them till we can deal with the complete books. One special branch of the literary activity of the close of the monarchy and of the exile is reserved for the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

NEW EDITIONS OF THE LAW AND THE HISTORY— DEUTERONOMY, JUDGES, SAMUEL, KINGS, LAW OF HOLINESS (LEV. XVII.-XXVI. ETC.)

THE reader will remember that, before the close of the eighth century, the Israelites already possessed numerous narratives, poems, and other monuments of the Revelation they had received through their national experience and their inspired teachers. During the later Monarchy and the Captivity these earlier documents were combined in larger works, with various additions and other modifications. Doubtless in many instances the traces of these editings have either disappeared, or are too obscure to afford us much information; but a careful examination of our extant books enables us to discern some of the main stages of the process of which they are the final result; just as the present arrangement of the strata of the earth's crust affords evidence of its geological history.

Combined Prophetic Document, JE, cir. B.C. 650.

The first of these stages was the combination of the two Prophetic Documents[1] into a single work. Each apparently passed through one or more editions before the amalgamation; but about B.C. 650, an editor or editors constructed a single narrative by piecing together the corresponding sections of the two. Where a passage in the one had no exact counterpart in the other, it was simply inserted

[1] Pp. 11 ff.

at the proper point in the history, *e.g.*, the account of Eliezer's mission to find a wife for Isaac, Gen. xxiv., is simply J, while the story of Abraham and Abimelech, Gen. xx., is simply E. But when both documents contained sections which were plainly alternative versions of the same narrative, a mosaic was constructed of material taken from both. As a rule, if almost or quite identical sentences occurred in both, only one would be inserted in the combined account; but the editor seems to have been anxious to preserve the characteristic points of each, even where they were inconsistent. He transmitted the ancient testimony faithfully, without suppressing conflicting statements. The following may serve as an example of the fashion in which sentences from the two sources have been combined. The particular analysis is somewhat hypothetic, but there is no doubt that many of our narratives are the result of a combination of this kind. The ordinary type is J, the italics E:—

JOSHUA viii. 14-22.

"When the King of Ai saw them he hastened, *and the men of the city arose early and went forth to meet Israel in battle*, he and all his people to the place appointed before the Arabah, and he knew not that there was an ambush against him behind the city. *And Joshua and all Israel were smitten before them and they fled by the way of the wilderness and all the men that were in Ai were called forth to pursue them, and they pursued Joshua.* And they were drawn away from the city, and not a man was left in Ai, that did not go forth after Israel. *And they left the city open and pursued after Israel; and Jehovah said unto Joshua: Stretch out the javelin that is in thy hand towards Ai, for I will give it into thy hand, and Joshua stretched out the*

javelin, that was in his hand towards the city. And the ambush arose quickly from its place. *And they ran when he stretched forth his hand and came and took the city.* And they hastened to set the city on fire: and the men of Ai turned round and looked and behold the smoke of the city went up towards heaven, and they could not flee one way or the other. *And the people that fled to the wilderness turned upon their pursuers, and Joshua and all Israel saw that the ambush had taken the city*, and that the smoke of the city went up; and they turned and smote the men of Ai, and the others went forth from the city to meet them, and they were in the midst of Israel, some being on one side of them and some on the other, and they smote them until they left of them neither survivor or fugitive."[1]

Of course, the extant text will not include the whole of the two sources from which it is composed; and much has been done by means of conjunctions and slight changes of construction, etc., to make the combined narrative continuous. Hence in many passages it is scarcely possible to suggest any complete analysis which is even probably accurate in details: yet the composite character of the work is still shown by discrepancies and repetitions, similar to those found in passages where the sources are more easily distinguished. Thus in the history of Joseph, the merchants to whom he is sold are sometimes Midianites, Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36, sometimes Ishmaelites, 25, 27, xxxix. 1. The money is twice discovered in the sacks, xlii. 27, at the inn, and xlii. 35, after their return home.

So far as to the combination of the Prophetic Documents. Two other main questions remain as to the

[1] Analysis from the author's *Joshua* (Hebrew Text) in Dr Paul Haupt's "Sacred Books of the Old Testament."

combined work. Did the editor make use of any other sources? Did he make any considerable additions of his own? As to the former question; it cannot of course be proved that no other sources have been used, but it is not probable that the editor derived much of his material from documents other than J and E. Most of the poems and laws in the Combined Document seem to show traces of the work of one or other of the editors of the separate documents. As to the second question; any precise determination of material composed by the editor of the Combined Document (R^{je}) is quite impossible, partly for a reason which will appear later on. We have already stated that the mere mechanical combination of the sources necessitated some additions; and many others seem also to have been made. The documents were combined when religious feeling was vivid and strong, and the editor would not hesitate to make additions intended to bring out the religious teaching of the material he was handling.

For the sake of simplicity we have spoken of an editor, and suggested a single approximate date; but it would probably be wrong to think of any individual sitting down to work at the combination day by day till it was finished. The combination was a process, effected by different members of a literary school; and spread over some considerable period. The Combined Document may have passed through more than one edition. Its approximate date is fixed by the fact that its editorial matter shows the influence of the literary school which produced Deuteronomy. It therefore cannot be very much earlier than the publication of Deuteronomy in B.C. 621.

This Combined Document (JE) would differ rather in extent than in character from its constituent sources.

These have so much in common that they easily blend and form a fairly homogeneous whole. The editor indeed, contributed a new element, which set the ancient narratives in the fuller light of more recent revelation, and deduced from them lessons which might not have occurred to the readers of the older separate documents. This new work, therefore, constituted a brief anecdotal history of the Patriarchs and Israel, from the Creation to the death of Joshua, perhaps even as far as the early Monarchy.

The next stage or rather series of stages was the composition of Deuteronomy. Our present book is usually analysed somewhat as follows: (*a*) i. 1—iv., (*b*) v.-xxvi., (*c*) xxvii., (*d*) xxix.-xxx., (*e*) xxxi.-xxxiv. We will take first (*b*) v.-xxvi., the "kernel" of Deuter-

Deuteronomy, cir. B.C. 621.

onomy. It is not clear, however, that these chapters are all kernel; xii.-xxvi. are a code of laws to which v.-xi. form a hortatory introduction. It is often supposed that xii.-xxvi. were composed first, and that v.-xi. were added later, either by the same or by another author. In any case the two great divisions of (*b*) are very closely connected both in style and sentiment, and cannot be separated by any length of time. It is further probable that passages, *e.g.*, chapter xxviii., which once formed part of the same work as (*b*) or were composed by its author, are now to be found in other parts of our present book of Deuteronomy.[1]

Chapters xii.-xxvi. are a very much enlarged and very freely modified edition of the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xxi.-xxiii., in which the moral and humane element of the older code is more fully emphasized.[2] This new edition of the Mosaic law-book is not merely a dry series of ordinances, the laws are constantly enforced by

[1] *Cf.* pp. 68, 69. [2] Driver's *Introduction*, pp. 68-71.

argument and exhortation. The leading characteristic, however, which distinguishes it from the Book of the Covenant, is its interest in ritual. One of its main objects is to purify the worship of Jehovah from idolatry and superstition, and from the foreign and other corruptions which had been introduced into it or combined with it. As the high-places had fostered these corruptions, and were too numerous to be first reformed, and then effectually supervised, public worship of Jehovah by sacrifice is confined to the Temple at Jerusalem, xii., xiii., xviii. 9-14. Provision is made for the Levites who had officiated at the high-places, and the tribe of Levi is given an exclusive right to the priesthood, xviii. 1-8. A criterion is given of the true prophet, whom the people must hear and obey, xviii. 15-22. This code also seeks to guard against religious corruption by ordering the extermination of the non-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan, and by forbidding intercourse with neighbouring tribes, xx. 10-20, xxiii. 3, xxv. 17-19 : *cf.* the prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in vii. 3.

The approximate date of this code is easily fixed by comparing it with the prophets of the eighth century and the reforms of Josiah. The prophets attack the corruptions which the code forbids and the high-places which it suppresses. Their discourses imply that these abuses were not in formal opposition to any known ordinances. Josiah did away with the impure worship, suppressed the high-places, and attempted to provide for the Levites, as the code directs, in obedience to a law-book found in the Temple. Hence it is very generally held that this law-book was either identical with or included, xii.-xxvi., substantially in their present form ; and that this code was compiled some time between the preaching of Amos, Hosea

and Isaiah, and its discovery in B.C. 621. The author or authors are unknown; these chapters present many parallels both to the style and ideas of Jeremiah; but the internal evidence is decisive against his authorship.

Chapters v.-xi. are an introduction to the code, in the form of an address by Moses in the plains of Moab shortly before his death. The Israelites are urged to love Jehovah as the one true God and to obey His will, especially as revealed in xii.-xxvi. The latter code is supplemented by additions and many of its laws are repeated in a more hortatory form. The appeal for obedience is enforced by references to the mercy and justice of Jehovah as shown in the Exodus. In these chapters also, much of the material, both legal and historical, is derived from the Prophetic Narratives; *e.g.*, in v. 6-21 we have a slightly expanded version of the Decalogue.

(*a*) i.-iv. contain a historical retrospect of the Exodus dependent throughout upon JE, i.-iii., and an exhortation to obedience also in the form of an address by Moses in the plains of Moab, iv. 1-40. If i.-xxvi. are by the same author, i. 1—iv. 40 will be a historical, and iv. 44—xi. a hortatory introduction. Many critics, however, regard i. 1—iv. 40 as composed by another author, as an introduction to iv. 44—xxvi. An interesting theory is that for a time two editions of Deuteronomy were current, one consisting of xii.-xxvi. with v.-xi. for an introduction, and the other of xii.-xxvi. with i. 1—iv. 40 for an introduction, and that our i.-xxvi. is due to a fusion of the two. In any case i. 1—iv. 40 cannot be separated by any long interval from v.-xxvi.[1]

(*b*) xxvii. contains the command to proclaim blessings on Mt. Gerizim and curses on Mt. Ebal, the curses

[1] iv. 44-49, a heading for v.-xxvi., and iv. 41-43 were inserted later.

alone are given. This chapter is usually regarded as a later addition, possibly by the same hand as i.-xi.

(*c*) xxviii. enforces the laws by blessings and curses. It is very often regarded as the original conclusion of xii.-xxvi.; though others regard it as an introduction to—

(*d*) xxix., xxx., which are a further exhortation to obedience enforced by threats, promises, and are usually regarded as a later addition to xii.-xxvi., probably by the same hand as i.-xi., etc.

(*e*) xxxi.-xxxiv.[1] are made up of material from various sources, and owe their present arrangement and position to the last editor of the Pentateuch.[2] They were never, as they stand, the conclusion of the exilic work which was based on Josiah's law-book.

The various dates assigned to the several sections involve alternative theories of the composition of Deuteronomy. The choice seems to lie between one form or other of the two following. Either Josiah's law-book contained the substance of i.-xxx. and perhaps parts of xxxi., xxxii.; or it contained the substance of xii.-xxvi. and perhaps xxviii., and somewhat later these chapters were made the basis of two independent editions; (*a*) the substance of i.—iv. 40 with xii.-xxvi., xxviii., and other additions, perhaps xxix., xxx. (*b*) the substance of iv. 44—xxvi., xxviii., and other additions. We are still, however, at some distance from Deuteronomy as it stands in our Bibles; but as to the two remaining stages there is more agreement. Each of these further editings was part of a larger process, in connection with which it will have to be considered. Only the earlier falls within the period before the close of the Exile.

The literary influence of Deuteronomy dominated the period immediately succeeding its publication, and made

[1] On xxxii. and xxxiii. *cf.* p. 10. [2] See p. 83 *ff.*

itself felt in all subsequent Jewish literature. The Fall of the Southern Kingdom, and the Captivity made patriotic scholars anxious for the safety of the monuments of the literature of Israel and the records of its history. They sought to preserve them by gathering short ancient documents into larger works and collections, adding at the same time explanatory notes and didactic comments. These additions are in the style and spirit of Deuteronomy, and justify us in speaking of these writers as "Deuteronomic Editors," and regarding their work as a single process. They dealt with the Combined Prophetic Document (JE), the early edition or editions of Deuteronomy, the books of Judges and Kings, and probably Samuel.

Deuteronomic Revision of the History.

First, as to the combination of the JE and the original editions of Deuteronomy. According to our second alternative theory of the composition of Deuteronomy, this process included first the combination of the two editions of Deuteronomy, and then the combination of this fuller Deuteronomy with JE. The process was much simpler than the previous combination of J and E, there was no interweaving of parallel narratives. There were probably omissions from JE; but, apart from these, JE, as far as what is now Num. xxxii. 42, was taken with little or no additions as the opening section of the new work. One important rearrangement seems to have been made. The Book of the Covenant, Exodus xxi.-xxiii., seems to have occupied in JE the position now assigned to the Deuteronomic speeches and laws. Apparently the editor removed this earlier code to the section dealing with the stay at Sinai, and inserted after Num. xxxii. 42, his edition of Deuteronomy, which not only combined earlier material, but

Combination of JE and Deuteronomy.

contained additions of his own. He then added the rest of JE, the lyrics, Deut. xxxii., xxxiii., the account of the Death of Moses, and the history of the conquest of Canaan. The latter section is now part of the Book of Joshua, and includes numerous additions by the Deuteronomic Editor: the bulk of chapters xi.-xiv. and xxiii. is Deuteronomic. The chief object of these additions is to emphasize the loyalty of Joshua to the Law of Moses, *i.e.*, Deut. xii.-xxvi.

The Book of Judges.

The Deuteronomic Editors also arranged the material of earlier narratives[1] concerning the Judges in a framework of their own; the result being substantially our Book of Judges. The only important later addition is chapters xx., xxi.[2] The chronological system, *e.g.*, iii. 30, and the didactic paragraphs, *e.g.*, the bulk of ii. 6—iii. 5, are due to the Deuteronomic Editors.

The Books of Samuel.

The Books of Samuel were originally a single work. The Deuteronomic passages are comparatively few and unimportant. Hence it is probable that the Deuteronomic Editors found the book existing substantially in its present form. This would agree with the theory[3] that the bulk of the Book of Samuel is a section of the Combined Prophetic Document (JE). In any case, the book is composed from different documents, and existed substantially in its present form about B.C. 700. The Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. ii. 1-10, and the section 2 Sam. xxii. 1—xxiii. 7, (Psalm xviii. and the Last Words of David), were probably inserted after the Deuteronomic revision.[4]

[1] p. 11. [2] p. 90.
[3] Suggested by Prof. H. Budde, of Strasburg, *cf.* pp. 11 *ff.*
[4] p. 90.

The Books of Kings.

The Books of Kings were also originally a single work. 1 Kings i., ii. is so closely connected with the Book of Samuel that it may have been originally part of it. Moreover sections of Kings have been referred to J, *e.g.*, the basis of 1 Kings iii.-xi., and to E, *e.g.*, the basis of 2 Kings ix., x. The narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha seem borrowed with little or no alteration from a document composed under prophetic influences in Northern Israel, *circa* B.C. 800-750, not long after the death of Elisha.[1] Otherwise Kings is mostly compiled by a Deuteronomic Editor from certain works quoted as the "Book of the Chronicles[2] of the Kings of Israel," 1 Kings xiv. 19 and *passim*, and the "Book of the Chronicles[2] of the Kings of Judah," 1 Kings xiv. 29 and *passim*. These works were either official annals or based upon such annals. As in Judges, the chronological framework, *e.g.*, 1 Kings xiv. 19, 20, and the didactic comments, *e.g.*, Solomon's prayer, 1 Kings viii. 14-66, and the judgments on the kings as good or bad, 1 Kings xv. 11, etc., are ascribed to the Deuteronomic Editor. As some of the editorial matter implies that the monarchy was still in existence, it is supposed that the book was composed before the Exile, cir. B.C. 600, and was brought up to date towards the close of the Exile by a second Deuteronomic Editor, writing some time after the release of Jehoiachin, B.C. 562, which is the last event recorded in the book.

Thus the labour of these Deuteronomic Editors resulted in the combination of the Double Prophetic Document with an expanded edition of Josiah's law-book, and in works which were substantially our Judges, Samuel and Kings. The editing was done at different times and by different hands; but the editors were alike devoted to

[1] p. 11. [2] Obviously not *our* "Chronicles."

the faith formulated in Deuteronomy, and their work must have had continuity and concert. The results are of the same style and spirit, and have a certain unity. They embrace a fairly consecutive history of the Patriarchs and of Israel from the Creation to the Captivity, and include the two earliest versions of the Mosaic Law. It has been suggested that this Deuteronomic Literature was not merely a series of books, but actually arranged as a single continuous work. Further, it is by no means improbable that those who revised the history, were also concerned with the editing of the prophets.[1]

But the students of Deuteronomy were not the only school of Jewish writers during the exile. Already we can discern the influence of that sacerdotal spirit, which is so marked in the post-exilic literature. Side by side with the Deuteronomic Code in xii.-xxvi., and Ezekiel's Code in xl.-xlviii. we have the Law of Holiness,—so-called from its key-note: "Ye shall be holy, for I, Jehovah your God, am holy." This code forms the bulk of Lev. xvii.-xxvi.; and xi. 3-23, 41-47, and other passages are also supposed to be taken from it. Its ordinances are partly moral, but chiefly ritual, as to ceremonial cleanness in food and life, for Jews in general, and priests in particular; as to the Sabbath, the feasts, the Temple Ritual, etc. It concludes like the Deuteronomic Code, with an exhortation to obedience, enforced with blessings and curses, xxvi. 3-46. Like Deuteronomy, it has parallels with the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xxi.-xxiii.; and, by a somewhat elastic use of language, we might call it a freely expanded edition of that ancient code. But it has also numerous parallels with Deut. xii.-xxvi., where the latter is independent of its

Law of Holiness (H) Lev. xvii.-xxvi., etc.

[1] p. 60.

predecessor. Like Deuteronomy it demands a pure worship, confined to a single sanctuary, xvii. 1-9, xix. 4, xx. 1-8, xxvi. 1. But the Law of Holiness is most closely connected with Ezek. xl.-xlviii. The two are very similar both in style and spirit, and have much in common both in language and precepts. Both are far more interested in ceremonial cleanness and in the ritual and the priesthood than Deuteronomy, and dwell upon details where Deuteronomy lays down principles. Hence Ezekiel has sometimes been regarded as the author of the Law of Holiness; but more often it has been supposed that either he used this Law, or that his code was used by the author of the Law. Perhaps it is more probable that the two codes owe their resemblance to the use of the same material, viz.: the traditional ordinances of the Temple at Jerusalem. Possibly both may have known them by oral teaching as part of a priest's education, or may have had access to written collections of these ordinances.

The chapters in which the Law of Holiness is now extant have received additions and modifications by later editors who embodied the code in larger works.[1] The exact date of the code is uncertain, but it can scarcely be later than the close of the exile.

[1] p. 83.

CHAPTER VII

THE POST-EXILIC PROPHETS—COMPLETION OF THE BOOK OF ISAIAH; HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH I.-VIII., MALACHI, JOEL

An entirely new era of Jewish history begins when Persia takes the place of Chaldæa as the supreme power in Western Asia. Judæa, indeed, still remained a subject province of the dominant empire; and was soon repeopled by a Jewish community which enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy, subject to the control of a Persian governor. But for a long time the Jewish territory was little more than Jerusalem and its environs. The city and its Temple were the chief interests of the people; they retained their importance after the Jewish settlements were extended to wider areas. But Jerusalem was no longer the only centre of the nation; a large Jewish community remained permanently in Babylon, and there were many refugees in Egypt. Each of these bodies, no doubt, possessed a more or less complete collection of the literary inheritance of the past, the law and history, the ancient prophecies, poems and proverbs in their latest editions; and each was to contribute its share to the religious thought and literature of the future. For the present we are chiefly concerned with the period immediately following the exile, the Persian period, B.C. 538-333. As most of the remaining prophetic writings fall within this period, it is convenient to treat them here, although some additions were probably made to these books at a later date.

In this period we have also the priestly editions of the Law, and early history, which finally resulted in our Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. This latter subject and other literature of the period will be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

We may begin by completing our account of the Book of Isaiah. We will take first, Isaiah lvi.-lxvi. lvi. 1-8 announces that foreigners and eunuchs who keep the Sabbath, etc., shall be reckoned as children of Jehovah. lvi. 9.—lvii. 21 denounces the idolatry and immorality of the Jews, in the pre-exilic fashion, so that it is often supposed to have been borrowed from a pre-exilic prophet. lviii.-lix. also dwell on the sins of the Jews, their hypocritical fasts and their sabbath-breaking, etc., as involving them in calamity. lx.-lxii. announce the complete restoration of Jerusalem and its supremacy over the Gentiles. lxiii.-lxvi. deal with the redeeming grace of Jehovah in relation to the sin of His people and the opposition of their enemies. In spite of both, Jehovah will establish His people in renewed prosperity, in "new heavens and a new earth" lxv. 17, lxvi. 22. His name will be glorified among the Gentiles and they will minister to the restoration of the Jews, lxvi. 19, 20.

Isaiah lvi.-lxvi. (Third Isaiah).

Duhm regards lvi.-lxvi. as the work of a single author —Trito-Isaiah—about the time of Nehemiah, B.C. 444; Cheyne assigns them to about the same date, but regards them as ten separate compositions. Very many critics, however, consider that, though parts of this section, especially lxiii.-lxvi., may be later than the close of the Exile, they still belong to the beginning of the Persian period, and are probably either by the same author as xl.-lv. or based upon his work.

Two sections of Isaiah i.-xxxv. have not yet been dealt with; xii. and xxiv.-xxvii. Chapter xii. is a buoyant psalm of praise which some editor appended to the first collection of prophecies as a suitable conclusion. The exact date of this little poem is uncertain, but it is generally regarded as post-exilic. Chapters xxiv.-xxvii. are an apocalyptic vision of a terrible and far-reaching catastrophe, in which a great city, the oppressor of the Jews (?) is overthrown; and the people of God are rescued from misery and humiliation. We are specially told that "Moab shall be trodden down," xxv. 10. The terms of this prophecy are studiously vague, its exact date and the identity of the city are quite uncertain; but the date is often fixed in the Persian period. Possibly, however, these chapters record the impression made by the rapid conquests of Alexander.

Isaiah xii. and xxiv.-xxvii., xxxvi.-xxxix.

We have still left the historic section, xxxvi.-xxxix. This is taken from 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19 with slight alterations; with the exception of the "Writing (Miktam) of Hezekiah," xxxviii. 9-20. This poem is given as the expression of the king's gratitude for his recovery. But the poem probably owes its present position to its heading, verse 9; and this heading probably belongs to the same category as those in the Psalter,[1] and is a conjecture of a late editor. The Psalm is a prayer either of an individual in his sickness or of the community in its distress.

We may now consider the process of editing of which our Book of Isaiah is the result. We note first the arrangement of the book as it stands, neglecting minor additions, (*a*) i.-xii. Isaianic prophecies mostly concerning the war with Syria and Ephraim, with a post-exilic conclusion, xii., and probably other late additions.

[1] p. 107.

(*b*) xiii. - xxiii. Isaianic utterances concerning foreign nations, having prefixed the exilic section, xiii. 1—xiv. 23 on Babylon, and concluding with xxiii. on Tyre, also possibly exilic.

(*c*) The post-exilic Apocalypse, xxiv.-xxvii.

(*d*) xxviii. - xxxiii. Isaianic prophecies on the Deliverance from Assyria.

(*e*) xxxiv., xxxv. Exilic Appendix.

(*f*) xxxvi.-xxxix. Historical excerpt from 2 Kings, with illustrative Psalm.

(*g*) xl. - lxvi. Collection of exilic and post-exilic prophecies.

An examination of this arrangement shows that i.-xi., xiv. 24—xxii., xxviii. - xxxiii., collections mainly consisting of Isaianic material, are separated and followed by sections of later date. Probably these three collections—themselves gathered from earlier and shorter collections—circulated separately. The later additions may have been partly added to these separate collections and partly inserted by the editor who combined them. The historical appendix, xxxvi.-xxxix., was probably added when i.-xxxv. was already complete, but before xl.-lxvi. was connected with the earlier chapters. The Song of Hezekiah is a still later addition; it not merely breaks the context, but the insertion seems to have led to a distortion and mutilation of the original text, *cf.* xxxviii. 1-7, 21, 22 with 2 Kings xx. 1-11. As some of the sections of i.-xxxix. are probably not much earlier than the close of Persian period, this process of editing cannot have been concluded till the beginning of the Greek period, B.C. 330-250.

If xl.-xlvi. is not a literary whole completed soon after the Exile, it still seems probable that lvi.-lxvi. were written to supplement xl.-lv., and the different sections,

for the most part, combined with the opening chapters as they were composed. It is, of course, possible that the same editor completed xl.-lxvi. and combined these chapters with i.-xxxix.; but it is more probable that xl.-lxvi. existed for some time as a separate work. The date of its final editing in this form will depend upon the latest date assigned to any of its sections, and may thus range from B.C. 530-300 or even later. The combination of i.-xxxix. and xl.-xlvi. must fall between the final editing of i.-xxxix., and the composition of Ecclesiasticus, which, xlviii. 23 ff., implies the Isaianic authorship of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. These limits give a date between B.C. 300-200; a general result which is confirmed by the fact that 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 22, 23 (=Ezra i. 1-3) quotes Isaiah xliv. 28, as an utterance of Jeremiah; so that the Chronicler cannot have known xl.-lxvi. as part of the Book of Isaiah. The following theory may perhaps account for the combination of I. and II. Isaiah. There is evidence that originally the greater prophets were arranged Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. The anonymous work now standing as Isaiah xl.-lxvi. would rank as a greater prophet, and, as anonymous, was placed last. The absence of any heading led to its being written consecutively with Isaiah i. - xxxix., and consequently the whole of our present book of Isaiah came to be regarded as a single work by the ancient prophet.

Haggai, B.C. 520. Zechariah, i.-viii., B.C. 520-518.

But besides this anonymous literary work, we possess documents of the Persian period of known date and authorship. The prophets Haggai and Zechariah were commissioned to rouse the Jews to greater energy in rebuilding the Temple. The records of their prophecies have headings giving the name of the author, and the year,

month and day on which the prophecy was uttered. Haggai enforces his appeal by promises that the new temple will be more glorious than that of Solomon, and that zeal in the work will be rewarded by fruitful seasons and by the overthrow of their enemies. Chapters i.-viii.—the part of the book of Zechariah universally ascribed to him —contain a series of visions designed to inculcate similar lessons. The couriers of Jehovah traverse the whole earth and find the oppressor of Israel in peace and security, i. 7-11, yet prosperity shall return to Judah and Jerusalem and four smiths shall fray the four horns which scattered Israel, i. 12-20. Jerusalem shall be too populous to be measured or walled in, and many nations shall be joined to Jehovah, ii. In a vision the prophet sees the high-priest Joshua delivered from the accusations of Satan and from the filthy garments of sin and clothed in priestly raiment, iii.; and iii. 8 apparently applies Jeremiah's prophecy of the Righteous Branch (*cemah cf.* iv. 12) to the Davidic prince, Zerubbabel. Zerubbabel and Joshua are two "sons of oil," *i.e.*, Messiahs, ministers of grace to Israel, olive-branches which supply oil to the golden-candlestick, iv. The land is purified of sin, because the divine judgment as a flying-roll falls surely on every sinner; and at last, sin, as a woman shut up in an ephah, is carried away by two flying women to Babylon, v. In chapter vi. is an obscure vision of four chariots, and a symbolic making of crowns for Joshua and Zerubbabel.[1] Chapter vii. depreciates the fasts instituted during the Captivity, and urges justice and benevolence rather than external fasting; the passage is closely parallel to Isaiah lviii. 1-7. Chapter viii. is a glowing picture of the future of the Jews: the fasts of the Captivity shall be turned into feasts, and "many people and strong

[1] According to the original text of vi. 11.

nations shall come to seek Jehovah Sabaoth in Jerusalem and to intreat His favour . . . ten men, out of all the languages of the nations, shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, "We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." viii. 22, 23.

The Book of Malachi, cir. B.C. 460-430.

While Haggai and Zechariah were zealous for the building of the Temple, the Book of Malachi is interested in the gifts and dues for the maintenance of the service and the priesthood, i. 6-14, iii. 7-12, in the character and faithfulness of the priests, ii. 1-9, and the people, ii. 10, iii. 6. The book opens, i. 1-5, with a denunciation of Edom, the hated enemy of the restored community, and closes, iv. 4-6, with an exhortation to remember the Law of Moses and a promise that Elijah shall be sent "before the great and terrible Day of Jehovah." The book is anonymous and undated. "Malachi" is probably not a proper name and should be read either "His messenger," as the Septuagint; or "My messenger," as the Targum and RV.Mg. By its interest in sacrifices and temple-dues and in the prohibition of marriage with foreign women, ii. 11, it connects with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah; but we may doubt whether the prophecies were uttered in preparation for, or during their establishment of, a new and better order. In any case it cannot be long before or long after B.C. 444.

Joel, cir. B.C. 350.

The prophecies of the short Book of Joel were apparently delivered on the occasion of a plague of locusts, i. 1-14, which had been so severe as to cause the regular Temple offerings to be suspended, i. 9, 13. The prophet proclaims the "Day of the Lord" as a season of terrible calamities, i. 14—ii. 11, from which Judah may be delivered by repentance. Then

the spirit of the Lord shall be poured out on all His people, ii. 28-32; Judah and Jerusalem shall be restored; and Tyre and Zidon, Egypt and Edom, and all the heathen shall be destroyed because they have ill-treated the Jews.

There is no mention of Syria, Assyria, or the Northern Kingdom; there are elders, and the priests are frequently spoken of, but nothing is said about any king. On the other hand, neither Babylon nor Persia is named: but the Phœnicians are to be punished for selling Jewish captives to the Greeks, iii. 6.

Diametrically opposite conclusions have been drawn from this and other evidence which the book affords of its date. It has been referred to the period of the early monarchy before Syria and Assyria appeared upon the scene, and the silence as to the king has been explained by dating it in the minority of Joash, cir. B.C. 836. According to this theory it would be the earliest of the extant prophetical books. The more commonly accepted theory refers it to about the close of the Persian period, when Syria and Assyria, and the Ten Tribes had long since disappeared, when there was no king, and the elders and especially the priests were the heads of the Jewish community. Silence as to Persia is easily understood if Joel spoke in the hearing of a Persian governor or his officers.

Thus the prophecies of the Persian period, including, in some measure, the later portions of the Book of Isaiah, are deeply concerned for the Temple and its ritual and priesthood. The moral earnestness of the older prophets still survives, but their indifference or even hostility to ritual has disappeared, and later prophecy follows in the footsteps of Ezek. xl.-xlviii., and is the handmaid of the priestly legislators.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FINAL EDITIONS OF THE LAW AND THE OLDER HISTORY; THE PRIESTLY CODE, PENTATEUCH AND JOSHUA

We have already gathered from the prophetical works of this period that at first the restored community in Judah enjoyed little prosperity and was not possessed by any great zeal for the Temple and its priesthood. These facts are further established by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Psalter. Moreover, through inter-

The Priestly Code.

marriage and other dealings with the neighbouring tribes the purity of Jewish religion and even the separate existence of the Jewish people were endangered. The knowledge of ancient tradition and the force of ancient custom had suffered through the exile. Deuteronomy was not sufficient to meet this evil; and there is no evidence that either Ezek. xl.-xlviii. or the Law of Holiness were recognised as authoritative in Judæa. At Jerusalem the Jewish settlers were involved in a desperate struggle for existence, but in the community at Babylon were men with literary tastes and leisure, who composed for their brethren at Jerusalem an authoritative statement of their duties to the Temple, its services and its ministers. This is the document known as the Priestly Code. As we now have it, it embraces the Law of Holiness. Possibly the authors of the Priestly Code may have included this in their work; but it is more generally supposed that the Law of Holiness was combined with

the Priestly Code after the latter was completed. Apart from the Law of Holiness we cannot now trace the sources of the Priestly Code; nevertheless it was not a new law, but rather, as it professed to be, an exposition of ancient tradition and custom. Naturally the form in which ancient principles are applied is determined by contemporary needs, and involves novel details. The account of the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah renders it probable that "the law of thy God which was in the hand" of Ezra, Ezra vii. 14, was the combination of the Law of Holiness and the Priestly Code minus the concluding portion of the latter, which dealt with the history of Joshua. Obviously "the book of the law of Moses," Neh. viii. 1, could not include the sayings and doings of his successor. Thus between the Restoration, B.C. 538 and Nehemiah's reformation, B.C. 444, the Priestly Code was composed, the Law of Holiness was combined with it, and the priestly book of Joshua was severed from the Law. There are probably, however, priestly sections of the Pentateuch which were added to Ezra's Law Book at a later date. In B.C. 444 that Law Book was read and explained to a great gathering of the Jews, who acknowledged its authority by a solemn covenant. Thus, for the moment, two Mosaic codes stood side by side, to each of which the nation was committed by a solemn covenant. Deuteronomy, now embodied in the great Deuteronomic edition of the law and history, had been sworn to by the nation under Josiah, and, by its combination with the Dual Prophetic Narrative, enjoyed the distinction of long established and prescriptive rights. Now the new Law Book sought to share the authority of the older. It may even have been intended to supersede it. But, in any case, the Deuteronomic work had so firm a hold on the people,

that the new code could only obtain permanent validity by an alliance with the old. Probably not long after B.C. 444, not later than B.C. 400, an editor writing in the style and spirit of the Priestly Code combined it with the Deuteronomic work which had been made up from the Dual Prophetic Narrative and Deuteronomy. Naturally the Joshua sections of the latter work were omitted.

A slightly different theory supposes that Ezra's Law Book was the complete Pentateuch, substantially in its present form. This theory would, of course, include the whole process from the compilation of the original Priestly Code to its combination with the rest of the Pentateuch in the period from B.C. 530-444.

Let us now consider the contents and character of the Priestly Code.[1] It consisted of a collection of laws set in a historical framework, furnished with a careful system of genealogies and chronology which extends in unbroken continuity from beginning to end. This history originally dealt with the whole period from the Creation to the death of Joshua. As a rule the purely historical matter is very brief, a mere skeleton of history borrowed from the Dual Prophetic Narrative. For instance all that P has to say about the destruction of Sodom and the rescue of Lot is "When God destroyed the cities of the Plain, He remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in which Lot dwelt," Gen. xix. 29.

Some sections of P, which have no parallel in JE, are probably based on portions of the latter which were omitted in the editing of the Pentateuch. P's fuller narratives are either detailed precedents for legal procedure; *e.g.*, Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii.;

[1] *Cf.* Table in Appendix A.

or the account of the institution of some ritual observance; *e.g.*, the Creation, Gen. i. 1—ii. 4*a*, inaugurates the observance of the Sabbath; the Flood leads to the declaration of the sanctity of life and the consequent prohibition to eat flesh with blood, Gen. ix. 1-17. The narratives with their legal morals serve to impress upon the people the antiquity and authority of the laws. Thus in spite of its historical form, P is simply a Law Book dealing with the duties of the people to the Temple and the priesthood, and also enforcing the various observances, the Sabbath, circumcision, ceremonial cleanness, etc. which made the Jews a distinct people and constantly reminded them of their special relation to Jehovah. The inclusion of the Law of Holiness shows that the priestly editors were also anxious to set before the people a high moral standard. In addition to the dated genealogies, the main sections of P are—its Patriarchal Narratives of Genesis, introducing the laws of the Sabbath, of Abstinence from Blood, of Circumcision, of the Purchase of Land, of the Prohibition of marriage with foreigners, xxviii. 1-9, xxxiv. (in part); an account of the Exodus, with the law of the Passover; the narratives of the manufacture and consecration of the Tabernacle and its belongings, etc., and of the consecration, etc., of the priests, Exodus xxv.-xxxi., xxxv.-xl.; the entire book of Leviticus, including the laws for sacrifice, purification and atonement, the Law of Holiness and a chapter, xxvii., on vows and tithes; Num. i. 1—x. 28, xviii., xix., statistics, laws as to Levites, etc., etc.; Num. xxvi.-xxxi., statistics, the festivals, vows, and the war against Midian; Num. xxxiii.-xxxvi., the journeys of the Israelites, arrangements for the division of Western Palestine, for the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge, and a law as to heiresses; the bulk of the account of the division of the land in

Joshua, xiii.-xxi. In addition to these, numerous paragraphs and sentences of P are elsewhere interwoven with material from the older documents, in the fashion already illustrated in connection with the combination of J and E.

The characteristics of P are numerous and strongly marked, so that its material is as a rule easily distinguished from that of the Prophetic and Deuteronomic writers. A large number of words and phrases are peculiar to the Priestly Writer, and he has his favourite formulæ which he is fond of repeating. He aims at a legal exactness which often renders his work formal and diffuse. He often has what one may call a schedule-style, successive paragraphs consist of the same formula filled in with different details, *e.g.*, the account of the days of Creation, the genealogies, Gen. v., etc., the census-reports, Num. i. 26, the offerings of the princes, Num. vii., etc.

The Priestly Code has also a special theory of the history; the Divine Name Jehovah, the laws of sacrifice, and the distinction of clean and unclean animals were first revealed to Moses. Hence the divine name used by P in Genesis is not Jehovah, but Elohim or El Shaddai; the patriarchs do not sacrifice, and nothing is said about clean and unclean animals. The times of Moses and Joshua furnish an ideal, to which the Jews ought to conform; and all that is desirable for the Jews of the Restoration is set forth in the form of Mosaïc precedents, because it was ultimately based on Mosaïc traditions and principles. The most prominent theological characteristic is the absence of anthropomorphism.

The legislation is much more fully developed than in Deuteronomy and Ezekiel; the threefold division of high priest, priests and Levites is for the first time clearly defined; the dues claimed for the priesthood and the

Temple are more numerous and at a higher rate; there are more festivals, and the ancient feasts are held for longer periods.

When the Priestly Code came to be combined with the Deuteronomic Pentateuch, the consecutive genealogies and chronology of the Priestly Code made it a suitable framework for the combination, an arrangement which was naturally acceptable to the priestly editor who effected the union. Probably, too, he omitted the original versions of paragraphs which had already been taken over with slight alterations by the Priestly Code. Otherwise he handled the earlier material in a most conservative and reverential spirit, making few alterations, and carefully preserving ancient narratives and laws, even when they contradicted those of the Priestly Code. The fact that this editor included in his book the narrative of the death of Moses, shows that he did not intend it to be regarded as a work composed by Moses. The division into five books is older than the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch, cir. B.C. 250-200.

As we have now reached the complete Pentateuch we may recapitulate the history of its compilation, and sketch its character considered as a whole. The roots of the Pentateuch are in the ancient history and customs of Israel, in the revelation made to Moses, and in his dealings with his people. These formed the basis of the two Prophetic Narratives J and E, including the Book of the Covenant, and various ancient poems. After passing through various editions, these two narratives were blended in the Dual Prophetic Narrative JE. Somewhere before B.C. 621 a new law book, the "kernel" of Deuteronomy, was framed on the basis of the Book of the Covenant; and before the end of the exile an

expanded edition of this was combined by a Deuteronomic editor with JE. Both J and E, and therefore JE, seem to have extended into the period of the monarchy, and the complete Deuteronomic History seems to have included not only JE and D, but also the history to the close of the monarchy. Also between B.C. 621 and the Return, another law book, the Law of Holiness, P^1 or H, was compiled on the basis of the Book of the Covenant. After the Return, the Priestly Code, P^2, was compiled at Babylon, partly from JE, partly from priestly tradition; to this code the Law of Holiness was soon added. This work ($P^1 + P^2 = P$) was published at Jerusalem in B.C. 444, minus portions relating to Joshua. Later on this expanded Priestly Code was combined with the Deuteronomic Pentateuch (JED), up to and including the death of Moses. This last combination substantially completed the Pentateuch as we have it, though there were probably later additions of minor importance. Of course this brief sketch is not an exhaustive account of the process. We must add that it has been recognised throughout that Genesis xiv. (Abraham, Lot, and Melchizedek) cannot be attributed to any of the main documents, nor is it certain which of the editors inserted it in his book. It has been variously regarded as very early or very late.

Thus it will be seen that our Pentateuch is a catena of materials from sources of various dates and by various authors, arranged according to the persons and events dealt with. Popular narratives concerning the fathers of the race and the infancy of the nation have been combined with the successive versions of the sacred laws of Israel; and consistency and consecutiveness have been sacrificed to the desire to preserve in full the ancient records of the national history.

Up to a certain point the history of the Book of Joshua is that of the Pentateuch. Its contents are partly taken from the Deuteronomic work (JED), and partly from the Priestly Code. But both the Deuteronomic and the Priestly Joshua were severed from the earlier law and history; and were not dealt with by the priestly editor who combined P and JED. Nevertheless, the Joshua sections of JED and P were combined, but apparently by another editor. Either P had passed very lightly over the conquest or the editor has omitted his work and given simply JED, for in chapters i.-xii., xxiii., xxiv. there are only a few short paragraphs and sentences in the style of P and most of these are rather due to an editor than derived from the Priestly Code. In xiii.-xxi., the division of the land, the larger part of the information is apparently given as it stood in the Priestly Code. Chapter xxii. is a later addition by a writer who expanded older material in the spirit of the Priestly Code.[1]

These later priestly editors did not undertake any thorough revision of the Deuteronomic editions of Judges, Samuel and Kings, but contented themselves with small editorial changes and comparatively unimportant additions, just as they did in the case of the Pentateuch and Joshua. The most important addition is Judges xx., xxi., the war of the other tribes against Benjamin. Of course the later scribes and editors were not all equally under the influence of the Priestly Code, and editorial matter may often be due to writers of other schools.

[1] This account of the Book of Joshua differs from that usually given, viz., that the Book of Joshua was separated from the rest of the Hexateuch *after* JED and P had been combined.

CHAPTER IX

JOB, PROVERBS, CANTICLES AND RUTH

So far we have chiefly dealt with literature which afforded strong internal evidence of its date and origin—history which betrayed the local and temporal interests of its narrators; laws and prophetic exhortations which were designed to minister to the needs of the generation to whom they were addressed. The works we have now to consider treat of themes which have been perennially familiar and absorbing—the fortunes of lovers, the rewards of prudence and the penalties of folly, and the sufferings of the innocent.

Discussions of such topics do not so manifestly indicate the period of their composition. These four books are probably not much earlier than the end of the Exile and are sometimes placed much later. Job and Proverbs belong to that branch of Hebrew literature which deals with general principles of life and experience — the "Wisdom" of the Jews.

We begin with the Book of Job. The theory of its great antiquity and its authorship by Moses is now thoroughly discredited. It contains reminiscences of a national captivity, *e.g.*, xii. 17, sometimes identified with that of the Northern Kingdom. Hence it has sometimes been placed in the last period of the Jewish Monarchy. But its discussion of the sufferings of the innocent seems to imply the work of

Job, cir. B.C. 350 ?

Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and is sometimes held to prepare the way for the picture of the suffering servant of Jehovah in Isaiah liii., considerations which point to a date towards the close of the Exile. The book has also been regarded as post-exilic and assigned to the Persian or even the Greek period. The author is clearly a Jew.

The book, as it now stands, is a discussion carried on by Job, his three friends, a young man named Elihu, and Jehovah Himself, in a series of poetic discourses. This discussion is introduced and concluded by brief prose narratives, the Prologue and Epilogue; Elihu is also introduced in a short prose paragraph. According to the Prologue, Job "was perfect and upright, one that feared God and eschewed evil," i. 1.

In order to discover whether his righteousness is disinterested, he is deprived of all his property, bereaved of his children, and afflicted with a painful and loathsome disease. His wife tempts him to renounce God, but he maintains an attitude of pious submission.

According to current theology, all suffering was the punishment of sin. It was supposed that a righteous moral government of the world was fully accomplished and manifested in the present life. Happiness and prosperity, loss and suffering, were meted out in exact proportion to men's virtues and vices. The prologue in the explanation it gives of Job's sufferings already contradicts this theory, but as this explanation is given in a conversation in heaven between God and Satan, it is of course unknown to Job and his friends. These three friends come to comfort him; at first their sympathy is expressed in silent fellowship with Job's grief. But after seven days the silence gives place to a discussion as to the cause of his sufferings. Job begins with a bitter lamentation, then follows a series of speeches

in three groups. In each group the three friends speak in turn, and after each speech Job replies ; except that in the last group there is no speech of Zophar, and Bildad's only consists of a few lines. The burden of the friends' speeches is, that Job must have committed heinous sins, because he is terribly afflicted, and God treats man according to their character and conduct. Job vehemently asserts his innocence; God does not deal with men according to their merits. Righteous men are often grievously afflicted, and are cut off prematurely by miserable deaths, while wicked men enjoy long and prosperous lives. The disputants appeal to a variety of arguments in support of their opposing theses. The final brevity of Bildad, and silence of Zophar indicate that they have no further answer to make to Job. Job, however, concludes with another lamentation over his sufferings, and a renewed protestation of innocence. The false charges of his friends have only made him more keenly conscious of what seems to him the gratuitous cruelty of his afflictions. His friends have claimed to speak in the name of the Divine Righteousness, it almost seems to him as if God Himself were his accuser. He appeals to God to hear and answer his complaint and self-vindication.

At this point Elihu appears. The paragraph that introduces him, xxxii. 1-5, tells us that the three friends "had found no answer to Job"; accordingly Elihu undertakes "to vindicate the ways of God to man." Substantially, however, his discourses, xxxii.-xxxvii., merely reassert the position, and repeat the arguments of the three friends. These chapters are not mere repetition, but as Prof. A. B. Davidson says: "The difference" between the views of Elihu and those of the three friends "does not amount to much, and is apt to be exaggerated." "So far as Elihu's

relation to the three friends is concerned, it is not easy to find any great difference between his conception and theirs, or almost any difference whatever in principle."[1]

No one takes any notice of Elihu, but Jehovah Himself appears in answer to Job's appeal, xxxi. 35. For the time, He says nothing about Job's guilt or innocence, or the exact apportionment of rewards and punishments. The discussion of these special topics implicitly involved the great problem of the wide-spread existence of misery and sin in a world created and governed by an omnipotent and righteous God, the apparent inconsistency of facts with the statements of Revelation as to the nature of God and His dealings with men. Job had not merely sought to vindicate himself, but had implied that his misfortunes involved apparent injustice on God's part, which required explanation. None is given of either the special difficulty or the wider problem it involved. In a series of wonderful pictures, xxxviii.-xli., God sets before Job the infinite power, wisdom and benevolence of His Creation and Providence; and reminds Job how little he knows and understands of these matters and how powerless he is to control the forces of nature. The conclusion apparently indicated is that so limited an intelligence must necessarily find mysteries in God's moral government. Job owns that he has been presumptuous, xl. 3-5, xlii. 1-6, and resumes his attitude of pious submission. In the Epilogue, xlii. 7-17, Jehovah testifies that in their discussion—*i.e.*, as to whether suffering was always due to sin—Job was right and his friends wrong: nothing is said of Elihu. Afterwards Job is restored to health and to even greater prosperity than before his troubles.

It is not now supposed that this poem is an accurate

[1] Camb. Bible, Job. xliv., xlii.

report of things actually said and done, but that it is a didactic parable based on ancient tradition of a righteous man named Job, who had suffered great calamities. The only other mention of Job in the Old Testament is in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, where he is coupled with Noah and Daniel.

It is doubtful whether the whole book is by the author of the discussion between Job and his friends, iii.-xxxi. The Prologue and Epilogue, i., ii., xlii. 7-17, have been objected to, mainly because the poetic justice of the Epilogue seems a concession to the view that virtue is always rewarded and vice punished in this life. A similar objection is made to xxvii. 7-23 as an utterance of Job. The abstract and unemotional Praise of Wisdom in xxviii. seems quite alien to the discussion and out of place in the impassioned context in which it now stands. The Elihu speeches, xxxii.-xxxvii., seem a superfluous intrusion between Job's appeal and Jehovah's answer. The fact that nobody takes any notice of them is strongly against their being part of the original work. Still there are distinguished critics[1] who strongly maintain that they are an integral part of the book. The speeches of Jehovah, xxxviii.-xli., have also been regarded as later additions, especially the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, xl. 15—xli. 34.

The Book of Proverbs has points of contact with Job. It also deals with that system of Providential rewards and punishments, of which the limitations are pointed out by Job; but it is occupied with their practical application, and not with their theological significance. The headings of the divisions of the book indicate that it has been formed by combining smaller collections. i. 1-6 is a brief introduction,

Proverbs completed, cir. B. C. 400-250.

[1] Budde, Cornill, etc.

describing the nature and objects of "the Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel." The rest of i.-ix. consists of (*a*) a series of didactic poems, mostly beginning "My son," exhorting the reader to practise virtues and avoid vice, and thus follow Wisdom, i.-vii.; and (*b*) viii., ix., Wisdom's invitation of men to her banquet and her warning against Folly, including the great description of Wisdom as God's Agent in Creation and Providence. This latter passage is the germ of the doctrine of the Logos. In Job xxviii., Wisdom is only an abstract quality. Chapters x. 1—xxii. 16, headed "The Proverbs of Solomon"[1]; xxii. 17—xxiv. 22, "The Words of the Wise," containing paragraphs beginning "My son"; xxiv. 23-34 headed "These also are the sayings of the wise," and including "the parable of the Sluggard"; xxv.-xxix., headed "These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out"; xxx. "the words of Agur, the son of Jakeh, the oracle," are miscellaneous collections of aphorisms and maxims, consisting for the most part of two, three or four lines. Agur's "words" are longer, containing from four to ten lines each.

Chapter xxxi. 1-9, "The words of King Lemuel, the oracle, which his mother taught him," are warnings against sensuality, drunkenness and injustice. The book concludes, xxxi. 10-31, with an alphabetic acrostic, in praise of the Capable Woman.

The accuracy and uniformity of the rhythm of the proverbs in these various collections suggests that we have not a mere record of popular sayings. Whatever use may have been made of such sayings, the literary form and the arrangement—where there is any—are due to the authors of the collections. Moreover, though proverbs are current

[1] This heading is omitted by the Septuagint.

in early periods of a nation's history, the idea of making written collections implies a somewhat advanced literary development. In as much as Proverbs is the comprehensive collection of one branch of national literature, it would naturally receive additions almost as long as Hebrew was a living language. A very close parallel—indeed the only parallel—to Proverbs is Ecclesiasticus, circa B.C. 200; and the Wisdom doctrine of Prov. viii., ix. resembles that of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon, circa B.C. 100. These and other considerations point to a late post-exilic date B.C. 400-250 for the final edition of Proverbs. But such a date is quite consistent with the presence in this book of a large amount of ancient material. We do not know when or by whom the various headings were appended, or what authority attaches to them. Even their exact meaning is doubtful; a collector of "Proverbs of Solomon" would be quite ready to insert any which seemed to connect with the age of Solomon. Nevertheless they point to an ancient tradition as to the wisdom of Solomon, *cf.* 1 Kings iv. 32, "He spoke three thousand proverbs and his songs were a thousand and five." The older portions of the book, chapters x.-xxix., are often referred to the period of the divided monarchy, B.C. 900-700, and may well contain reminiscences of these sayings of Solomon. Chapters i.-ix., xxx., xxxi. are probably post-exilic. Nothing is known of Agur or Lemuel.

Canticles, cir. B.C. 300.

The "Song of Songs" or "Song of Solomon" or "Canticles," is either primitive drama or a collection of love-songs. At one time it was regarded as a drama dealing with the loves of Solomon and the heroine. Recently the *dramatis personæ* have been held to be Solomon, the heroine, and her shepherd lover. Solomon by violence and persuasion tries to obtain

the heroine for his harem, but she remains faithful to her shepherd lover, with whom at last she is happily united. The most probable view, however, is one now gaining ground that the book is a collection of love-songs whose terminology is based upon an oriental custom, called the "King's Week." During the first week after marriage the bride and bridegroom play at being king and queen, and are addressed as such by a mock court, in songs not unlike those of Canticles. The language of Canticles points to a date at the close of the Persian period or even later; it is sometimes, however, explained as a dialect of Northern Israel. The latter theory is held to admit of a date within a century of the death of Solomon. The heading which ascribes the work to Solomon, is not the work of the author and has no more authority than other similar headings.

The book has been included in the Canon because the Rabbis regarded it as an allegory of the love of Jehovah for Israel. The Christian Fathers borrowed this view, substituting Christ and the Church for Jehovah and Israel. Modern exegetes regard it as an inspired sanction of pure conjugal affection.

Ruth, cir. B.C. 450?

The date of the Book of Ruth is matter of much controversy. The decision depends partly on the view taken of iv. 1-11, with its account of the forms connected with the release of the next-of-kin from the obligation to marry his kinsman's widow. Deut. xxv. 7-9,[1] prescribes forms by a definite law, whereas here they are referred to as an archaic custom. Hence on the one hand, Ruth has been referred to the period before

[1] Deut. speaks of a *brother*, not of *next-of-kin*; but it may be questioned whether "brother" here is to be limited to its strict sense. *Cf.*, however, Driver *in loco*. The law is omitted in the Priestly Code.

Deuteronomy, when the forms were a custom not yet definitely fixed by a law; or on the other hand to a late post-exilic date when the Deuteronomic law was obsolete and the practices only known as by ancient tradition. The genealogy in iv. 18-22 is in the style of the Priestly Code and also points to a late date, but it may be an addition by a priestly editor. Various objects have been suggested for the book, that it was written (*a*) to give an account of David's ancestors, (*b*) to enforce the obligation to marry a kinsman's widow, (*c*) as a counterblast to Ezra's crusade against foreign wives. But was any other motive necessary than the simple pleasure of telling a charming and edifying story?

CHAPTER X

THE PSALTER

As the Book of Proverbs is a collection of the Hebrew "Wisdom" of centuries, so the Sacred Songs of Israel are gathered up in the Psalter. The Exilic, Persian, and Greek Periods were specially rich in Psalms, and many are ascribed to earlier times. But it is extremely difficult to fix dates for these short poems, and it is convenient to consider the collection as a whole, at the point of transition from the Persian to the Greek Period.

Form of Hebrew Poetry.

In connection with the Psalter we must say a word or two as to the form of Hebrew Poetry. Hebrew verse is distinguished from prose not by the use of rhyme or alliteration, or by special arrangements of accent, quantity, or syllables; but by a correspondence of sense, and, in a secondary degree, of form, called *parallelism*. The unit of Hebrew verse is usually a couplet, less often a triplet, or set of four, five or six lines. We need only dwell upon the couplets, as the same principles apply to the triplets, etc. The correspondence of sense between two members of a couplet is of the most varied description. The two members may be similar,—*synonymous parallelism*. The similarity will vary from something like identity of idea, naturally accompanied with close similarity of form, *e.g.*,

> "I am become a stranger unto my brethren
> And an alien unto my mother's children" Ps. lxix. 8.

to a slight resemblance of length and rhythm :

> " I laid me down and slept ;
> I awaked for the Lord sustained me," iii. 5.

Sometimes a couplet expressed one truth by a contrast,—*antithetic parallelism : e.g.*,

> " Many sorrows shall be to the wicked
> But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy
> shall compass him about," xxxii. 10.

Sometimes the second member of a couplet merely completes or supplements the sense of the first—*synthetic parallelism, e.g.*,

> " Yet I have set my king,
> Upon my holy hill of Zion," ii. 6.

Probably such couplets are only distinguished from prose by the context ; the general rhythm of a Psalm would guide a singer or punctuator in dividing a verse into its two halves.

Correspondence of form naturally arose out of that of sense, and sometimes, as we have seen, was accepted as a substitute for it ; though, as a rule, there is a relation of sense between the two members of such couplets, which produces the feeling of balance or parallelism.

There is a remarkable combination of correspondence of form and sense carried through the following sextet, xix. 7-9 ; there is a correspondence of, " noun to noun, verb to verb, adjective to adjective."

The law	of the Lord is perfect,	
	restoring	the soul.
The testimony	of the Lord is sure,	
	making-wise	the simple.

The precepts	of the Lord are right,	
	rejoicing	the heart.
The commandment	of the Lord is pure,	
	enlightening	the eyes.
The fear	of the Lord is clean,	
	enduring	for ever.
The judgments	of the Lord are true,	
	righteous	altogether.

There are minor varieties of parallelism, and in triplets, etc., the different principles are sometimes combined. The different varieties of parallelism often occur in the same Psalm, but there is a tendency either to use lines of about the same length throughout a Psalm or strophe, or else to arrange the lengths on some regular principle. Psalms are often divided into strophes by a refrain, *e.g.*, in Ps. xlvi.,

> " The Lord of Hosts is with us ;
> The God of Jacob is our refuge "

occurs twice, as verses 7 and 11.

We have already noted the presence of alphabetic acrostics in Lamentations and Proverbs ; the following Psalms are also more or less perfect alphabetic acrostics, ix. + x., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv. Psalm cx. has been read as an acrostic of Simon the Maccabee.

The lamentation-metre has already been described in connection with Lamentations. Numerous attempts have been made to discover hexameters and other metres in the Old Testament, but none of them are generally regarded as successful.

We cannot deal at length with the subject-matter of individual Psalms, but we may make a rough classification of them, according to their contents.

The Psalms, like Proverbs and Job, are largely occupied

with God's moral government of the world; they appeal for God's help, return thanks for His mercy, and express confidence in His continued goodness. In the following table, the Psalms are classified according to the leading topic of each; but the features mentioned above occur more or less in almost all. The most desperate cry for succour is seldom without some recollection of past mercy or gleam of confident hope, and the note of appeal for future help is seldom absent from the most joyful outpouring of praise. Prayer usually includes a petition for the punishment of the wicked, and praise a thanksgiving for his defeat and ruin.

With such qualifications we may classify the Psalms thus:

I. *The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance.*

(*a*) The appeal of Israel against her oppressors. 44, 60, 74, 94, 129-132, 137.

(*b*) The appeal of the suffering saint—mostly the Israelite or Israel—against the oppression of sinners—mostly the Gentiles. 3-5, 7, 10-14, 17, 22 (vv. 1-21), 26, 27, 28, 31, 35, 41-43, 53-59, 62, 64, 69-71, 89 (vv. 38-51), 109, 120, 123, 140-143.

(*c*) The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance. 6, 39, 40, 61, 63, 86, 88, 90, 102.

(*d*) The appeal of the sinner for mercy. 25, 38, 51.

II. *Praise and Thanksgiving.*

(*a*) For the actual or prospective deliverance of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, the speaker being still in the shadow of recent trouble: 9, 16, 21, 22 (vv. 22-31), 23, 30, 32, 36, 52, 75, 116, 124, 138.

(*b*) Confident prayer and praise, and expressions of confident faith. There is a tone of unclouded

brightness about these Psalms which is absent from the preceding class. Many are expressly national, and some celebrate the triumph of Israel over its enemies, but in these the tone in which the Gentiles are spoken of is less bitter. 2, 20, 24 (vv. 7-10), 34, 46-48, 50 (vv. 1-15), 65-68, 76, 84, 85, 91, 92, 95, 101, 103, 108, 110, 111, 113, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 125, 128, 134, 144, 146-150.

(*c*) Praise of God in Nature. 8, 19 (vv. 1-6), 29, 93.

(*d*) In Nature and Providence. 104, 107, 145-147.

(*e*) Praise of the Law. 19 (vv. 7-14), 119.

(*f*) Praise of Zion. 87.

III. *Historical Retrospects.*

78, 81, 89 (vv. 1-37), 105, 106, 114, 135, 136.

IV. *Exposition of the Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments*, parallel to Proverbs. 1, 15, 24 (vv. 1-6), 37, 49, 50 (vv. 16-23), 112.

V. *Discussion of the apparent failure of Divine Justice*, parallel to Job. 73.

VI. *On a Royal Marriage.* 45.

VII. *Eulogy of a King.* 72.

The following table shows the arrangement of the Psalter in the Hebrew Text, as regards divisions, titles, use of divine names. It is arranged in five books, each concluding with a doxology.

Book I. i.-xli., Jehovah 272 times, Elohim 15.[1]

Anonymous	1, 2	10	33	
David	3-9	11-32		34-41

[1] These figures are taken from *Lowe and Jennings on the Psalms* Vol. I. xxvii. They exclude cases where Elohim occurs in phrases where Jehovah could not have been used, *e.g.* "thy God."

Book II. xlii.-lxxii., Jehovah 30 times, Elohim 164.

Anonymous		43			66, 67			71
David				51-65		68-70		
Sons of Korah	42		44-49					
Asaph				50				
Solomon								72

The concluding doxology is followed by a subscription: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse are ended."

Book III. lxxiii.-lxxxix., Jehovah 44 times, Elohim 43, lxxiii.-lxxxiii. however are Elohistic, lxxxiv.-lxxxix. Jehovistic.

David					86			
Sons of Korah			84, 85			87, 88		
Asaph		73-83						
Ethan								89

Book IV. xc.-cvi., wholly Jehovistic, Elohim only in such phrases as "our God."

Anonymous			91-100		102		104-106	
David				101		103		
Moses	90							

Book V. cvii.-cl., wholly Jehovistic as the previous book, except that Psalm cviii. = lvii. 7-11 + lx. 5-12 is Elohistic, and Elohim is also used absolutely in cxliv. 9.

Anonymous	107	111-121		123	125, 126		128-130	
David		108-110		122	124			131
Solomon						127		
Anonymous	132		134-137			146-150		
David		133			138-145			

The above table contains the chief data for ascertaining

Process of Compilation.

the process by which the Psalter was compiled. It is at once obvious that the final editor did not redistribute his material either according to subject-matter or authorship. The Psalter is the result of a gradual aggregation of smaller collections; as a rule, these collections were left unaltered and the doxologies and subscriptions indicate the close of earlier collections. The use of the divine names suggests three main stages. The Elohistic character of Book II. and lxxiii.-lxxxiii. of Book III. is plainly due to an editor who combined smaller collections, for the Jehovistic psalms xiv., xl. 13-17 are found here as liii. and lxx. Since, however, this Elohistic editor did not venture to make a similar revision of the whole of Book I., the latter must have been already firmly established. The Jehovistic, lxxxiv.-lxxxix. was added to the Elohistic collection, and Books IV. and V., which are essentially a single collection, were formed by later editors. Probably the two Davidic collections, iii.-xli., li.-lxxii., the Korahite and Asaphite collections, xlii.-xlix., l. + lxxiii.-lxxxiii. and the Pilgrimage songs, cxx.-cxxxiv., were originally five separate hymn-books. It is doubtful whether any of these collections, as collections, existed before the Return. Probably the successive stages of the compilation of the Psalter, as far as we are now able to trace them, were effected between the Return and the completion of the Psalter in the early Maccabean Period, cir. B.C. 150.

Date and authorship of Individual Psalms.

But the date of the several collections does not decide that of individual Psalms; post-exilic hymn-books might very well contain Davidic psalms. Unfortunately external evidence as to psalms is not to be had; and internal evidence can scarcely fix the authorship of short anonymous

hymns, or even the date of their composition within any very narrow limits. The titles do not help us. It is not absolutely certain that they were meant to give the names of authors. We do not know when, or by whom they were affixed; but they probably originated in the post-exilic period. Their value as evidence of authorship is further discredited by the fact that in many cases, the contents of a psalm show that it could not have been written by the man whose name is given in the title. The titles "David," "Sons of Korah," etc., in the five hymn-books were probably originally the titles of the collections, and were transferred to individual psalms when these collections were absorbed in the Psalter.

As to date, opinions are often very indefinite. A group have been ascribed to the Maccabean period. Psalms xliv., lxxiv., lxxix. seem to have been occasioned by the religious persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes. The priest-king of cx., whose irregular title to the priesthood could only be justified by the precedent of Melchizedek, suggests the Maccabean priest-princes; and their deliverance of the Jews might be the occasion on which Israel and the house of Aaron sang the exultant strains of Psalm cxviii. Further, most of the psalms can be allotted with something like certainty to the exilic and post-exilic periods. The remainder may be earlier, the claims of Psalm xviii. to be pre-exilic are most generally recognised.

The question of Davidic Psalms involves many difficulties; the titles, as we have seen, are not to be relied on. We have conclusive evidence that there was a strong tendency to ascribe anonymous psalms to David. The Septuagint ascribes numerous psalms to David which are anonymous in the Hebrew; on the other hand, some of the Davidic psalms in Book V. are anonymous in some of

the best MSS. of the Septuagint. Later authorities ascribe the whole Psalter to David. N.T. quotations which connect a name with a psalm, invariably quote it as David's, even when it is anonymous both in the Hebrew and the Septuagint, *e.g.*, Ps. ii. in Acts iv. 25. Apparently it was felt that any psalmist spoke under the authority and inspiration of David, and, spiritually speaking, in his name. In the absence of any certain criteria, it is difficult to assign any psalms certainly to David. On the other hand the tradition that David was a poet is early and persistent, and we may well believe that amongst the Davidic Psalms, there are some which are based on actual compositions by the shepherd-king.

To regard the Psalter as Davidic was equivalent to regarding it as Messianic, for "David" or "son of David" came to be synonyms for the Messiah, but two classes of psalms were regarded as specially Messianic, and are so used in the New Testament: those describing a Righteous King, ii., xviii., xx., xlv., lxi., lxxii., cx.; and those depicting an Innocent Sufferer, xxii., xxxv., xli., lxix.

The Psalter has in all ages served the two-fold purpose of a manual of private devotion, and a liturgy of public worship. Probably it possessed this double character from the beginning. Ancient religion was patriotic, an inspired psalmist might express his personal experience, but he seldom failed to identify himself with his people. The earlier collections and the complete Psalter were alike Temple hymn-books, and two of the former bear the names of the Temple choirs, Asaph and the sons of Korah.

CHAPTER XI

THE GREEK PERIOD (B.C. 332 TO ABOUT B.C. 150). CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTHER, JONAH, ZECH. IX.-XIV., DANIEL, ECCLESIASTES

DURING this period Babylon and Jerusalem continued to be the chief centres of Jewish life, and the foundation of Alexandria, with its great Jewish quarter, brought Judaism into touch with Greek thought. Moreover, Palestine, till the time of the Maccabees, was subject to the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria, and hellenising tendencies were at work in Judea itself. During this period a dialect of Aramaic was replacing Hebrew as the Jewish vernacular; and the ancient Hebrew script was giving way to the square character of the MSS. and printed editions of the Old Testament. All these varied influences have left traces on the literature.

Some books, like Chronicles and Esther, represent the opposition to foreign influences, and the attempt to maintain the Judaism of Ezra and Nehemiah entire and unadulterated. Chronicles,[1] Ezra and Nehemiah originally formed a single work; Chronicles breaks off in the middle of a paragraph, which Ezra begins afresh and finishes. The three books together are the final edition of the history of Israel brought up to date. Chronicles is a revision of the older historical series from Genesis to 2 Kings; Ezra and

Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, cir. B.C. 300-250.

[1] *Cf.* p. 3.

Nehemiah give the later history. Chronicles gives us its authorities, "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," under slightly different titles,[1] and the "Words," etc. of certain prophets. These latter, however, are mostly, if not wholly, sections of the former.[2] It is generally held that the "Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" is neither our Book of Kings nor the "Chronicles" used by the author of the latter, but a midrash or expanded edition of Kings produced between the Exile and the composition of Chronicles. This midrash had borrowed extensively from Samuel and Kings, and Chronicles borrows afresh. The Chronicler's narrative begins with David; the earlier period is simply represented by genealogies. As the Chronicler shows the greatest reverence for the Pentateuch, he probably intended his work to be a continuation of Joshua, the interval between Joshua and David being ignored as a profane period when the Law was not observed. To a great extent Chronicles merely reproduced its sources; it omits, as far as possible, everything discreditable to David, Solomon and the righteous kings of Judah, and altogether ignores the northern kingdom, not because the Chronicler is merely writing a history of Judah, but because the northern kingdom was not regarded as part of the true Israel. There is scarcely any reference to Elijah and Elisha. The Chronicler's additions represent the righteous kings as absorbed in the observance of the ritual of the Priestly Code, in the Temple and its sacrifices, in the Passover and other festivals, and especially in the musical arrangement of the Temple and the organisation of the Levites. Thus Chronicles represents the late post-exilic theory of the Jewish monarchy, according to which the good kings

[1] *Cf.* 2 Chron. xvi. 11, xxvii. 7, xxxiii. 18.
[2] 2 Chron. xx. 34, xxxii. 32.

scrupulously observed the laws of the Pentateuch. The great interest shown in the Levites, especially in the Temple-choir and porters, suggests that the author was a Levitical chorister or porter. The book is later than Alexander's conquest, B.C. 332, as Neh. xii. 10, 11 mentions the high priest of his time, Jaddua; and the entire absence of any trace of the Maccabean struggle shows that it is earlier than the revolt of B.C. 166; it may probably be dated about B.C. 300-250. The conclusions as to author and date apply of course to the whole book, including Ezra and Nehemiah, and not merely to Chronicles.

The portions of the work comprised in our books of Ezra and Nehemiah give the history of the Return under Zerubbabel and Jeshua, the rebuilding of the Temple, the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem; Nehemiah's building of the walls of the city and reorganisation of the Jewish community, the establishment of the Priestly Code, the prohibition of marriages with foreign women and its enforcement. The history is carried up to B.C. 432, and the genealogies extend, as we have seen, to B.C. 332; or, according to the Septuagint of 1 Chron. ii., to about B.C. 200. Ezra vii.-x. and Neh. vii. 73—x. are for the most part taken or expanded from memoirs of Ezra, and Neh. i.-vii. 73 and xi.-xiii. from memoirs of Nehemiah. Ezra iv. 8—vi. 18 and vii. 12-26 are in the Palestinian dialect of Aramaic.

Esther, B.C. 250-100.

The Book of Esther is generally regarded as a kind of parable or allegory, with a certain basis of fact. It is designed to show how God protects His people and destroys their enemies. The scene is laid in the Court of Xerxes, but the book was probably not written till some time after the fall of the Persian Empire in B.C. 332.

Although the Book of Jonah stands in the Book of the Twelve Prophets, it does not contain prophecies, but an anonymous narrative; the title, as in Esther, refers to the contents and not to the author. The book is generally regarded as of the same character as Esther; but, while Esther is animated by a spirit of bitter hostility towards the Gentiles, the Book of Jonah severely rebukes lack of sympathy with them. The Jonah of this book is, doubtless, Jonah ben Amittai who prophesied the deliverance of Israel by Jeroboam II., 2 Kings xiv. 23-27. But the book is generally held to be post-exilic. Jonah's prayer, ii. 2-9, is largely a cento of phrases from psalms, some of them late. It is perhaps an addition to the original narrative.

Jonah, cir. B.C. 350-300 ?

The only important prophecy[1] commonly assigned to this period is the anonymous work now known as Zech. ix.-xiv. This work falls into two main sections, (*a*) ix.-xi. with xiii. 7-9, (*b*) xii.—xiii. 6 with xiv.

Zech. ix.-xiv. cir. B.C. 280.

(*a*) ix.-xi. with xiii. 7-9. An oracle against the Syrian, Phœnician, and Philistine cities introduces the King who shall reign in peace "from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth." Ephraim and Judah shall be Jehovah's instruments to destroy the Greeks. The captives of Ephraim shall be gathered from Egypt and Assyria and placed in Gilead and Lebanon. After Israel has suffered at the hands of evil shepherds, these shall be destroyed, and a third part of the flock shall be redeemed to be Jehovah's faithful people.

(*b*) xii. 1—xiii. 6 with xiv. are described as "an oracle concerning Israel," which from the contents must be used, in post-exilic fashion, for Judah and Jerusalem. It

[1] On Daniel see below.

describes the glory of a purified people of God in the Day of the Lord. All nations will come against Jerusalem, but after the city has been reduced to extremity or even captured, Jehovah will manifest Himself to destroy them. Jerusalem will be restored to prosperity, and provided with new rivers, while the residue of the Gentiles will come up to Jerusalem every year to keep the Feast of Tabernacles; and all Judah and Jerusalem will be perfectly holy unto Jehovah.

It is generally agreed that chapters ix.-xiv. are not the work of Zechariah; there is no trace of that prophet's deep interest in Jeshua and Zerubbabel and the rebuilding of the Temple; the form, method, ideas, circumstances, and subjects are very different from those of Zech. i.-viii. But the indications of date furnished by these chapters are apparently conflicting. The references in (*a*) to Ephraim and Assyria suggest a pre-exilic date, and accordingly for some time, ix.-xi., were regarded as the work of an unknown prophet, writing soon after Tiglath-Pileser had carried captive the inhabitants of Gilead and Galilee. As xii. 11 seems to refer to the death of Josiah, xii.-xiv. were dated soon after his death. On the other hand, the mention of Greeks as the great enemies of Israel seems to imply a late post-exilic date, and the heading, xii. 1, with its use of Israel for Judah is certainly post-exilic. Note the prominence of the house of Levi, xii. 13, the stress laid on the feast of Tabernacles, xiv. 16-19, and the apparent dependence on exilic literature, *e.g. cf.* xii. 1, with Isaiah xlii. 5, xliv. 24, xlv. 2, 18, xlviii. 13. Hence Zech. xii. 1—xiii. 6 with xiv. are very commonly regarded as post-exilic, and a similar date is assigned by many critics to ix.-xi. with xiii. 7-9. The latter critics either suppose that Ephraim and Assyria are used symbolically, or that the

present form of (*a*) is due to an editor who adopted an anonymous pre-exilic prophecy. The reference to the Greeks fixes the date in the Greek period.

The history of these prophecies is probably similar to that of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. The writings of Zechariah closed the volume of the Minor Prophets, and the two anonymous works, Zech. ix.-xiv., and the Book of Malachi were added as appendices, and the absence of any name in the heading, ix. 1, led to ix.-xiv. being considered an integral part of the Book of Zechariah.

In the English Bible, the Book of Daniel stands as the last of the four great prophets. This arrangement is borrowed from the Vulgate, which in its turn followed the Septuagint. In the Hebrew Bible, Daniel is placed not among the prophets, but in the third division of the Hebrew Canon, the Hagiographa. The book contains two different kinds of material.

Daniel, cir. B.C. 170-160.

(*a*) Chapters i.-vi. contain the familiar narratives concerning Daniel and his three friends.

(*b*) These narratives introduce two dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, ii. 31-45 and iv., and the visions of Daniel, vii.-xii. These visions and dreams are the chief Old Testament representative of the apocalyptic literature, in which this and the succeeding period were so prolific. An ancient worthy—in this case, Daniel—is represented as giving a symbolic account of certain historical periods as an introduction to an eschatological prophecy. These sections sketch the history of Chaldæa, Persia, the Greek kingdom of Egypt and Syria, with special reference to their relations to Judah. The account becomes more detailed as it approaches the time of the Maccabean revolt and deals minutely with Antiochus Epiphanes. Chapter

xii. 4-13 implies that his persecution was still raging. Its cessation will be followed by the Resurrection and the Judgment.

The date is fixed by xii. 4-13 at about B.C. 168-7; this late date does not prevent our holding that the narratives of i.-vi. are based on actual events. In Ezek. xiv. 14, 20, a Daniel[1] is coupled with Noah and Job, and in Ezek. xxviii. 3 he is referred to as a typical wise man. The date of these utterances makes it difficult to identify this Daniel with the hero of our book. On the other hand, there is no mention of Daniel in the famous list of worthies in Ecclesiasticus xliv.-l. Chapters ii. 4—vii. 28 are in Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible, probably because this portion of the Hebrew Text was lost, and its place supplied by the corresponding portion of the Aramaic translation.

Ecclesiastes, cir. B.C. 250.

Ecclesiastes is the canonical representation of the Wisdom-literature of the period. The book is probably a revised edition of an earlier work. The original discussed the question whether—under the most favourable circumstances, even as a wise, prosperous and powerful king—life was worth living; and gave a negative answer. "Vanity of vanities, saith the Preacher; vanity of vanities, all is vanity," i. 2; "All was vanity and a striving after wind, and there was no profit under the sun." Nevertheless men should be patient and prudent, and make the best of the passing hour, and this best is to be found in an honest, industrious and godly life, *e.g.* v. 18-20. Later editors did their best to tone down this pessimism and to give a more distinctly religious tone to the book by such additions as viii. 11-13, xii. 9-14. It was only in this emended form and because of these emendations that it was received into the Canon.

[1] Daniels also occur in 1 Chron. iii. 1, Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 6.

The book is written in the name of Solomon, but simply as a matter of literary form. Solomon is given the title Qoheleth, translated by the Septuagint Ecclesiastes, A.R.V. Preacher, R.V.Mg., Great Orator. As Qoheleth is a feminine participle, it may be an abstract term similar to Wisdom, or it might possibly qualify Wisdom understood. In either case Qoheleth speaks through the mouth of Solomon as the impersonation of Wisdom. The linguistic and other characteristics of the book point to a date in the Greek period. The author was probably influenced by Greek thought. It has been suggested that there are traces of Epicurean, Stoic and Buddhist doctrine, but the parallels adduced do not seem close enough to prove direct dependence upon Greek or Hindoo philosophy.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA

We have now completed our brief survey of the Hebrew and Aramaic Books of the Old Testament; there remain a number of books only extant in Greek or Latin, which are recognised as canonical by a large part of Christendom, although the Protestant churches style them apocryphal, and either exclude them from the Bible or relegate them to a secondary place. Whatever view may be taken of their canonicity, they are in a direct line of literary and religious succession with the Hebrew Scriptures.

In the first place, the Greek editions of Ezra, Esther and Daniel are very different from the Hebrew and Aramaic; and serve to illustrate the way in which editors handled Old Testament works in the last two centuries before Christ. The Septuagint contains two editions of Ezra, one is simply a version of the Hebrew-Aramaic Ezra, the other—the First Esdras of the English Apocrypha[1]—is a confused and interpolated edition of Ezra, with parts of 2 Chronicles and Nehemiah, and an original section, iii.—v. 6, describing a contest of wit in the presence of Darius, in which Zerubbabel was conqueror and obtained the King's consent to the return of the Jews to Palestine. By an accident First Esdras was excluded from the Biblical Canon of the

[1] The Books of Esdras are numbered in different ways in the versions and other authorities.

Council of Trent and is only appended to the Vulgate as an apocryphal book.

The Greek Esther is expanded from the Hebrew by interpolations which give a more religious tone to the book, but do not otherwise materially alter its character.

The Greek Daniel has been enlarged by appendices which stand in the English Version as the Song of the Three Holy Children, the History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon.

Similarly Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah are virtually appendices to the Book of Jeremiah, and the prayer of Manasses is an illustrative note to Chronicles. The Book of Baruch is apparently a combination of two works (*a*) i.—iii. 8, a letter from Baruch at Babylon to the Jews at Jerusalem exhorting them to be loyal to Nebuchadnezzar; and a prayer. (*b*) iii. 9—v. 9, praise of Wisdom, lamentations and promises, all connected with the fall and restoration of Jerusalem. These Greek editions of, and appendices to, canonical books are probably all pre-Christian and fall within the last two centuries B.C. The additional matter was probably all composed in Greek, except Baruch i.—iii. 8, which may have had a Hebrew origin.

Turning to independent works, we have in I. Maccabees, a worthy successor of the books of Samuel and Kings. It gives the history of the Maccabean revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors; and was composed—perhaps in Hebrew—about B.C. 106-64.

II. Maccabees covers much the same ground as the first, but is of inferior historical value. The author states, ii. 23, that his work is an epitome of a history in five volumes by a certain Jason of Cyrene, otherwise unknown. Prefixed to this epitome are two epistles, containing, amongst other things, marvellous legends concern-

ing Jeremiah and Nehemiah. The epitome is certainly older than A.D. 70, and the original five volumes have been placed as early as B.C. 150.[1]

There is nothing in the Apocrypha corresponding to the records of ancient prophecy, but the Wisdom-literature continued to flourish and produced two remarkable books, Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon.

The title Ecclesiasticus is taken from the Vulgate; in the Septuagint it is styled the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach. This work is a second and larger book of Proverbs. It contains collections of aphorisms dealing with a wide range of subjects, from the divine attributes, xxxix. 20, to the etiquette of a dinner-party or a concert, xxxi. 31, xxxii. 3-6. Like Proverbs, the book opens with the praise of wisdom, and recurs to the subject in xxiv. which is modelled on Prov. viii. The praise of famous men from Enoch to the high-priest, Simon, son of Onias, xliv.-l., may have suggested the list of the heroes of faith in Heb. xi. We shall refer later on to the importance of this book for the history of the O.T. Canon.

The author describes himself, l. 27, as "Jesus, the son of Sirach Eleazar of Jerusalem." The book was written in Hebrew; the Greek version is introduced by a prologue by the translator, who states that the work was written in Hebrew by his grandfather Jesus, and that he translated it in Egypt, whither he came in the thirty-eighth year[2] of Euergetes, *i.e.*, Ptolemy VIII. This date fixes the translation for about B.C. 130, and the original for about B.C. 180. A few pages of the Hebrew original have recently been found.

[1] Kautzsch, Bibel, ii. 135.

[2] The passage has also been translated "in my thirty-eighth year when Euergetes was king," and Euergetes understood as Ptolemy III.; giving a date B.C. 230, for the translation and B.C. 280 for the original.

The Wisdom of Solomon is an eloquent expansion of the doctrine of Wisdom as the divine agent in creation, in the providential government of the world, and in the spiritual discipline of man. It is in this book that we find what are probably the first Judaïstic statements of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, ii. 21—iii. 4, v. 15. Chapters vi.-ix., in praise of Wisdom, are put into the mouth of Solomon, and are suggested by his choice of "an understanding heart," 1 Kings iii. 9; similarly the title is the "Wisdom of Solomon." But, as in the case of Ecclesiastes, this ascription to the wise king is mere literary form, for the book was certainly written in Greek. The author was evidently an Alexandrian Jew, probably of the first century B.C.

Tobit and Judith are religious romances. Tobit is a love story enforcing the duty of giving honourable burial to the dead. It was probably written in Greek by a Babylonian Jew, about B.C. 200-0. Judith following in the footsteps of Jael, delivers Israel by killing Holofernes in his sleep. The book was probably written in Hebrew or Aramaic by a Palestinian Jew about B.C. 200-100.

CHAPTER XIII

CANON, TEXT AND PRE-CHRISTIAN VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

The books we have already dealt with were not, of course, the only works composed by Hebrew and Greek-speaking Jews. Apart from older works which are lost, there is extant a collection of pseudepigraphic apocalypses and other literature of the centuries immediately before and at the beginning of the Christian Era. Many of these works obtained much authority, but did not succeed in establishing a claim to rank with those now accepted as canonical.

We know little of the process by which the individual books came to be regarded as constituting a closed collection with special authority. We have already traced the gradual aggregation of small works into the earlier collections, the process by which the Pentateuch, the Book of Isaiah, the Psalter and the Book of Proverbs were formed. Similarly the Twelve Minor Prophets seem to have been collected into a single volume by B.C. 250, and there may have been earlier editions of this collection.[1] The praise of famous men, Ecclesiasticus xliv.-l., shows that ben Sirach, B.C. 180, was acquainted with the complete Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and a collected edition of the Twelve Prophets. His grandson, cir. B.C.

[1] So Prof. G. A. Smith, "The Book of the Twelve Prophets," i. 5.

130, in the prologue speaks of the law, the prophets, and the other books of our fathers; so that apparently in his time, the historical books Joshua to Kings had been combined with Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve to form the second great division of the Hebrew Canon, which the Jews call the Prophets. "The other books of our fathers" may indicate that the foundations of the third division, the Hagiographa or Sacred Writings had already been laid. The references in Philo, Josephus and the New Testament combined with the other evidence, show that all the books of the Hebrew Old Testament were known in New Testament times.

The idea of a Canon, or collection of sacred books having a special religious authority is first met with in the solemn establishment of Deuteronomy and then of the Priestly Code as the Law of Israel. A similar position had evidently been given to the Pentateuch, and the "Prophets," the second division of the Hebrew Canon, before the beginning of the Christian Era. The Psalter was virtually canonised as the Temple hymn-book, and we read in Luke xxiv. 44 of "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms."

The theory that the Canon was closed by Nehemiah rests on no good authority and is inconsistent with the dates which must be assigned to some of the books. Moreover, the canonicity of Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs, and Canticles was still discussed in the first century A.D. But the Synod of Jamnia, cir. B.C. 90, fixed the Canon of the Hebrew Old Testament as we now have it, laying special stress on the canonicity of Ecclesiastes and Canticles—obviously because they had been challenged by a powerful opposition. This Canon was confirmed by the Mishna, cir. A.D. 200, and in spite of

isolated protests has been maintained by the Jews ever since. The discussion of the canonicity of certain books is not inconsistent with the theory that the Hagiographa were complete in their present form and pretty generally accepted before the beginning of the Christian Era. Thus at that date the Bible of the Hebrew-speaking Jews coincided with our Old Testament and consisted of (*a*) *The Pentateuch;* (*b*) *The Prophets*, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve; (*c*) *The Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles. The books had larger and smaller divisions, but our chapters and verses were introduced later.

We have no explicit statement as to a wider canon of the Hellenistic Jews, including our Apocrypha. But two considerations point to its existence. First, in the existing MSS. of the Septuagint the Apocrypha are not collected in a final appendix, but are distributed amongst the other books as if of equal authority. Probably this arrangement is pre-Christian. Secondly, the Apocrypha, as we shall see, were very widely accepted in the Christian Church. Their recognition must have rested on some pre-Christian authority, which must have been that of the Hellenistic Jews.

There is no evidence that the text of either the Hebrew or Greek Old Testament was fixed till a much later period. The text of the Hebrew O.T. was virtually stereotyped by the Masoretic editors not earlier than about A.D. 150. By a system of ingenious devices, an accuracy of copying was secured, which has rendered Hebrew MSS. of the O.T. almost as much alike as if they were copies of a printed edition. These editors apparently constituted one MS. an archetype for all subsequent ones and

suppressed all other copies. Of the existing Hebrew MSS. of the O.T. none is known to be older than A.D. 916. These MSS. and some other Hebrew authorities preserve a comparatively small number of unimportant various readings. The Samaritans have MSS. of the Pentateuch in the old Hebrew character which differ somewhat from those of the Masoretic Text. These MSS. are not earlier than the 10th century A.D.[1]

The other great authority for the text of the Old Testament is the Septuagint or Greek Version, which was made at Alexandria at different times by various translators. The Pentateuch was probably translated in the reign of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, B.C. 285-246, and the prologue to Ecclesiasticus shows that a Greek translation of the Law, the Prophets, and other books existed in B.C. 130. The date of the completion of the Septuagint cannot be exactly fixed, but is probably not later than the beginning of the Christian Era. This version exists in numerous MSS., whose texts differ very widely amongst themselves and also from the Masoretic Text. The oldest and most important MSS. of the Septuagint are the Vatican and the Sinaitic of the 4th century, which also contain the New Testament; so that our text of this version is exclusively derived from Christian sources. The order of books in the Septuagint is Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Four Books of Kings (= Samuel + Kings), Chronicles, 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras (= Ezra + Nehemiah), Tobit, Judith, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, The Twelve Prophets (in a different order), Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, the Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Three Books of Maccabees, and in some MSS. the Prayer of Manasseh.

[1] Smith's Dictionary, "Samaritan Pentateuch."

Probably the Targums, or Aramaic translations, already existed in a kind of early oral edition, in the oral translation given in the Synagogues after the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures; but the extant Targums were not committed to writing till a later date.

Thus Christianity, when first instituted, found in existence two chief editions of the O.T., the Hebrew and the Greek.[1] These differed widely in text, arrangement and contents. The N.T. writers mostly use the Septuagint, sometimes they correct it from the Hebrew, but often they follow it even where it differs from the Hebrew in points crucial to their argument.

[1] The Samaritan Pentateuch could have no special importance here.

PART II

NEW TESTAMENT

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The New Testament is the inspired record of the life and teaching of Jesus of Nazareth; and of the preaching of the Gospel,—the declaration and interpretation of His words and deeds, His death and resurrection—by His first disciples. It is very closely connected with the Old Testament; both Jesus and His Apostles were Jews, trained up in a religion developed from that of the prophets, legislators and psalmists of ancient Israel. The Old Testament was their Bible. The Messianic hopes which were fulfilled in Jesus were suggested by these Hebrew Scriptures; and the proofs of their fulfilment were drawn from the same authority. The New Testament goes back to the most exalted truths of the earlier Revelation, and makes them the starting-point of a new unfolding of divine truth.

Moreover, there is not only a connection, there is also a similarity between the two divisions of our Bible. Both include histories, combined from various sources; the epistles are a real, if somewhat remote, parallel to the prophecies; and the Apocalypse is an echo of Daniel and

Ezekiel. And, in spite of the multiplicity and variety of the contents of each, the two are held together in the unity of a continuous progress in Revelation; the same Spirit speaks in both, to the same end and with the same purpose.

On the other hand the New Testament does not always connect directly with the Old, and their differences are almost as striking as their unity. The Messianic hope had spread far and wide and had grown definite and importunate between the age of the prophets and that of the Herods. The Hellenistic Judaïsm of Alexandria mediated between the Pentateuch and the Epistle to the Hebrews; and the casuistry of the Pharisees coloured Paul's interpretation of the Law and the Prophets.

Then, as to differences, the Old Testament embraces several great epochs of Revelation, extending over many centuries, and includes the utterances of many independent spiritual authorities: it is the extant literature of a nation. All the books of the New Testament were composed within a century; they belong to one epoch, to one great spiritual movement; they are all supremely concerned with One Person, they expound His words, and explain the significance of His Work, they speak by the inspiration of His Spirit, and in His name. Isaiah and Jeremiah do not enforce or expound the teaching of Moses, or appeal to his authority; each prophet has his own independent message direct from God; but the Apostles speak in the name of Christ.

Again, the Old Testament is Hebrew in its language, its authors, its interests and standpoints. The Greek Apocrypha mark a transition to a wider outlook. The New Testament is still almost entirely written by Jews, but it is only written in part for Jews. Most of it is intended

for all peoples within reach of the writer's influence; and the Greek language made it intelligible far and wide.

Owing partly to the cosmopolitan character of the New Testament, the external attestation of the existence of its books is much earlier and fuller than in the case of the Old Testament. With the probable exceptions of James and II. Peter, all the books are referred to with their authors' names before the end of the second century, *i.e.* within a hundred and fifty years of the death of Christ. By the same time the great bulk of the books had been translated into Latin and Syriac, and we have Greek MSS. of the 4th century which contain the whole of the New Testament. Even this brief statement of the evidence shows that the range of controversy as to date and authorship is very much narrower than in the Old Testament.

For this and other reasons, we adopt a different method of dealing with the second division of the Bible. We attempted to arrange the books of the Old Testament under different epochs of Hebrew Literature; though in some cases uncertainty compelled us to deal with a composite work like the Psalter chiefly under the epoch during which its latest portions were composed. But the books of the New Testament belong substantially to the same epoch. We can divide them into groups, and trace the development of the Synoptic and Pauline literature, but we cannot construct with certainty a chronological table of the dates when each book was composed; nor can we divide the first century of the Christian Church into periods and allot the books between the periods. The real divisions of this literature are not according to time but according to schools, hence the distribution of books in the following chapters.

CHAPTER II

THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND THE ACTS

As Hebrew literature has its roots in the primitive life of Israel; so the words and works and passion of Jesus are the first stage in the development which produced the Synoptic Gospels. And, allowing for many most important differences, there is a certain external resemblance between the process by which the law of Israel became the Pentateuch, and that by which the record of the life and teaching of Jesus attained its final shape in the Gospels. In each case oral tradition preceded written records, and the earlier documents were edited and combined in a final edition. Perhaps, however, the Diatessaron, that mosaic which Tatian pieced together from the Gospels, is the true parallel to the Pentateuch. Moreover, the growth of the Pentateuch extends over more centuries than the decades occupied in the formation of the Gospel record.

Stages in the Composition of the Synoptic Gospels.

There is no reason to believe that Jesus Himself left behind any autobiography or written account of His teaching. The records of His life and utterances were in the memories of His disciples. At first these records were communicated by oral tradition, by the preaching of the Apostles; and as the first preachers and their hearers were Jews, their discourses were in the Jewish vernacular of the time, a dialect of Aramaic.[1] The second

[1] The view held by one or two scholars that Hellenistic Greek was the ordinary language of our Lord and His disciples is most improbable.

stage, therefore, in the development of the Gospels, is an *Aramaic Oral Tradition.* Probably, however, before there were any important written records, some of the disciples were preaching in Greek to Greek-speaking Jews and Gentiles. Thus we have, as a third stage, a *Greek Oral Tradition.* This transition involved a translation from Aramaic into Greek, made simply in the minds of Christians who spoke both languages.

There is every reason to believe that before long, men began to record in writing episodes of the history of Jesus and portions of His teaching; and even attempted to compile something approaching to a life of Christ. St. Luke, i. 1, tells us that before his time "many" had "taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which" had "been fulfilled among us." In all discussions of ancient books, we must constantly keep in mind the obvious fact that books were copied singly and not printed in large editions; and the difference between private notes and a published work was not so great as in our day. Probably fragmentary notes taken by disciples for their personal use played an important part in early Christian records. Thus as our fourth stage in the growth of the Gospels, we have a number of longer or shorter documents, both in Greek and Aramaic. Thus on the verge of the appearance of our Gospels, the materials for the composition of such works were numerous and varied. For, in each case, the earlier stage was not supplanted but supplemented by its successor. The companions of Jesus, and their disciples in turn, continued to tell the story as an oral tradition long after men began to commit the record to writing. Even as late as the first quarter of the second century, Papias, bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, thought it worth while to make a collection of traditions

concerning Jesus and His teaching; and tells us that when he met anyone who had been a follower of the first disciples, (τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις), he would ask—"What Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples had said; also what Aristion and the Elder John, the Lord's disciples say. For I did not think information from books so valuable, as from a living and abiding voice."[1]

Thus the authors of our Gospels may have utilised (i.) the recollections of events and sayings possessed by disciples of Christ who still survived; (ii.) the oral tradition—the story as it was told by preachers and teachers both in Aramaic and Greek; and also (iii.) earlier documents in both languages. Probably already some Aramaic documents had been translated into Greek, and may be reckoned (iv.) as a separate class, distinct alike from Aramaic docu: ments and from documents written originally in Greek.

Our fifth stage at which we at length meet with two of our Evangelists and, probably, one of our Gospels will be best introduced by another reference to Papias. In the context of the passage just quoted, he tells us that Matthew composed the "Logia," (τὰ λόγια) in Hebrew, and each one interpreted them as he was able, and that Mark made a written record of the preaching of Peter. Probably the two works, referred to here, were a gospel, of which our Mark is perhaps a later and slightly altered edition, and a collection in Aramaic of material, not found in Mark, but now included in our Matthew. Thus the two documents characteristic of this stage are a Greek life of Jesus by St Mark, and an Aramaic account of His teaching by St Matthew. The sixth and last stage of the development of the Gospels is the composition of our Matthew

[1] Papias ap. Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. iii. 39.

and Luke, and possibly a fresh editing of Mark's work, which gave it its present shape.[1] The origin of the Fourth Gospel belongs to a partly independent process and is dealt with separately. The piecing together of the four gospels into one continuous narrative by Tatian and his numerous imitators represents an attempt to proceed to a further stage, which, fortunately, has not met with much success.

We have next to consider the relations of our Gospels to Oral Tradition, to earlier documents and to each other. We must first note the remarkable combination of resemblances and differences between the three Synoptic Gospels in the selection of events and utterances; in their general arrangement; in the substance, on the one hand, and in the actual words, on the other, of their records of the same incidents and sayings. As a rough general statement, that will have to be somewhat qualified later on, we may say that in all these respects we find every possible combination of agreement and difference—consensus of the three; agreement of any two against the third; distinctive peculiarities in each.

Resemblances and Differences between the Synoptic Gospels.

As to the selection of events and utterances, Bishop Westcott, in his *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*,[2] calculates that if "we take the whole number of distinct sections in the synoptic Evangelists as 150 approximately, the peculiarities and concordances are as follows: [3]

[1] It is assumed throughout that Mark xvi. 9-20 are a late addition. They are not found in the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS.

[2] p. 178.

[3] Of course in this table a section common to two or three Gospels only reckons for *one* of the 150.

Concordances.

Common to the Three	65	97
Matth. and Mark	15	
Matth. and Luke	12	
Mark and Luke	5	

Peculiarities.

Luke	37	53
Matth.	14	
Mark	2	

As regards the arrangement of the common material, we have the same general order in all three; the Preparation for the Ministry, John the Baptist, the Baptism, the Temptation, the Ministry in Galilee, the journey to Jerusalem, the Ministry of the Last Days, the Passion, the Resurrection. Side by side with this general agreement we have the other varieties of agreement and difference. The accompanying table, which is a sketch of the arrangement of the main sections of the Synoptics, will enable the reader to make a rough comparison of their order and selection of material. The following examples will illustrate the distribution of arrangement and difference in the actual words. Slight departures from English idiom have been resorted to in order to represent the details of the Greek more literally; but the exact variations and coincidences of Greek stems and inflexions cannot be represented in English. The reader will easily see that every variety of agreement and difference is represented; that the agreement is greatest in the spoken words of Jesus, and that the words in which Matthew and Luke agree against Mark are very few and unimportant. On the other hand, paragraphs common to Matthew and Luke, but absent from Mark, agree very closely in their language. These are general characteristics

TABLE SHOWING COMPARATIVE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

	MATTHEW	MARK	LUKE
	Infancy		*Infancy*
	Baptist—Baptism—Temptation—Preaching.		
1.		Call of Four, 5	
2.	SERMON 11	UNCLEAN SPIRIT	
3.	Leper 6		
4.	CENTURION'S SERVANT 12		
		——Peter's Wife's Mother.——	
5.		Call of Four 1	
6.		Leper 3	
7.	Tempest and Gadarenes 15		
		——Palsy——Levi——Fasting.——	
		Ears of Corn, Withered	
8.		Hand, 13	
9.	Jairus, Woman w. issue 15		
		—— Call of the Twelve.——	
10.	Mission of the Twelve, 15		
11.	*Instructions.*		SERMON 2
12.			CENTURION'S SERVANT 4
	MISSION FR		OM JOHN.
13.	Ears of Corn, Withered H'd 8		
14.	Beelzebub 16		
	Mother & Brethren, Parables (Sower &c.)		
		Tempest, Gadarenes, Jairus	
15.		Woman w. issue, Mission of	
		the Twelve, 7, 9, 10.	
	Herod & John, Five Thousand.		
	NORTHERN JOURNEY.		
	XIV. 34—XVI. 12.	VI. 53-VIII. 26.	
	Confession—Transfiguration—Lunatic—		
	Greatest in Kingdom of Heaven.		
16.	*Forgiveness.*		*Last Journey* (14) *ix.* 51-*xviii.* 14.
	Little Children—Young Ruler—Prediction of Passion—Bartimæus.		*Pounds.*
	Week before the Passion.		
	Ten Virgins, Talents, Sheep & Goats.		
	Betrayal—Last Supper—Death—Resurrection.		
	Appearances.		*Appearances.*

Note.—In each case the order is retained. Ordinary type denotes matter found in all three, SMALL CAPITAL TYPE, matter found in two, italics matter peculiar to a single gospel.

of the Synoptics. It might, however, be supposed from Table A that the words in which Mark and Luke agree against Matthew are also few and unimportant; but, though Mark agrees more closely with Matthew than with Luke; yet the sections common to the three Synoptics contain much that is common to Mark and Luke and absent from Matthew, *e.g.* the letting down through the roof, Mark ii. 4, Luke v. 19 in the accounts of the healing of the paralytic at Capernaum, cf. Matt. ix. 1-8.

Innumerable theories have been propounded to account for the resemblances and differences of the Synoptic Gospels.

Theories of the Relations of the Synoptic Gospels.

Clearly they are not due to entirely independent recollections of the sayings and doings of Jesus. There must have been some common use of the same narratives and records. The causes which have been held to account for the phenomena may be arranged in three groups.

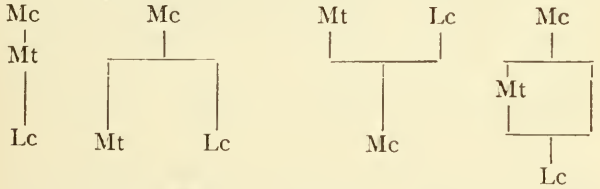
Oral Tradition Theory.

First it has been supposed that the Synoptic Gospels are three independent records of the preaching of the Apostles and their companions. According to this theory, practical experience in preaching and teaching soon determined which were the most edifying and important narratives and discourses, and perhaps also led to their arrangement in some convenient order. The constant repetition of the same material by the same speakers stereotyped the actual words of the tradition. Thus, in the early days at Jerusalem, an oral tradition was fixed alike in scope, arrangement and language. Each missionary from Jerusalem took this tradition with him as his message; but in time the circumstances of his work modified the common original; and the Synoptic Gospels are the written records of the forms assumed by the tradition at the end of three diverging lines of

development. A special form of this theory assumes the existence of catechetical schools in which an authoritative oral Gospel was taught to new disciples.

Dependence Theory.

The variations and coincidences have also been explained by the use of one or two of the extant Gospels by the author of the third or of the other two. There are numerous forms of this theory, and according to Bishop Westcott,[1] they include "every possible combination of the Gospels. Each in turn has been supposed to furnish the basis of the others; each to occupy the mean position; each to represent the final narrative." The latter sentence, however, does not exhaust the possibilities of dependence between the Gospels. The following diagrams give the representative formulæ of the different classes of variations of this theory. Obviously each class includes numerous individual variations.



Until recently Matthew was often supposed to be the earliest Gospel; but at present priority is usually ascribed to Mark. The view that Luke was written first is held by very few authorities, and is a mere curiosity of criticism, that does not need serious consideration.

Documentary Theory.

While the Dependence Theory has been vigorously championed in all its forms; it has also been strenuously opposed; and it has been maintained that no one of our Evangelists can have known the work of either of the others. An explana-

[1] Introduction to the Study of the Gospels, p. 183.

tion has therefore been sought in the theory that our Evangelists made use of common documents. This theory again is capable of endless variations, and has been held in numerous forms, some exceedingly complicated. The common material has been held to include Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek documents together with earlier editions of our present Gospels.

Theory of the Two Documents.

The theory that is most widely held at present borrows features from both the Dependence Theory and the Documentary Theory. It maintains that Mark is the earliest Gospel, and that there also existed in early times, a collection of our Lord's discourses. This latter work is identified with the "Logia" of St. Matthew mentioned by Papias.[1] The coincidences between the three Gospels is accounted for by the use of Mark independently by Matthew and Luke; while the material common to Matthew and Luke, but absent from Mark, is supposed to have been similarly derived from the "Logia." A variant of this theory substitutes an earlier edition of Mark, "*Ur-Marcus*," for our Gospel, and supposes that the editor who gave Mark its present form made use of the "Ur-Marcus" and perhaps also of the "Logia." In this form, the Theory of the Two Documents becomes a form of the Documentary Theory.

Composite Theories.

The last paragraph reminds us that the three main theories are by no means mutually exclusive. Theories have been constructed that combine features of the three or of any two of them; and probably, at the present time, few critics would deny that there is a measure of truth in each of them.

Before considering these theories, we must mention

[1] Cf. p. 132.

another question. Assuming that the Synoptic Gospels made use of common material, contained in two or more documents, in what language were these documents written. Three answers have been given—Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek. Those who maintain that our Evangelists made use of common Hebrew or Aramaic documents, explain their coincidences and differences as the result of independent translation of a common original.

Language of Original Documents.

We may now proceed to a very brief discussion of these theories. We have already mentioned that up to the time of Papias, that is, beyond the period of composition of our Gospels, the oral tradition of our Lord's life and teaching, still existed and was regarded as authoritative. Hence, probably, our Evangelists were acquainted with it and influenced by it. On the other hand, the phenomena suggest that the oral tradition was not the dominant influence, and it is certainly very far from accounting for all the coincidences and differences. Luke i. 1-4 tells us of the existence of numerous documents; Matt. xxiv. 15 and Mark xiii. 14 indicate their dependence on a common document by the insertion in both of the phrase, "let him that *readeth* understand;" and the amount of verbal identity in many parallel passages is too great to be wholly accounted for by dependence on a common oral tradition; *cf.* Matt. xix. 1-6 with Mark x. 1-9; Matt. xxiv. 43-51 with Luke xii. 39-46, and Matt. xxiv. 32-35 with Mark xiii. 28-31 and Luke xxi. 29-33. Coming next to the Dependence Theory, the manifold variations of this theory suggest that no form of it adequately explains the relations of the Gospels. Further an examination of the sections common to Matthew and Luke and absent from Mark shows that their coincidences

Brief Discussion of the Theories.

and differences cannot be explained simply by supposing that Matthew used Luke, or Luke Matthew. On the other hand, the sections common to the three Gospels, seem to have been derived by Matthew and Luke either from our Mark, or from a very similar document. As regards both selection of material and general arrangement, as well as the substance and language of parallel sections, Matthew constantly agrees with Mark against Luke, and Luke with Mark against Matthew; but Matthew and Luke scarcely ever agree against Mark—the few instances are usually slight and unimportant and may very well be accidental. The simplest explanation of these facts is that Matthew and Luke made independent use of Mark or "Ur-Marcus." We have still to explain the sections common to Matthew and Luke, but absent from Mark. The verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke in these sections is often exceedingly close. The simplest explanation is that given by the "Theory of the Two Documents," that Matthew and Luke derived this material independently from a second common source, the "Logia" of Matthew mentioned by Papias. Probably too Matthew and Luke had other common sources besides Mark and the "Logia," and the sections peculiar to each of them may have been derived from earlier documents.

Next, as to the language of the original documents, much industry and ingenuity have been spent in attempting to show that the coincidences and variations of the Synoptics may be explained by independent translation from Hebrew or Aramaic sources; and Papias tells us that the "Logia" were originally written in Hebrew, *i.e.* probably Aramaic. Apparently there are traces of independent connection between the Synoptics and Aramaic sources. Such connection may be indirect—the Synoptics may have used

Greek documents which were independent translations of common Aramaic sources—or they may have included amongst their other authorities common Aramaic documents. But the influence of such sources can only have been slight. For the most part the verbal agreement is too close to be the result of independent translation; and can only be explained by the common use of the same *Greek* documents. It is less likely that any of the sources were written in Hebrew.

We may now sum up the results of our brief discussion.

Conclusion. The Synoptics had at their disposal and probably made use of, directly or indirectly, both an Aramaic and a Greek oral tradition. Possibly, too, common documents, Aramaic or Greek, were used by all three. But the explanation of their coincidences and variations is mainly the use by Matthew and Luke of two *Greek* documents, Mark or the "Ur-Marcus," and the "Logia" of Matthew. Matthew and Luke may also have had other common sources, Aramaic or Greek. Probably one great explanation of differences is that sometimes more than one account of an incident or discourse was known to the same evangelist; and that Matthew, for instance, was more influenced by one of the sources and Luke by the other. The entire independence of the narratives of the Infancy and the Appearances after the Resurrection show that Matthew was not acquainted with Luke's Gospel nor Luke with Matthew's.

We pass next to the authorship of these gospels. Papias,

Authorship. we have seen, mentions St Matthew and St Mark as the authors of gospels; and the tradition which ascribes the Third Gospel to St Luke can be traced as far back as Irenæus, *c.* A.D. 180. It has often been said, and with much force, that the very obscurity of

these names is strong evidence that in each case the Evangelist had some real connection with the gospel which bears his name. An author who sought to obtain an audience for his work by attaching to it a great name would have selected one of the better known Apostles; and it is equally certain that if the titles were mere conjectures, due to popular impatience of anonymity, they would mention Peter or Paul rather than Mark and Luke. Moreover it is unlikely that Papias or his informants knew gospels bearing the names of Matthew and Mark, and that these works have utterly disappeared and been replaced by other gospels, whose contents are entirely different. Thus we may identify our Second Gospel with Papias' Gospel of St Mark, and accept his statement that it is a record of the preaching of St Peter, made by the John Mark, who was the cousin of Barnabas, and the companion, first of St Paul, and then of St Peter. One of the leading characteristics of the Second Gospel is its wealth of information as to persons, places and times. It abounds in those slight yet picturesque details which an eye-witness notices, remembers and repeats, but which seem to later writers irrelevant to the spiritual purpose of their narrative and are accordingly omitted. Many critics identify the First Gospel with the "Logia," which Papias ascribes to St Matthew. But these "Logia" were in Aramaic; and the First Gospel can scarcely be a mere translation from the Aramaic. Moreover without denying that the title "Logia" might by an elastic use of language have been applied to our First Gospel, such a title would be more suitable to a collection of discourses. On the other hand, if the First Gospel was formed by adding to Mark supplementary matter mainly derived from a Greek version of St Matthew's "Logia," the new work would

naturally be called "the Gospel according to St Matthew."

The Third Gospel and the Acts are obviously and by critical consensus, the work of the same author: hence the problems of their date and authorship are one and the same. We must, therefore, so far anticipate as to say that there is much in both books that must have come from a companion of St Paul, and very many critics of all schools accept the tradition which ascribes both works to St Luke. An alternative theory would account for the tradition by supposing that both the Third Gospel and Acts embodied important material derived from the Evangelist.

Dates, A.D. 50-120

We have no precise information as to the dates of the Synoptic Gospels; but the evidence enables us to fix the time of their composition within comparatively narrow limits, between A.D. 50-120. Some time must have elapsed after the death of Christ before anyone would write even so full an account of His life and teaching as that contained in Mark; and Christianity must have spread widely among the Gentiles, before the composition of Greek Gospels. Hence A.D. 50 is the earliest possible date for Mark. On the other hand, the Synoptic Gospels were widely known and accepted before the end of the second century A.D. Irenæus, *c.* 180, represents Asia Minor and Gaul; the Muratorian Canon, *c.* 170-200, Rome; Tertullian, *c.* 200, Africa; Origen, *c.* 203, Alexandria; and all these authorities use the Synoptics very much as modern divines do. Moreover, about 170 Tatian combined the four Gospels into a continuous narrative, the Diatessaron; about the middle of the second century the gospels were translated into Latin and Syriac; and probably somewhat later the two older Egyptian versions were made. Clearly the Gospels

must have acquired considerable authority and have been in existence for some time, before they were translated or combined in a harmony. Again Justin Martyr, *c.* 140-160, frequently quotes certain "Memoirs of the Apostles," and tells us that they were read in the churches ;[1] and speaks of them as composed by the Apostles and their followers.[2] As Justin's quotations include verses peculiar to each of the Synoptics, we may identify these "Memoirs" with our Gospels. Thus, without appealing to obscure or doubtful evidence, we are led to the conclusion that A.D. 120, is the very latest date to which we can possibly assign the composition of anyone of the Synoptic Gospels; and that in all probability the three were written before A.D. 100. Turning to the individual gospels, the above conclusion is confirmed in the case of Luke, by the fact that Marcion's Gospel, *c.* 140, is a mutilated edition of Luke's. It is clear, on the other hand, that the Third Gospel was written after the Fall of Jerusalem, A.D. 70. A comparison of Luke xix. 43, 44, with the parallel sections in Matthew and Mark, shows that before Luke wrote men's recollections of our Lord's predictions of the Last Things, and of the actual events of the siege of the Holy City had become blended together. Further a work by a companion of St. Paul would scarcely be written later than A.D. 80. Hence we might fix the date of Luke about A.D. 75-80. The most serious objection to such a date is an alleged dependence of the Third Gospel and Acts upon Josephus.[3]

Possibly, however, even if a literary connection between Luke and Josephus were established, we might still accept

[1] First Apology, 67. [2] Trypho, 103.

[3] Our space does not admit of a discussion of this point. Dr. Salmon, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3rd Ed., 341, gravely underrates this difficulty.

the tradition that Luke wrote the Third Gospel and the Acts. He may have been very young when he first joined Paul, and may have turned author late in life. But in this case he cannot have written much earlier than about A.D. 100. Matthew, we have already said, cannot be much older than Luke, but is probably somewhat older; if we accept 75 and 100 as the extreme limits for Luke, we might place Matthew between 70-90. If Mark is one of the sources of Matthew and Luke, we shall require as long an interval as possible between the source and the dependent authorities and might place Mark about 60. But if the source was an "Ur-Marcus," we should place the latter about 60, and our Mark somewhat later.

Characteristics of the Gospels.

The preceding sections show that the Synoptics have many characteristics in common. They were composed in Greek; the wide-spread tradition that St Matthew wrote in Aramaic is doubtless correct, but the work in question cannot be our First Gospel or one of the immediate sources of the Synoptics, though Matthew and Luke are indirectly dependent upon this Aramaic document. Further the Synoptics do not attempt to give a consecutive and complete history, they are comparatively indifferent to chronological order, and are a collection of anecdotes of Jesus and reminiscences of His teaching, and are arranged according to the religious interests of the Evangelists and the contents and order of their sources. The grouping of paragraphs often seems to be mnemonic, and probably originated with the oral preaching of the Gospel. Note, for instance, the three apparently disconnected sayings about salt in Mark ix. 49, 50. Moreover, the Synoptics not only agree in their lack of any strict chronological arrangement, but their general frame-work is the same.

As *Mark* has only a few short paragraphs, which have no parallels in Matthew or Luke, his characteristics are those of language and treatment. The wealth of detail tends to confirm the tradition which connects this Gospel with the preaching of St Peter. Sometimes we find pleonasms, which are often reproduced in Matthew or Luke or in both; *e.g.* Mark i. 32 "at even, when the sun did set," Matthew viii. 16 "when even was come," Luke iv. 40 "when the sun was setting;" and Mark xiv. 12 has "on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the passover," though Matth. xxvi. 17 has only "on the first day of unleavened bread," and Luke xxii. 7 "the day of unleavened bread came, on which the passover must be sacrificed." Another verbal peculiarity is the occurrence of Latin words, which has suggested that the Gospel was written for Roman readers, and also supports the general opinion that it was composed for the instruction of Gentiles. Even if our Mark is not one of the two chief sources of Matthew and Luke, there is every reason to believe that it follows their narrative source, the "Ur-Marcus," much more closely than they do, and substantially represents a very early form of the Gospel history.

The leading characteristic of *Matthew* is its Judæo-Christian character; our Lord's life is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies and the realisation of Old Testament ideals. In seven[1] instances the author inserts notes to the effect that events were the fulfilment of certain passages from the prophets. He insists strongly—in the Gospel of the Infancy and elsewhere—on the character of Jesus as "the King of the Jews" or Messiah. In sections common to Matthew and Mark, a very large proportion of

[1] In Matthew xxvii. 35 R.V. omits the quotation, which is absent from most of the best authorities.

Matthew's material is taken verbatim from Mark, so much so that, in some cases, a paragraph of Matthew is little more than an abridgment of Mark, all that is not absolutely essential to the main teaching of the passage being omitted. The sections common to Matthew and Mark, but absent from Luke, are comparatively few.[1] There is, however, one important section, the "Northern Journey," Matth. xiv. 34-xvi. 12 = Mark vi. 53-viii. 26, of which the chief contents are the Healings in the Land of Gennesaret, the Denunciation of the Pharisees, the Healing of the Daughter of the Syrophœnician Woman, and the Feeding of the Four Thousand. A portion of the very large amount of matter common to Matthew and Luke—which we have supposed to be taken from the "Logia"—is grouped together in the Sermon on the Mount. Besides its Gospel of the Infancy and its account of the Appearances of Jesus to His disciples after the Resurrection, Matthew contains a number of our Lord's miracles, parables, and utterances which are peculiar to itself.

The characteristic of *Luke* which has attracted most attention is the presence of numerous traces of the influence of Pauline teaching. Perhaps the most striking is the agreement of Luke with 1 Corinthians as to our Lord's words at the institution of the Lord's Supper, as against the other two Synoptics; thus

Luke xxii. 19, 20, *This is my body* which is
1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, *This is my body* which is
L. given for you, this do in remembrance of me.
1 C. for you, this do in remembrance of me.
L. *This* cup is *the* new *covenant* in *my blood*, even that
1 C. *This* cup is *the* new *covenant* in *my blood*:
L. which is poured out for you.

[1] *Cf.* table on p. 135.

1. C. this do, as oft as
L.
1. C. ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

but

Mark xiv. 22b-24 Take, *this is my body.*
Matth. xxvi. 26b-28 Take, eat, *this is my body.*
Mc. *This* is *my blood* of *the covenant*, which is
Mt. For *this* is *my blood* of *the covenant*,[1] which is
Mc. *shed for many*
Mt. *shed for many* unto remission of sins.

Luke also emphasises the universality of the Gospel, of which truth St Paul was the exponent and champion. The only reference to the Samaritans in Matthew and Mark is the command to the Twelve to avoid all Samaritan cities, Matth. x. 5; but Luke tells us how Jesus wished to lodge in a Samaritan village, ix. 52, and mentions the Good Samaritan, x. 33, and the Grateful Samaritan, xvii. 16. In this, and, in some other respects, Luke is a link between the Synoptics and John. The "Northern Journey" section of Matthew and Mark, which Luke omits, is largely taken up with Jewish traditions, which had little interest or importance for Gentile Christians, and contains our Lord's allusion to the Gentiles as "dogs," Mark vii. 27, Matth. xv. 26. On the other hand, Luke gives explanations of Jewish terms, and information as to the geography of Palestine, *e.g.*, the distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem. These and other facts make it clear that Luke was written for Gentile readers.

Luke handles the material taken from Mark more freely than Matthew does. While reproducing the substance, he modifies the language to suit his literary tastes; and sometimes states details which seemed to him to be im-

[1] Words in italics are common to the four accounts.

plied by his authorities. He is less of a compiler, and more of a historian. On the other hand, in many of the sections common to Matthew and Luke, there is great verbal agreement; both gospels reproduce their authority with little alteration. This Matthew-Luke or "Logia" material is scattered through the Third Gospel, apparently Luke attempted to assign each utterance to its historical connection. A peculiar feature of Luke is the "Last Journey," ix. 51—xviii. 14. This section as a whole has no parallel in either of the other synoptics; it contains matter found elsewhere in both Mark and Matthew, and very many utterances also recorded in Matthew, especially in the Sermon on the Mount. But this section also includes much that is peculiar to Luke, *e.g.* The Good Samaritan, Mary and Martha, The Prodigal Son, The Unjust Steward, The Rich Man and Lazarus. While portions of the Third Gospel are written in an approximately classical style, yet in the Gospel of the Infancy and elsewhere there are numerous and striking Aramaisms, which suggest the use of sources translated from the Aramaic.

II. The Acts of the Apostles.

The close resemblances in vocabulary, style and ideas between the Third Gospel and the Acts, together with the dedication of both works to Theophilus, show that "the former treatise" of Acts i. 1 is the Gospel and that the two books are by the same author. Acts i. 1 shows that the Gospel is the earlier, but the facts suggest that no long interval elapsed before the composition of the later work. Hence the conclusions as to the Gospel hold for the Acts —probably St Luke is the author; but, if not, the

characteristic features are due to the use of important material by St Luke; and the date is approximately A.D. 75—100; it was written in Greek, primarily for Gentile readers.

The Acts, moreover, furnishes another argument in support of these conclusions. Certain sections—often called the "We-sections"—are sharply marked off from the rest of the book, by the use of the first person. They are xvi. 10-17, xx. 5-15, xxi. 1-18, xxvii. 1—xxviii. 16, they begin at Troas on the Second journey, and continue to Philippi; then begin again at Philippi when St Paul reaches it on the Third journey, and continue to the arrival at Jerusalem; and finally take up the history at the beginning of Paul's voyage and continue till his arrival at Rome. This fact suggests that these sections were written by an author who was St Paul's companion during the periods in question, and this conclusion is entirely borne out by the contents. Now in Acts xx. 4, 5 we read: "There accompanied him, as far as Asia, Sopater of Berœa, the son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. But these had gone before, and were waiting for US at Troas." Clearly therefore the author of the Acts was not one of those named in these verses. Hence it seems natural to combine this evidence with the tradition that makes St Luke the author of the Acts, and to suppose that St Luke wrote the Acts, and that in the "We-sections," he uses the first person because he was himself an actor in the events he describes. The crucial point of this argument is the relation of the "We-sections" to the rest of the book. It is very commonly maintained that there is an identity of language and style throughout the Acts. If so the author of the Acts is

the author of the "We-sections" and therefore a companion of St Paul, therefore almost certainly St Luke. There is however some doubt whether the agreement of style and language is close enough to be conclusive as to identity of authorship. An alternative theory is that the "We-sections" are the work of St Luke, and have been used by a later writer in the composition of a larger work.

The prevalence of the Documentary Theory of the Synoptic Gospels and the interest taken in the analysis of the Pentateuch into its sources have led to many attempts to discover documentary sources in the Acts. Such sources were certainly used in the Third Gospel, probably therefore also in the Acts. Various theories have been framed as to the documents used in Acts, and the book has been analysed accordingly; but so far no theory has been widely accepted. The comparative failure, however, of these efforts at analysis does not disprove the use of documentary sources; but is rather due to the absence of parallel works, like the other two Synoptic Gospels.

CHAPTER III

THE PAULINE EPISTLES

The Pauline Epistles are addressed to churches founded by the Apostle in Asia Minor, Macedonia and Greece, to the church of Rome, and to his disciples and fellow-workers. They were written in Greek, the language in which they are extant, and deal with the special circumstances out of which they arose—the practical problems and doctrinal controversies of the first decades of Gentile Christianity. Incidentally they provide much information as to the character and organisation of the early churches, and as to the religious ideas and practices of their members, and especially as to the character and teaching of St Paul. We cannot, however, expect to find a full statement of the Pauline Gospel in the relics of an occasional correspondence. Moreover these letters are always addressed to Christians, and for the most part to his own converts, so that much that St Paul stated explicitly and carefully emphasised in his missionary work is here casually referred to or even tacitly assumed.

Four Groups.

The Thirteen Pauline Epistles may be divided chronologically into four groups. The accuracy of this arrangement is shown by the close connection between the members of each group in subject-matter, treatment, style and vocabulary. They are as follows :—

(i.) Epistles of the Second Missionary Journey, 1 and 2 *Thessalonians.*

(ii.) Epistles of the Third Missionary Journey, *Romans*, 1 and 2 *Corinthians*, *Galatians.*

(iii.) Epistles of the First Imprisonment, *Ephesians*, *Colossians*, *Philemon*, *Philippians.*

(iv.) The Pastoral Epistles, 1 and 2 *Timothy*, *Titus.*

These thirteen epistles were universally accepted as Pauline before the end of the Second Century; they are included in the Muratorian Canon, and the Peshitto Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and are used freely by Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus and Tertullian. The absence of quotations from Philemon in Clement and Irenæus is due to its brevity. Further, Marcion excludes the Pastoral Epistles but accepts the other ten.

The Pauline authorship of many of the epistles is most strongly attested by external and internal evidence. Thus Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Galatians, are almost universally accepted as Paul's, and there is no serious doubt as to 1 Thessalonians, Philippians and Philemon. The difficulties are more appreciable in the case of 2 Thessalonians; but they are not greater than may reasonably be explained by the scantiness of our information. Hence, in what follows, we shall assume the Pauline authorship of these eight epistles, without further discussion. The others, however—Ephesians, Colossians, and the Pastoral Epistles—will require separate treatment.

Thessalonians, A.D. 52, 53.

The order in which the two Epistles to the Thessalonians stand in the MSS. and versions is probably intended to be chronological, it is supported by the contents and accepted by most critics. The two letters are a sequel to St Paul's successful preaching at Thessalonica, on his Second Missionary Journey,

Acts xvii. 1-9. His work had been abruptly terminated by an uproar stirred up by the Jews, and he proceeded by way of Berœa and Athens to Corinth. Before arriving at Corinth, he sent Timothy to Thessalonica "to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith," 1 Th. iii. 2; and Timothy returned to St Paul at Corinth, Acts xviii. 5, with a very satisfactory report as to the state of the church, 1 Th. iii. 6-10. This report was a natural occasion for St Paul to write an affectionate letter to his converts, expressing—as in all his epistles—his interest and confidence in them, and his gratification at the good news just received. He also touches upon other topics, suggested either by Timothy's report or by his own knowledge of the church. He had been assailed by malicious slander and defends himself by recalling the manner and circumstances of his work at Thessalonica, ii. 1-12. There were "disorderly" brethren, v. 14, whose conduct marred the general harmony and mutual love, and the church is urged to "abound more and more" in such virtues, iv. 9-10, v. 12-22. The prospect of the immediate Second Coming of Christ had made men too excited to work, and depressed about friends who had died and so apparently lost their share in the glories of the Second Coming. These two classes, the Apostle admonishes and reassures, and takes occasion to insist on the possibility that the Day of the Lord might come at any moment, iv. 11—v. 11.

The last passage made a great impression, and exaggerated the restlessness against which 1 Th. iv. 11, had warned them. On hearing of this St. Paul wrote the Second Epistle, in which he explains that he had not meant to say that the Day of the Lord was actually at hand. On the contrary, before that event there must be "a falling away" and the revealing of "the Man of Sin,"

and there were "that which restraineth," one "that restraineth now,"[1] and the revealing could not come about till this restraining one should be taken out of the way, ii. 1-12. He again insists on the duty of earning a livelihood by industry, as he had done himself, iii. 6-15. We have no certain clue to what St. Paul meant by the "Man of Sin" or the person and power by which he is restrained. The multitude of theories merely emphasises the obscurity of the Apostle's words. A favourite theory makes the "Man of Sin" the Pope, and the restraining influence the Roman Empire. The "Man of Sin" has also been identified with Caligula, Nero, the unbelieving Jews, Simon Magus, Mohammed, Luther, Napoleon, etc. etc., and the rest of the section has been interpreted accordingly. Again the "Man of Sin" has been explained as a future "Antichrist," and the restraining influence as the moral order of society, which delays the manifestation of innate human depravity and the consequent appearance of Antichrist.

These verses connect with the Jewish doctrine that evil days would precede the Coming of the Messiah, an expectation which our Lord transferred to His own Second Coming, Mark xiii. 19, 20. The prototype of the "Man of Sin" is the Wicked King of Daniel xi. 36-45. Possibly some features have been borrowed from Caligula and Nero. The "Man of Sin" is parallel to the "false Christs and false prophets" of Mark xiii. 22, to the "Antichrist" of 1 John ii. 18 etc., and to the "Beast" of Rev. xiii.

Corinthians, B.C. 57.

The two Thessalonian Epistles were written while St. Paul was founding the Church at Corinth; the next two were addressed to that church. Meanwhile three or four years had elapsed. At the close of the Second Journey the Apostle visited Jeru-

[1] τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων.

salem, and then after a stay at Antioch set out on a Third Missionary Journey and "went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, establishing all the disciples . . . and having passed through the upper country came to Ephesus," Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1, R.V. At Ephesus he stayed about three years, Acts xix. 8, 10; and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost," implies that this epistle was written at the close of his stay there, when he was arranging for his departure, Acts xix. 21. This conclusion is abundantly confirmed by other evidence.

A number of circumstances suggested topics on which it was desirable for St Paul to advise or exhort his Corinthian converts. Judaising teachers had intruded themselves on the Church of Corinth, and had denied St Paul's authority as an Apostle. On the other hand, a learned and eloquent Alexandrian Jew, a recent convert to Christianity, had taught at Corinth with great acceptance. There was perfect harmony between Apollos and St Paul, but the admirers of the one disparaged the other, and the Church was harassed by party squabbles. There were other troubles: the members were so eager to exercise their newly acquired spiritual gifts, that they made the Christian meeting a scene of wild disorder; the Lord's Supper moreover was scandalously profaned, gluttony and drunkenness were witnessed at what should have been a solemn service. There was also immorality, a gross case of incest; and the members of the church went to law with one another. St Paul learnt some of those facts from members of the household of Chloe, who had visited Ephesus, 1 Cor. i. 11. He had also received a letter asking for direction as to the position of women in the church, the resurrection, and other points. Further, certain expressions

in 2 Corinthians[1] have sometimes been held to imply that, at an earlier period of his stay at Ephesus, he paid a short visit to Corinth, and was badly received. The letter deals with the various questions arising out of these circumstances. In i.-iv. he deals with the divisions in the church, vindicates his authority and the method of his teaching. "My speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the spirit and of power," ii. 4; the higher spiritual wisdom was reserved till the Corinthians were able to receive it. As for Apollos and himself, "I have planted, Apollos watered," iii. 6, their work was complementary not competitive. In ch. v. he deals with the case of incest; and explains that a prohibition, in a former letter, of intercourse with immoral men, was not intended to put an end to all relations between Christians and such persons, but to secure their exclusion from the fellowship of the Church. Ch. vi. 1-8 forbids Christians to go to law with each other before heathen tribunals. Ch. vii. deals with the relations of husband and wife, especially when one is a Christian and the other a heathen. In ch. viii.-xi. St Paul discusses the question of apparent adherence to idol-worship by partaking of meats offered to idols, and lays down the principle that the use of such food is perfectly lawful in itself; but should be avoided when it gives offence to less enlightened brethren.[2] Further, he insists on the propriety of women being veiled at the meetings; and on the necessity of order at the Lord's Supper. Ch. xii.-xiv. urge that the use of the gifts of prayer, preaching and tongues should be regulated so that the utterances of the brethren should be orderly and edifying. Incidentally, ch. xiii., he is led to celebrate the

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 14, 21, xiii. 2.
[2] *Cf.* p. 160 on Rom. xiv.

transcendent superiority of love over all other gifts. In xiv. 34-36, he insists that women shall not speak in public. Ch. xv. adduces the evidence for the historical fact of the resurrection of Jesus, and deals with certain difficulties as to the bodies in which men will be raised from the dead. The epistle concludes with arrangements for contributions by the Pauline churches for the church at Jerusalem, and for the Apostle's subsequent movements. This epistle is a most important authority for the constitution and worship of the early church. The latter, minus singing and sacraments, evidently resembled that of a Friends' Meeting.

We may cite the most important item in the external evidence to the Epistle. Towards the end of the first century A.D., Clement, a leading member of the Church of Rome, wrote in Greek to the Church of Corinth. The Corinthians were again harassed by dissensions, and Clement writes to enforce afresh the lessons of St Paul's Epistle. Clement's letter contains many reminiscences of 1 Corinthians, and also of other Pauline Epistles, and very many besides of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Clement's 49th and 50th chapters are a sort of new edition of 1 Cor. xiii; and in ch. 47, he writes "Take up the Epistle of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What did he write to you long ago, when the Gospel was first preached? In truth he spiritually charged you concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos."

St Paul left Ephesus soon after writing 1 Corinthians. He had already sent his companion Titus on a mission to Corinth, possibly with the Epistle, at any rate soon after. He looked anxiously for his return with news of the effect of the letter on the Church of Corinth. At last Titus met him at Philippi with favourable tidings. The church as a whole, had submitted to the Apostle's authority and obeyed

his injunctions as to the incestuous person and the contributions for the Church at Jerusalem. But there were still recalcitrant members who denied his authority and assailed him with unscrupulous rancour. The second Epistle to the Corinthians is a passionate outpouring of personal feeling; profound gratitude for the reformation of the church; the warmest affection for his converts; profound indignation at the slanders of his opponents; and a pathetic and dignified vindication of his apostolic authority and personal character. In xi. 16—xii. 10 he gives an account of his personal sufferings, on the one hand, and of his "visions and revelations of the Lord" on the other.

From Philippi, St Paul passed on to Corinth, on his way to Jerusalem, "saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome," Acts xix. 21. To prepare the way for his visit he wrote from Corinth the Epistle to the Romans.[1] This Epistle is a careful and systematic statement of St Paul's great doctrine of the universality of Christianity; and that salvation depends on a spiritual relation to God and is not conditioned by the physical circumstance of race, or by the observance of external ordinances. The Jew has neither an exclusive claim to the privileges of the Gospel nor a pre-eminent place in the kingdom of God. Chs. i.—iii. show that Jews and Gentiles are alike guilty before God. Ch. iv. sets forth that faith is more original and fundamental than circumcision or the Law, because Abraham was saved by faith before circumcision was instituted or the Law revealed. Chs. v.—viii. dwell on the failure of the Law to provide salvation, and insist on the necessity of justification by a faith, which, by its very nature, is utterly incompatible with a sinful life. In Chs. ix.—xi. the

Romans, B.C. 58.

[1] *Cf.* Rom. xv. 25 with Acts xx. 1-3.

Apostle discusses the rejection of the Jews and predicts their final restoration. Chs. xii.—xv. 7 inculcate a holy life and apply to the question of clean and unclean meats the same principles laid down by 1 Corinthians for the use of meats offered to idols.

Although St Paul had never visited Rome, ch. xvi contains a long list of salutations. It has been thought improbable that the Apostle would have had so many personal friends in a strange city; moreover, some of the names are connected with Asia[1] and Ephesus; Priscilla and Aquila, xvi. 3, were at Ephesus when 1 Corinthians was written (1 Cor. xvi. 19 *cf.* Acts xviii. 19-28); and Epœnetus, xvi. 5, is "the first fruits of *Asia*." Hence it has been suggested that Rom. xvi. is a fragment of an epistle to the Church at Ephesus, which has been accidentally added to the Romans. Moreover the Epistle contains several verses which might serve as concluding doxologies, xi. 36, xv. 33, xvi. 20, 24, 25-27; in some manuscripts xvi. 25-27 stands at the end of xiv., in some it occurs both in xiv. and xvi., and in some in neither; and the words "in Rome" in i. 7 are omitted by a few authorities. Hence it has been suggested that there were several editions of the Epistle, sent to different churches, each with a suitable conclusion of its own; and that in the extant form of the Epistle all these various conclusions are combined.

Galatians, cir. B.C. 57.

The Epistle to the Galatians cannot very well be the latest of its group, but we have kept it to the last, because its date and destination are uncertain. It is addressed to certain churches which St Paul had founded in "Galatia," when he was detained there by a distressing illness. While he was there, they were passionately devoted to him; but,

[1] The Roman Province.

after his departure, they were led away by Judaïsing teachers, who persuaded them that in order to become Christians they must first be circumcised and become Jews. Here, as elsewhere, the Judaïsers attacked St Paul's authority and character. Hence the Apostle vindicates himself, as in Corinthians, and insists upon the doctrine of universal salvation by faith, as in Romans. In chapters i. and ii. he asserts his independent apostolic authority, by giving an account of his relations with the other apostles. These chapters are a most important contribution to our knowledge of his history. In iii. and iv. he reasons much as in Romans, using the same argument of the priority of the faith of Abraham to the ordinances of the Law, and the same quotation "The just shall live by faith."[1] The form and tone of the discussion is different in the two epistles. Galatians is an indignant polemic that suggests that St Paul was not only at war with the Judaïsing missionaries, but also that his relations with St Peter and St James were considerably strained; Romans, on the contrary, is a calm and scientific statement.

The last two chapters are occupied with practical exhortations; as in Romans, St Paul guards the doctrine of justification by faith from immoral perversion. The epistle is full of striking and important paragraphs. The opening verses are unique in their emphatic assertion of the writer's claim to be a divinely-appointed apostle, and also in the absence of affectionate commendation of the readers. The allegory of Hagar, Sinai, and Jerusalem, iv. 24-31, is the nearest approach of St Paul to the method of exegesis favoured by Philo and his numerous Christian imitators. Philo, too, was fond of allegorising

[1] Hab. ii. 4, Rom. i. 17, Gal. iii. 11.

the story of Sarah and Hagar, though, of course, upon different lines.

From the above very brief sketch it will be clear that Galatians is very closely connected with Romans and Corinthians; a more detailed comparison would bring out more fully the resemblance in style, vocabulary and subject-matter. But it is difficult to determine the chronological relation of this epistle to the other three. It is even uncertain what churches and district are intended by the phrase "churches of Galatia." "Galatia" was used both for the country inhabited by the Gauls who settled in Asia Minor, and for a Roman province including the ancient Galatia and other districts, among the rest the Lycaonian and Pisidian districts in which Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch were situated. The ambiguity of the term "Galatia" has given rise to two rival theories, each of which has enthusiastic champions. The "Northern Galatian" theory identifies St Paul's Galatia with the ancient Gallic province, and is supported by the great authority of the late Dr Lightfoot. The "Southern Galatian" theory regards Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch as the "churches of Galatia" and has recently been revived by Prof. Ramsay. The date assigned to the epistle will partly depend on whether the "Northern" or "Southern" theory is adopted, and partly on the interpretation of the "so soon" of i. 6. If the latter means "so soon" after their conversion or after St Paul's last visit, the "Northern" theory might date the epistle either after the visit to Galatia on the Second Journey, Acts xvi. 6, or on the Third Journey, xviii. 23; and the "Southern" theory might adopt either of these, or even a date after the First Journey. The "so soon" however, may merely refer to the rapidity with which the Galatians had yielded to

the seductions of the Judaïsers. On the other hand, the relation to the Romans and Corinthians suggests a date towards the end of the Third Journey. The letter is often supposed to have been written during St Paul's stay at Ephesus; but Dr Lightfoot adduces strong reasons for placing it between 2 Corinthians and Romans. In which case Galatians must have been written in the interval between the arrival at Philippi and the departure from Corinth.

After writing Romans, St Paul sailed for Jerusalem, where he only escaped the violence of the Jewish mob through the intervention of the Roman garrison. He was kept a prisoner on charges brought against him by the Jews, first for two years at Cæsarea, and then, after his voyage and shipwreck, for two years or more at Rome. During this imprisonment, he wrote the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians, and to Philemon.[1] The last three are often supposed to have been written at Cæsarea, but it seems probable that all four were written at Rome. Colossians, Ephesians and Philemon were written at the same time, and probably sent to their destination by the same messenger. It is uncertain whether Philippians was written before or after the other three. The latter is the view generally accepted. But Philippians is much more in the manner of the previous epistles, than are the other three, which constitute a new departure in the method and substance of St Paul's teaching. These considerations suggest the earlier date for Philippians.

Philippians, B.C. 60-62.

The writing of this letter was due to the following circumstances. The Church at Philippi had heard that St Paul was a prisoner at Rome, and sent Epaphroditus to him with a present. Epaphroditus fell ill at Rome, and the Philippians heard of his

[1] Phil. i. 7; Col. iv. 18; Eph. iii. 1; Philemon 1.

illness, and were in great anxiety on his account. St Paul wrote to tell them of their friend's recovery and to thank them for their loving care for himself. He tells them also that though a prisoner, he had been able to spread the knowledge of the truth; and takes occasion to exhort them to unity and to warn them against the Judaïsers, iii. 1-7. This passage connects the epistle with those of the Third Journey; while the great Christological passage, ii. 1-11, concerning the *Kenosis*, or self-emptying of our Lord at His incarnation, forms a transition to the other three epistles of this group.

Philemon, B.C. 60-62.

The Epistle to Philemon is a purely personal letter. Philemon was a wealthy Christian of Colossæ, whose slave Onesimus had run away to Rome. There the Apostle met and converted him. He sent him back to Colossæ with this letter, in which he commends him to the indulgence and favour of his master. Whilst all St Paul's letters—even Galatians—are as tender and sympathetic as they are profound and passionate, Philippians and Philemon—each in its own way—illustrate most strikingly the perfect courtesy and tenacious affection of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

Ephesians and Colossians, B.C. 60-62?

In Ephesians and Colossians we have two editions of one document. Their mutual relations are even more complicated than those of the Synoptic Gospels. Out of ninety-five verses in Colossians, forty-eight have parallels in Ephesians; and the parallel verses are scattered throughout both epistles. Often a passage in Colossians has more than one parallel in Ephesians, *e.g.*, Col. i. 27 = Eph. i. 9, 18, iii. 8, 9; only once *vice versa*, Col. i. 3, 4, 9 = Eph. i. 15,16. The parallels mostly consist of one or two verses, but Col. iii. 7-10 = Eph. iv. 22-26; Col. iii. 22-25 = Eph.

vi. 5-8; Col. iv. 2-4 = Eph. vi. 18-20.[1] The verbal agreement between parallel passages is often very exact; more than a third of the material in Colossians is verbally identical with parts of Ephesians.[2] In the following passage, Col. iii. 22-25, the words in italics occur identically in Ephesians, except that in words marked with an asterisk differences of prefix and inflection are ignored:—

"*Servants, obey* in all things *them that are your masters according to the flesh; not* with *eyeservice, as men-pleasers*, but *in singleness of heart, fearing** the Lord: whatsoever ye do, work heartily, *as unto the Lord, and not unto men; knowing that* from *the Lord*, ye shall receive the recompense of the inheritance: ye *serve** the Lord *Christ*. For he that doeth wrong shall receive again for the wrong that he hath done: and *there is no respect of persons*."

There is further a resemblance in general arrangement; in the opening greetings and commendation; and in the concluding practical exhortations. In the face of so much agreement, it is remarkable that the main theme of the two epistles is entirely different. Ephesians completes the doctrine of universal salvation by faith by insisting on the unity of all believers in Christ. Colossians combats the errors of certain fanatics, apparently Judaïsing mystics, who insisted on asceticism in meats and drinks, and on the observance of feasts, new moons, and the Sabbath; worshipped angels; and took for their motto, "Touch not, taste not, handle not," ii. 16-23. There are other points peculiar to one or other of the epistles, of which the most striking are the description of the Christian Armour, Eph. vi. 11-17; and the declaration in Col. iii. 11 that "there cannot be Greek and Jew,

[1] Holtzmann, N.T. Introduction, 292.

[2] Schmiedel in Holtzmann's Introduction, 292.

circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bondman, freeman: but Christ is all, and in all." To this latter, however, there are partial parallels in Ephesians.

Numerous theories have been suggested to explain these facts. One epistle may have been used in the composition of the other, priority being usually assigned to Colossians. Or, to state another theory, the groundwork of Colossians may be a genuine Pauline epistle, which has been interpolated by a subsequent writer who composed Ephesians. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that St Paul wrote the two epistles about the same time, probably Colossians first, and that the verses and phrases found in both are partly the familiar commonplaces of the Apostle's teaching at that time, partly introduced from the MS. of the earlier epistle into the later.

One difficulty, however, in the way of this last theory is the alleged impossibility that St Paul can have written either of these epistles. The theory itself, indeed, is an adequate answer to the argument that so fertile and original a thinker would not have repeated himself. Such an argument, too, is only valid against whichever epistle is held to be secondary. But there are more serious difficulties. The style and vocabulary, especially in Colossians, differs somewhat strikingly from those of St Paul's previous epistles. Colossians again, and in a measure Ephesians, suggest, it is said, an acquaintance with the terminology and teaching of second-century Gnosticism. In both epistles the doctrine of the Person of Christ has attained a transcendental development alien to the earlier writings. Finally in Ephesians the emphasis on Christian unity is said to imply an idea of an organised church, impossible in the time of St Paul. None of these objections, however, are fatal. The style may be different, because the Apostle availed himself more extensively than usual of secretarial help;

second-century Gnostics had their predecessors in the first century and even earlier, from whom no doubt they borrowed terms and ideas ; the transcendental theology of these epistles is a very possible development from that of the First and Second Groups ; and Christian unity was an idea quite within the range of St Paul's thinking.

On the other hand, Colossians connects in the most natural way with the Epistle to Philemon. Both are written in the names of St Paul and Timothy, both refer to Onesimus, Epaphras, Mark, Aristarchus, Demas, Luke, and Archippus ; yet the way in which the names occur in Colossians excludes the possibility that they are merely borrowed from Philemon. Thus, though we feel that in Ephesians and Colossians St Paul makes a new departure both in style and ideas, we need not deny his authorship of these epistles. It is attested alike by many features in their contents, and by early and wide-spread tradition.

Two points remain to be noticed. Though Colossæ lay between Pisidia and Lycaonia on the one hand and the western coast of Asia Minor on the other, St Paul had not visited the town, ii. 1 ; the church was apparently founded by a disciple of his, possibly Epaphras, i. 7.

Next, the destination of Ephesians is uncertain. The words "at Ephesus," i. 1, are absent from some of the best authorities ; and the lack of personal salutations makes it improbable that the letter was addressed in the ordinary way to a city in which the Apostle had laboured for three years. Perhaps the epistle was a circular letter, of which a copy was sent to Ephesus, hence the variety of reading. Probably too, a copy was sent to Laodicea, and is referred to in Col. iv. 16, as "the epistle from Laodicea" *i.e.*, the epistle which would be brought to Colossæ from Laodicea.

1 and 2 Timothy and Titus, after B.C. 63.

We have now reached a point at which we pass beyond the period dealt with in the Acts. Attempts have, indeed, been made to fit the Pastoral Epistles into the framework of the narrative in Acts, but they have not been successful enough to need consideration; the historical circumstances implied in the epistles are inconsistent with any situation described in the narrative. Moreover, they are sharply divided from the other Pauline epistles by their style and subject-matter; and, here again, the differences are such as point to a later date. Hence we lose the aid of the narrative in determining and illustrating the historical setting. Our evidence is no longer enriched by "undesigned coincidences" and other mutual confirmation of the Acts and the epistles,—confirmation which is really strengthened by minor differences and apparent discrepancies. From this point the origin of the literature and the course of history are alike matters of controversy.

We shall first describe the epistles and the circumstances they imply, if they are accepted as Pauline, and then discuss their authorship. They are so closely connected in style and subject-matter, that all three must have been composed within a comparatively short period; and, as regards Pauline authorship, the three stand or fall together. As the title "Pastoral" implies, they are letters addressed to disciples and assistants of St Paul, defining the qualifications and duties of "pastors" of churches, overseers,[1] presbyters, deacons, etc. They also emphasize the importance of loyalty to church doctrine, the exact nature of which is not so much defined, as assumed to be known by the readers; and further contain warnings against a curious combination of fanatical

[1] ἐπίσκοποι, A.R.V., bishops, R.mg., overseers.

asceticism, speculative mysticism, and practical immorality, which is very much akin to second-century gnosticism and is indeed characterised as "Gnosis falsely so called."[1]

Two are addressed to Timothy, who was first associated with St Paul early in the Second Journey, Acts xvi. 1, and was from that time forth, his constant companion and active helper. Col. i. 1, and Philemon 1, show that he was with St Paul during his imprisonment at Rome. The other is addressed to Titus, who is never mentioned in the Acts. He was with St Paul on the visit to Jerusalem referred to in Gal. ii. 1, and was sent by the Apostle on a mission to Corinth, during the three years' stay at Ephesus.

The general tenor of 1 Timothy and Titus, see especially Titus iii. 12, implies that the Apostle was at liberty when these epistles were written. Hence the imprisonment described in Acts must have ended in his acquittal and release. We further gather that after his release he was again occupied in missionary journeys. In 1 Tim. i. 3, we find that on his way to Macedonia,—possibly after the visit to Colossæ, anticipated in Philemon 22—he passed through Ephesus and left Timothy there. From the Epistle to Titus, we learn that St Paul visited Crete, and left Titus there, and that he was expecting to winter at a place called Nicopolis. There were many cities of this name, and the context does not indicate which St Paul referred to; but this city is often identified either with a Nicopolis in Epirus or with one in Thrace. The Second Epistle to Timothy implies that the Apostle was again imprisoned and the case against him had already been partly heard, iv. 16, 17; and that, shortly before

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20, *ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*.

this imprisonment, he had visited Troas and Miletus, iv. 13, 20, and probably Ephesus, i. 18.

Thus the Pauline authorship involves the Apostle's release from the imprisonment of Acts xxviii., subsequent missionary journeys, and a second imprisonment. The first objection, accordingly, is the silence of Acts, and of such authorities as Irenæus, Tertullian and Origen as to all these events; and the comparative weakness of corroborating evidence in their favour. Clement of Rome speaks of St Paul going "to the limit of the West"[1] and this is often explained to mean Spain. Inasmuch as no such visit took place before the First Imprisonment, a journey to Spain would imply his release. But it is also maintained that Clement merely means "having reached the western limit of his journeys," *i.e.*, Rome. Moreover, Clement's language is obviously loose and rhetorical, he asserts that St Paul taught righteousness in the whole world. Probably, the statement made by Eusebius, and copied by later authorities as to a Second Imprisonment is a mere deduction from the epistles themselves; and the journey to Spain in the Muratorian Canon, and elsewhere, a similar deduction from Rom. xv. 28.

A second objection is the advanced stage of church organisation, the number and strictly defined status of regular officials; and the interest of the Apostle in church officials and organisation; all of which is said—with a measure of truth—to be in striking contrast with the earlier epistles. The apparent references to a recognised system of Christian doctrine also suggest a late date.

Thirdly, as in Colossians, the references to Gnostic ideas and the use of Gnostic terms are held to imply a date in the second century.

[1] Ch. 7, ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως.

Fourthly, one or more of the three were rejected by a number of early authorities. But the force of this evidence is very much diminished by the fact that these authorities were Gnostics, whose teaching was at variance with that of these epistles. Thus Tatian rejected 1 and 2 Timothy, and Basilides and Marcion rejected all three. Marcion himself wrote a work called "Antitheses." It is certainly curious that he should have done so, if there was in existence an epistle fully recognised as a genuine work of St Paul's, containing the phrase "Antitheses of the Pseudo-Gnosis."[1] For Marcion selected as his New Testament the Pauline Third Gospel, and the other ten Epistles of St Paul.

Lastly, the style of the Pastoral Epistles differs even more widely than Colossians from that of the acknowledged Pauline epistles.

On these and other grounds very many critics have denied the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, and have assigned them to dates between A.D. 80 and 150. Some, however, of those who regard the epistles as non-Pauline, believe that they are based on genuine Pauline fragments,—especially 2 Timothy, in which iv. 9-22 is often regarded as a Pauline fragment.

The arguments against the Pauline authorship of these letters are similar in character, but, in each case, more serious than the objections to Colossians and Ephesians. They may be similarly dealt with. The style may be that of a secretary, to whom the Apostle entrusted the duty of suitably embodying his ideas. The absence of evidence

[1] *ἀντιθέσεις τοῦ ψευδονύμου γνώσεως* in 1 Tim. vi. 20, "O Timothy, guard that which is committed unto thee, turning away from the profane babblings and *oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called*."

as to the Second Imprisonment, the apparent acquaintance with second-century Gnosticism, the development of church organisation and doctrine, and the hostile attitude of Marcion might all cease to be difficulties, if we were better acquainted with the history of the first century. On the other hand, there is much in these epistles which reminds us of St Paul, and the external evidence for the Pauline authorship is early, manifold and multifarious. Nevertheless, the weight of current criticism is decidedly against the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles—at any rate in their extant form; and the evidence at present available is certainly not conclusive in its favour.

CHAPTER IV

HEBREWS, JAMES, 1 AND 2 PETER, AND JUDE

In the discussion of the date and authorship of the Pauline epistles, we have the advantage of considerable knowledge of the Apostle's history and teaching; and for most of the epistles, we have a history of the period to which they profess to belong; and we are able to compare the doubtful documents with a collection of acknowledged Pauline literature. We have no such assistance for the epistles we are now to consider. We know comparatively little of St Peter personally, and less of his teaching; St James is hardly more than a name; and St Jude is nothing but a name. These epistles do not connect with the history in the Acts, or with any other extant history. Hebrews is anonymous, and we have no acknowledged works by St James, St Peter, or St Jude, with which to compare the epistles ascribed to them.[1] We have to depend upon tradition; and in the case of these works the evidence of tradition is sometimes uncertain, sometimes late, sometimes conflicting. We must be prepared to find that our conclusions will be less definite and assured than in the case of some of the Pauline letters.

Hebrews. About A.D. 70.

The occasion of the Epistle to the Hebrews may be gathered from the letter itself and from the early history of the Church. Christianity was at first a movement within Judaïsm, as Methodism was a movement within the Church of England. In neither case was it obvious at first that

[1] There are, however, numerous parallels between Heb., 1 and 2 Pet. and Jas., which suggest mutual connection.

the old system and the new movement would become separate and contrasted. Christianity at first expected to absorb Judaïsm, and when it was seen that this expectation was doomed to disappointment, Jewish Christians still hoped that they might be regarded as good Jews, sharing the religious fellowship of Israel and taking part in the Temple services. St Paul and the course of events rendered this impossible. A Christianity loyal to Judaïsm must have submitted to be controlled by the Mosaic Law, just as all Christian denominations are controlled by the Bible; such a Christianity must also have acknowledged the authority of the Priesthood and the Rabbis, just as a loyal Catholic recognises the Pope and the Fathers. Hence Jewish Christians were in a strait betwixt two. On the one hand, there were education and ancient custom, and patriotism, the faith they had drunk in with their mother's milk and the lessons they had learnt at their mother's knees; habits in which religious feeling and pride of race were curiously blended; loyalty to Israel, and—as it might almost seem—to Jehovah Himself. On the other hand, there was the new faith in Jesus of Nazareth. They had to choose. The Epistle to the Hebrews is intended to help Christian Jews to choose between Moses and Jesus. It shows the superiority of Christ to the agents and representatives of Old Testament Revelation and especially to the authors and officials of the Law—to prophets, angels, Moses, Joshua, and to the Levitical Priesthood. In the references to the Old Canaanite priest-king of Jerusalem, in Gen. xiv. and Psalm cx., the author sees the type and promise of an Eternal Priest, who should supersede the House of Aaron. This promise is realised in Christ. Similarly the ancient ritual is itself imperfect and ineffectual, it is a collection of types of the perfect work of Christ.

The epistle concludes with sundry practical exhortations. But a thread of exhortation runs through the whole; again and again the author pleads with his readers to be steadfast in their new faith, till the pleading culminates in a final appeal to "go forth unto" Jesus "without the camp, bearing his reproach," *i.e.*, to make a final decision between Christianity and Judaïsm, to sever themselves from Israel, in order that they might remain loyal to Christ.

This great epistle is the utterance of a voice out of the darkness, speaking to an unseen audience. We do not know by whom it was written, or to whom it was addressed. The author is certainly not St Paul, but an Alexandrian Jew, for he thinks in the language and after the manner of Philo, and not—as St Paul did—in the language and after the manner of Gamaliel. His arguments, indeed, tend to the same end as St Paul's, and the reference to Timothy connects him with the Pauline circle, xiii. 23. But the differences are numerous, important and decisive. As to the readers, they are clearly Jews. As to the date, the epistle is freely used by Clement of Rome, and was therefore composed before the end of the first century. All the rest is theory.

The letter is anonymous, the body of the work claims no author, and the early MSS. give no author's name. Tradition assigned it at various times to Barnabas, Clement of Rome, St Luke and St Paul, and a favourite modern theory advocates the claims of Apollos; but the truth is still best expressed in the words of Origen, "Who wrote the Epistle, God only knows certainly."

The "Hebrews" addressed have been supposed to live in many places, *e.g.*, Jerusalem, Corinth, Alexandria, Rome, Ephesus. As to date, critics differ as to whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D.

70. The writer certainly seems to speak of the temple (or rather "tabernacle") and its services as still in existence, but this may be due to his literary method, which takes the standpoint of the Pentateuch, and therefore speaks of the tabernacle and not the Temple. On the other hand, the destruction of Jerusalem made a crisis in the relations of Judaïsm and Christianity; it embittered their mutual hostility; the misfortunes of Israel were an imperative claim on the patriotism of the Jews. That great calamity rendered it impossible for Christian Jews to halt between two opinions, and may well have caused the crisis which was the occasion of this epistle.

James.

The "James" of the epistle is the "Brother of the Lord" of Acts xv. 13-29, 1 Cor. xv. 7, Gal. i. 19, ii. 9; who seems to have been head of the Church at Jerusalem, and is said to have been martyred before the Fall of the Holy City. He writes to "the twelve tribes, which are of the Dispersion," i. 1; apparently to Jewish Christians everywhere. Others have understood this phrase as a figurative title for the Church, like "the Israel of God," in Gal. vi. 16.

This epistle is a series of exhortations on practical topics, patience in adversity, purity, benevolence, the use of the tongue, the nature of true prayer, the duties of the Church and of the rich towards the poor. In ii. 14-26, he expounds the vanity of faith without works; apparently in formal contradiction to St Paul, whose favourite illustration of Abraham is turned against himself. Possibly, however, the section is merely directed against perversions of Pauline teaching. The exhortation, in v. 7-11, to wait patiently for the Second Coming of Christ indicates that some considerable time had elapsed since our Lord's death.

The early existence of the letter seems established by the parallels in Clement of Rome, Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles; which imply a date before the end of the first century. But we gather from the silence of Hegesippus, the Muratorian Canon, etc.; from the possible omission of the Epistle by the original editions of the Old Latin and Syriac Versions;[1] and from the statements of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome and others, that great uncertainty prevailed as to this Epistle in the early church. It was not fully received till the close of the fourth century.

The contents are too colourless to afford us much help. The absence of reference to the controversies between St Paul and the Judaïsers, as to circumcision, etc., has been held to indicate a very early date, before these questions were raised; and has also been held to indicate a very late date, after they were settled. The epistle is also alleged to make use of the Pauline Epistles, and Hebrews and 1 Peter; and other arguments are adduced in support of a late date. Thus the epistle has been placed as early as A.D. 52 and as late as the second century. It can, of course, only be by St James if it is early. On the whole, it must be acknowledged that both data and arguments are somewhat vague and inconclusive. Under such circumstances, we may accept the claim made by the opening verse, until further evidence is available.

1 Peter.

The first Epistle of St Peter, like Hebrews, seeks to fortify its readers against spiritual dangers arising from persecution. But while the author of Hebrews fears apostasy from the Christian faith, St Peter is apprehensive of failure of Christian conduct. He

[1] Westcott on the Canon of the N.T., 261; Mayor on James xlix., note (authorities mentioned in).

appeals to the prospect of future glory, i. 4, 5, etc., the price of their redemption, i. 18, 19, and the example of Christ's patience under suffering, iii. 16-18, iv. 1-13; *cf.* Hebr. xii. 1-3. Much space is devoted to detailed practical teaching, such as closes most of the Pauline epistles and is found in special fulness in Ephesians. In 1 Pet. iii. 19, 20 we find the statement that Christ "went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient, when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah," —one of the insoluble enigmas of New Testament Theology.

This epistle has numerous parallels with Hebrews; but a more remarkable phenomenon is that this letter of the Apostle of the Circumcision is saturated with Pauline phraseology and ideas. Parallels are specially noted with Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, *e.g.*, 1 Pet. i. 14 = Rom. xii. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 2, 5 = Rom. xii. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 10 = Rom. xii. 6; 1 Pet. i. 5 = Gal. iii. 23; 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22 = Eph. i. 20, 21. Most critics think 1 Peter dependent on Romans; but opinion is divided as to whether 1 Peter uses Ephesians, or *vice versa*, or whether they were composed in the same circle, or even by the same author. If the Pauline authorship of Ephesians is accepted, probably 1 Peter is dependent on it.

The external evidence in support of this epistle is almost as strong as for any book of the New Testament; the witnesses in its favour include Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, the Peshito and the Old Latin Versions. But it is absent from the Muratorian Canon; a fact which has been explained by a possible corruption of the text of that document. But perhaps the most conclusive evidence that this epistle was fully accepted as St Peter's early in the second century, is that the *Second* Epistle refers to it as St Peter's. If the Second

is Petrine, this testimony is final; but, even if the Second Epistle is pseudonymous, it is clear that its author knew that the First Epistle was unhesitatingly acknowledged to be St Peter's, and that references to it and imitations of it would give credit to his own work.

Objections have been raised to the Petrine authorship of the epistle, the most important being its dependence on St Paul's Epistles. But it has been pointed out that St Peter was easily influenced; and the language and ideas of this epistle would be accounted for if it was written when he was living amongst disciples of St Paul. If "Babylon," in v. 13, from which the epistle was written, is—as is often supposed—Rome; and if we could credit the tradition of the joint work and martyrdom of St Peter and St Paul at Rome, we might suppose that the Pauline character of this letter was due to the influence of St Paul himself. Those who deny the Petrine authorship suppose that it was written by a disciple of St Paul's in St Peter's name, to promote Christian unity by harmonising the teaching of the two apostles.

If we accept the tradition of St Peter's martyrdom under Nero, the letter must be earlier than A.D. 65. If it is dependent on the Pauline epistles it cannot well be earlier than A.D. 60. If this dependence is denied the letter may be placed earlier and has been dated as early as A.D. 54.[1] On the other hand, many of the critics who deny the Petrine authorship note the reference to Bithynia in i. 1, and consider that the state of the Christians as indicated by 1 Peter agrees with the situation of the Bithynian Christians described in Pliny's celebrated letter to Trajan in A.D. 112. Hence they date our epistle in the beginning of the second century.

[1] Weiss.

The epistle is written from Babylon, v. 13. This "Babylon" is sometimes understood of the city on the Euphrates, but is more probably Rome, *cf.* Rev. xiv. 8. It is addressed, i. 1, to the sojourners of the Dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. This is often understood as the Jewish Dispersion, *i.e.*, the Christian members of it, but the term may very well have been extended to the scattered Christians, both Jews and Gentiles.

Jude.

There is a close connection between 2 Peter ii. 1-19 and Jude 4-19. The relation resembles that between the Synoptic Gospels rather than that between Colossians and Ephesians. In the latter case, the same material is used in the development of different themes; but here we have similar treatment of the same subject, often with close verbal agreement. There is some difference of opinion as to the relative priority of the two passages, but, on the whole, it seems clear that 2 Peter is dependent upon Jude. We will, therefore, consider the latter epistle first.

The author of Jude is, like James, a brother of our Lord. The perfectly general address does not exclude the possibility that the epistle was written for a particular church or churches. There are parallels with Colossians, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse, which point to a connection with Asia Minor. The object of the letter is to warn the readers against schismatics, 19, who make separations, antinomian Gnostics, who justified immorality by a perversion of Christian ethics. As Old Testament examples of the fate of such teaching, the epistle reminds us of the Israelites who perished in the wilderness; Sodom and Gomorrah; Cain; Balaam; and Korah. And to these are added from Apocryphal Writings, the Fallen Angels, out of the Book of Enoch. The reference to Michael is said to be taken from the Ascension

of Moses; and the Book of Enoch is expressly quoted in 14.

The external evidence is as full as we could expect for so short an epistle, and though objections have been raised against its authenticity, they are not conclusive. It was not included in the Peshito, and was placed by Eusebius among the *antilegomena*. Jerome tells us that it was rejected by many, on account of its use of apocryphal literature. On the other hand, it was included in the Old Latin Version, and is mentioned as St Jude's in the Muratorian Canon, and by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Origen. Moreover, the use by 2 Peter is strong evidence of its early existence and acceptance as authoritative.

The date is uncertain. The false teaching, which it attacks, is similar to that referred to in Colossians and the Pastorals, but is more developed than in Colossians. Hence the epistle cannot be much earlier than A.D. 70, and, if written by Jude, cannot well be later than A.D. 90. Critics who reject his authorship have placed it after A.D. 140.

2 Peter.

The Second Epistle of Peter expressly claims to be the work of the Apostle, and, to emphasize the identification, calls him "Simon Peter," as against the simple "Peter" of the First Epistle. The address is general, but iii. 1 implies that it was written for the same readers as the First Epistle, *i.e.*, the Christians of Asia Minor. The reader will note how the following brief description illustrates the dependence of this epistle on Jude. The chief object of the letter is to warn the readers against schismatics—ii. 1, "false teachers, who stealthily introduce pernicious sects,"[1] antinomian Gnostics, who

[1] R.V., privily bring in destructive heresies; R.V.mg., sects of perdition.

justified immorality by a perversion of Pauline teaching, iii. 15, 16, departing from church tradition, ii. 21—"turn back from the holy commandment delivered[1] unto them" —on the ground that the Second Coming of Christ taught by the early church had not taken place. The epistle appeals to examples from the Old Testament; the Flood; Sodom and Gomorrah; and Balaam; and also cites from the Apocrypha the instances of the Fallen Angels and the moderation of the good angels.

There is no clear external evidence to the epistle before the beginning of the Third Century.[2] It was absent from the Peshito and the original edition of the Old Latin Version,[3] and is treated as doubtful by Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. Jerome states that it was rejected by many because its style was different from that of the First Epistle. These facts, together with the differences of style referred to by Jerome; the difference of theological standpoint, as compared with 1 Peter; the dependence on Jude; the references to Apostolic teaching, iii. 2, and to the canonical authority of the Pauline epistles; have led to the rejection of the Petrine authorship by Erasmus and Calvin,[4] and by very many subsequent critics. Attempts have been made to preserve some connection between St Peter and this epistle by suggesting that the Apostle may have employed different amanuenses or translators; or that the epistle was written by his orders; or that it is expanded from an original Petrine epistle. We should not be justified in coming to any conclusion more favourable to St

[1] παραδοθείσης.

[2] Salmon, Introd. to N.T., p. 521-2; Weiss, Introd. to N.T. (Eng. Tr.), ii. 169; Hatch, Article on Epp. of Peter, Encycl. Brit.

[3] Westcott, N.T. Canon, p. 260-1.

[4] Westcott, N.T. Canon, 468, 485.

Peter's authorship of this epistle than that of Weiss: "The possibility that the work is on the whole what it claims to be, and that circumstances unknown to us alone prevented its recognition before the third century, need not be excluded, nor the question of its genuineness be declared definitely settled."[1]

The Epistle has been assigned to various dates between A.D. 60 and 180. The dependence on Jude, and the canonical status accorded to the Pauline epistles point to a date in the second century; but if the Petrine authorship is accepted, the date must be fixed much earlier.

[1] N.T. Introd. (Eng. Tr.), ii. 174.

CHAPTER V

THE JOHANNINE LITERATURE

THE Johannine Literature falls into three divisions; the Gospel and the First Epistle are so closely connected in style and ideas that they were obviously written by the same author; or, at any rate, by members of the same circle, in the same period. The Second and Third Epistles resemble the two former works, but not so closely as they resemble each other. The Apocalypse, on the other hand, presents so many striking points of contrast to the rest of this literature, that it is extremely difficult to believe that it was written by the author of the Gospel and the Epistles.

External Evidence.

The external evidence of the early date and Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, the First Epistle, and the Apocalypse is as strong, for all practical purposes, as that for any book of the New Testament; especially when we remember that the close connection of the Gospel and the Epistle makes testimony to one of them available for both. All three are accepted as Johannine by Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, Origen, and Tertullian, and are included in the Old Latin Version and the Muratorian Canon; and the Gospel and Epistle are also included in the Peshito. St John is mentioned as the author of the Gospel for the first time by Theophilus of Antioch, *cir.* A.D. 180; but the Gospel can be shown to have been in existence before A.D.

140. It is included by Tatian, *cir.* A.D. 165-175, in his Diatessaron, and Prof. Rendel Harris[1] maintains that Tatian used an earlier harmony, and depended on texts of the Synoptic Gospels which were harmonised with the Fourth Gospel. In either case, a period of harmonising with John intervenes between the composition of that Gospel and the compilation of the Diatessaron. Even if these conclusions are not sound, the inclusion of John in a harmony of the four gospels, shows that Tatian and his contemporaries regarded it as of equal authority with the rest. It seems certain that John was used by Justin Martyr; and a sentence of the Gospel occurs in a second century work, recently discovered by Mr Conybeare.[2] The use of the Gospel by the Gnostic, Basilides, *cir.* A.D. 125, and by his predecessors, does not seem to be conclusively established. The First Epistle of St John is used by Papias, *cir.* A.D. 117, and Polycarp, *d.* A.D. 155.

The case for the Apocalypse is different; the book is not included in the Peshito, the Philoxenian or Harclean Syriac Versions. The Roman Presbyter Caius, *cir.* A.D. 220, speaks of the Gnostic, Cerinthus, as having published revelations purporting to be the work of a great Apostle.[3] He may possibly refer to the Apocalypse. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 247-265, quotes strongly adverse criticisms on the book, and himself ascribes it to another John different from the Apostle, stating that there were "two tombs at Ephesus, each called the tomb of John."[4] Many subsequent authorities reject the book, but their testimony is of little critical

[1] Diatessaron of Tatian, 56.

[2] Probably by Ariston of Pella, see *Expositor*, 1897.

[3] Eus., "Ch. Hist.," iii., 28, 2; *cf.* Holtzmann, Einleitung in das N.T., 436.

[4] Eus., "Ch. Hist.," vii., 25, 1.

value. It is either based upon the opinions already cited, or due to theological objections to the teaching of the Apocalypse. This hostile evidence is more than counterbalanced by the reference of Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr, Melito,[1] *d. cir.* A.D. 171, and also of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen and Irenæus, to the Apocalypse as the work of the Apostle John. Inasmuch as Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea and Sardis are among the seven churches addressed in the Apocalypse; and Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna; Melito, Bishop of Sardis; Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, about six miles from Laodicea; and Justin Martyr's reference occurs in ch. 81 of the dialogue with Trypho, the scene of which is laid at Ephesus, this fourfold testimony seems conclusive. Thus the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel, the First Epistle of St John, and the Apocalypse, establishes the existence of all three before A.D. 110; and shows that, at that date, the Apocalypse was accepted as St John's by those most likely to be well-informed on the subject. The early association of the Apostle's name with the Gospel and Epistle is not so completely proved, but their Johannine authorship must have been accepted before the middle of the second century. We must bear in mind, however, the statements of Papias and Dionysius of Alexandria that there were two Johns connected with Ephesus.

The external evidence for the Second and Third Epistles of St John is very much weaker. They are placed among the *antilegomena* by Eusebius; they are not cited by Tertullian and were probably not included in the original Peshito. Origen treats them as doubtful, and Jerome ascribes them

[1] Polycarp and Papias are rather to be inferred from statements in Irenæus and elsewhere; and Melito from a statement in Eusebius but Justin is certain.

to "John the Presbyter," thus accepting the theory of a second author named John. The Second Epistle is better authenticated than the Third: Irenæus quotes 2 John, 10, 11 as "John,"[1] and Clement of Alexandria speaks of 1 John as the longer epistle, and mentions—in a different context—a second; the Muratorian Canon speaks of *two* epistles of St John, and quotes 1 John i. 1, 4. On the other hand, all three were included in the Old Latin Version. The brevity and personal character of these epistles renders the lack of external evidence comparatively unimportant, and the decision in their case will largely depend on the view taken of the rest of the Johannine Literature.

We will now consider the books individually, and in the first place the Gospel. This work is best described by a comparison with the Synoptics. There is a general agreement as to the circumstances and history, the character and teaching[2] of Jesus, and the characters of His Apostles. In all four, we have the same general scheme, the Baptism, the Ministry, the Passion, the Resurrection. Otherwise in vocabulary, style and method, and in the selection of utterances and incidents there is a complete contrast between the Fourth Gospel and the First Three. The suggestion of material leaves the impression that the author was acquainted with one or more of the Synoptic Gospels, and wrote chiefly to supplement them. Instead of a Gospel of the Infancy, we have in i. 1-18 the great passage concerning the pre-existent Christ, which identifies Jesus of Nazareth with the Divine Logos, and thus brings the Christian doctrine of the Person of Christ into relation with the philosophy of Plato, Philo and the Rabbis. The Synoptic account of the ministry in Galilee is almost

The Gospel of St John, cir. A.D. 90-100?

[1] I. ix. 3.

[2] *Cf.* however, next page.

entirely omitted, and we have instead a record of Christ's teaching at Jerusalem, when He attended the great feasts. In the common material, the differences,—*e.g.*, as to the day of the Last Supper and the hour of the Crucifixion,—are sometimes so striking as to suggest an intentional correction of the Synoptic record. Moreover, the form of Christ's teaching is entirely different. In the Synoptics we have a series of aphorisms, illustrated sometimes by the graphic pictures and dramatic stories which we call parables; in the Fourth Gospel we have long continuous discourses, which emphasize their subject by frequent repetition of the same idea in carefully varied forms; instead of parables, there are elaborate metaphors like the Vine and the Good Shepherd. The record of Christ's utterances and the comments of this Evangelist are in the same style, we pass from the one to the other without being able to discern any dividing line. As regards Christ's teaching, the Synoptics emphasize its objective aspect, precepts and promises given to the disciples for their guidance and encouragement. The Fourth Gospel is preoccupied with the doctrine of the Person of Christ, the proof of His Messiahship, His relation to the Father, the Holy Spirit and the Church. These differences have been regarded as insuperable objections to any theory of the Johannine authorship. Nevertheless they are by no means fatal difficulties, especially if we do not insist that St Matthew was the author of the First Gospel in its present form. If we make this concession the Synoptic Gospels are none of them the actual composition of a companion of Jesus, but records of current forms of the public preaching of the Gospel. Such records might naturally differ very widely from a supplementary work, in which the Beloved Apostle set forth his recollections of His Master, interpreted

by the reflection and experience of long years of ministry. Moreover, there are hints in the Synoptics, both of a ministry in Judæa and of a form of the tradition as to Christ's teaching which approximates closely to the Fourth Gospel. According to Matth. xxiii. 37, He had often sought to win Jerusalem; and Matth. xi. 27,—"All things have been delivered unto me of my Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him,"—is entirely in the manner of the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand, the peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel have furnished the data for an argument which is often urged with great confidence, as conclusive proof of the Johannine authorship. The author is obviously a Jew; the vocabulary, structure of sentences, their symmetry and parallelism, the use of numerical symbolism, the whole expression and arrangement of the thoughts are essentially Jewish; and there is also a great familiarity with the manners and customs of Palestinian Jews in our Lord's time. Further, many of the places, persons, and notes of time in John are peculiar to that Gospel. These have sometimes been regarded as fictitious and used as an argument against Johannine authorship; but they are rather evidence of an intimate acquaintance with the geography of Palestine and the circumstances of our Lord's ministry. They suggest, therefore, that the author had spent some time in Palestine, and had been a companion of Jesus. Yet once more, the minute knowledge of the ideas and affairs of the Apostolic circle,[1] the absence of any mention of St John, and the description of the author as "the disciple whom Jesus loved" indicate that the author was not only an Apostle, but St John himself. This line of

[1] ii. 17, iv. 33.

argument is undoubtedly cogent and establishes a genuine connection between St John and the Fourth Gospel. It does not, however, exclude the possibility that it was composed as a record of the Apostle's teaching, and not by the Apostle himself. So far, however, the internal evidence, on the whole, reinforces the external both as to authorship and date; it points to a genuine connection with St John, and to a knowledge of one or more of the Synoptic Gospels, not merely as in existence, but as so well known and fully established that it was only necessary to supplement not to confirm their record. This attitude supports the external evidence in pointing to a date about A.D. 100. Some further probability is given to this conclusion by the tradition that St John lived on to a good old age at Ephesus.

1 John, cir. A.D. 90-100?

The First Epistle of St John is very similar to the discourses in the Fourth Gospel, and touches upon its characteristic themes,—the Messiahship of Jesus, the relation of the Son to the Father, and the work of the Spirit. But there are new elements in the treatment of these subjects: there are "antichrists" who deny Christ, ii. 18-22, and a "spirit of the antichrist," iv. 3; the term "paraclete" used in the Gospel of the Spirit, is here applied to Christ Himself. But the epistle is mainly occupied in exhorting Christians to love God and one another. It is thus less Christological and more practical than the Gospel. The epistle itself neither names its author nor states to whom it is addressed; but in the opening words the writer claims to have been a companion of Jesus, and the heading and the similarity to the Fourth Gospel point to a Johannine authorship.[1] It is uncertain whether the Gospel or the

[1] ιωαν(ν)ου occurs in the heading of all three epistles in ℵ B, our oldest Greek MSS. of N.T.

First Epistle is the earlier, but they cannot be separated by any long interval. The indications of time are vague, but—as in the Gospel—they point to a date towards the close of the First Century.

2 and 3 John, cir. A.D. 90-100?

The Second Epistle of St John is written by "the elder unto the elect lady and her children," and, like the First, warns against antichrist and false teachers, and inculcates love of the brethren. It conveys salutations from "the children of thine elect sister." These elect ladies and their children were probably churches and their members. The Third Epistle is from "the elder unto the beloved Gaius," it commends Demetrius, and denounces Diotrephes, who loved pre-eminence, and excommunicated the elder and his friends. It inculcates hospitality towards travellers, apparently the itinerant evangelists referred to in the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, 11. In the references to the "truth," and to a righteous life as a condition of seeing God, the epistle connects with the Gospel and the other epistles. Both 2 and 3 John conclude by saying that the author has many things to write, but will not commit them to writing, but hopes to visit them shortly and speak with them face to face. The statement in 3 John 7 that the author's friends took "nothing of the Gentiles,"[1] comes upon us with a certain shock. At first sight it seems to strike a Judaïstic note foreign to the Gospel and other epistles, but characteristic of the Apocalypse. Possibly, however, it simply means non-Christians. The slight indications of date and authorship in these brief epistles do not suggest any appreciable objections to assigning them to the same author and period as the Fourth Gospel and the First Epistle. The designation

[1] ἐθνικῶν or ἐθνῶν according to the reading.

"elder" is not inconsistent with Apostolic status; in 1 Peter, which expressly claims to be written by "Peter an Apostle," i. 1, the author styles himself a fellow-elder, v. 1. If the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is rightly assigned to the close of the First Century—it is sometimes placed as late as A.D. 130-135—the parallels between it and the epistles furnish another item of evidence for a date about A.D. 100. The chronological relation of 2 and 3 John to the Fourth Gospel and First Epistle is quite uncertain, except, of course, that they belong to the same period.

We now come to the Apocalypse or, as our English versions style the book, "The Revelation of St John the Divine," an unhappy rendering of a very badly attested text of the heading. "Divine" here has the same sense as in the phrase "Puritan divines." In marked contrast to the other Johannine literature, the Apocalypse four[1] times names "John" as its author, and states that the revelation recorded in the book was received at Patmos, whither the writer had been exiled "for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus," i. 9. John is described as the servant of Jesus Christ, i. 1, and the brother of his readers, i. 9, and of the prophets, xxii. 9. Chapters i.-iii. distribute praise and blame, threats and promises, among seven churches of Asia Minor—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. These chapters specially denounce certain false teachers, Nicolaïtans, ii. 6, 15; "the woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess," ii. 20; "the synagogue of Satan . . . which say they are Jews and are not," ii. 9, iii. 9; "that hold the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a

Apocalypse, cir. A.D. 70-100?

[1] In xxi. 2, R.V. omits "John."

stumbling block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication," ii. 14 *cf.* ii. 20.

Chapters iv.-xxii. set forth in a series of symbolic visions, full of the most striking imagery, the persecution of the church by the world, the judgments of God upon the world, and the final blessedness of the redeemed. Persecuting rulers are symbolised by Dragons and Beasts and by their Heads and Horns; the church is a woman clothed with the sun, and Christ is the Lamb of God. God's judgments follow upon the opening of Seven Seals, the sounding of Seven Trumpets, the pouring out of the contents of Seven Bowls—A.V. Vials. In all these troubles the righteous are preserved, 144,000 are sealed, 12,000 out of every tribe of Israel. There is also a great multitude of faithful worshippers out of all nations, but it is not said that these were sealed, vii. 1-9. The book concludes, xvii.-xxii. with the Fall of Babylon, *i.e.* Rome; the destruction of God's enemies; the binding of the Dragon, Satan, for a thousand years; the *first* judgment and resurrection, affecting only those who had not lapsed during persecution; the release and final war of Satan and his followers against the saints; his final overthrow; and the Last Judgment. Then there is a new heaven and a new earth, and the New Jerusalem descends from heaven. The tree of life stands by the river of life which flows through the city of the saints.

While the general teaching of the Apocalypse is clear, it contains many obscurities and suggests some insoluble problems. The multitude of theories and the vehemence of controversy are in proportion to the obscurity. There are two main clues to the interpretation of the book. First the author, after the manner of the Book of Daniel,

gives a symbolic account of previous history up to his own time; and then predicts a series of divine judgments, a Day of the Lord, which he conceived as an immediate sequel to recent events. Secondly the book is largely a reproduction of ancient apocalypses, especially of Ezekiel, Zechariah, and, above all, Daniel. The Apocalypse uses the Old Testament far more extensively than any other book of the New Testament does.

As to the internal evidence for date and authorship, the date would at once be fixed, if we could determine the point at which the symbolic history ceases and the predictions begin. Many attempts have been made to do so, they mostly turn on the number of the Beast, xiii. 18, and the interpretation of xvii. 8-11, "The beast that thou sawest was, and is not; and is about to come up out of the abyss. . . . The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth: and they are seven kings; the five are fallen, the one is, the other is not yet come: and when he cometh, he must continue a little while. And the beast that was and is not, is himself also an eighth, and is of the seven; and he goeth into perdition." Now the number of the Beast is 666 or 616—the reading varies—and was made up by adding together the numerical values of the letters of a name. Can we reverse the process and obtain the name from the number? Unfortunately the conditions of the problem—as they have been understood by exegetes—are somewhat vague; we may take either the Greek, Hebrew, or Latin form of any proper name; we may choose between different names of the same person, *e.g.* Napoleon and Bonaparte; we may assume great elasticity in the forms of proper names, and we may give to the letters their numerical values in either Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. Under these conditions, a little ingenuity will

obtain the number of the Beast out of some name of any given individual; accordingly the exegesis of this passage has discovered beasts innumerable. The most plausible identification is with Nero. Two forms of his Greek name in Hebrew letters give 666 and 616 respectively, thus accounting for the alternative readings, thus:

N e R O N K ai S a R
נ ר ו ן ק ס ר
50 + 200 + 6 + 50 + 100 + 60 + 200 = 666

or, reading *Nero* for Neron, and thus deducting N = 50, we have 616. In xvii. 8-11, the woman on the seven hills is Rome, and the kings, Roman Emperors; and the passage was written in the reign of the sixth Emperor, "five are fallen, and one is." If we start with Julius Cæsar and reckon all the Emperors, the sixth is Nero himself, A.D. 54-68; others propose to start with Augustus, and possibly to omit one or more of the short reigns, Galba, Otho or Vitellius; thus making the sixth Galba, Otho or Vitellius A.D. 68, 69, or Vespasian, A.D. 69-79. Nero is the Beast, who "was, and is not, and shall come . . . an eighth, and is of the seven," according to the popular belief that Nero was not dead, but in hiding, and would reappear. Hence the Apocalypse has been supposed to have been written soon after the death of Nero, when his persecution of the Christians was fresh in men's minds, about A.D. 68-70. The cogency of these arguments is diminished by a doubt, whether we have the Apocalypse in its original form. It has been pointed out, for instance, that the references to the Lamb, and other distinctively Christian passages in iv.-xxii. can be removed without seriously interfering with the continuity of the book. Thus the sealing of the 144,000 Jews in vii. 1-8, is quite complete

without 9-17, which introduces the innumerable multitude of all nations. After the Christian element has been removed, there remains a fairly complete Jewish Apocalypse, which might have been used by St John as the basis of his work. Or again it is possible that our Apocalypse may be based on an earlier work by the Apostle. In either case we might accept the statement of Irenæus that the Apocalypse was written towards the close of Domitian's reign, *i.e.* about A.D. 96. As to authorship, the internal evidence of the book, considered by itself, is not inconsistent with the character of the Son of Thunder, who wished to call down fire from heaven to consume the enemies of his Master. There is, moreover, a strong Judaistic tone about the book. To eat things offered to idols is a deadly sin; to St Paul it was a matter of indifference. On the foundations of the New Jerusalem, are "the twelve names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb," xxi. 14. Here, as elsewhere; in a book addressed to a district which St Paul had evangelised, and to churches which he had founded, the Apostle of the Gentiles is entirely ignored. This eloquent silence may be accidental; but, taken with the teaching as to idol-offerings, it has often been made the ground for attributing a deliberate anti-Pauline character to the Apocalypse. A Judaistic tone however would be natural in one of the Three Jerusalem Apostles, the constant associate and close ally of St Peter and St James. On the other hand, the author never calls himself an apostle, and his statement as to "the names of the Twelve Apostles" would be more intelligible, if he were not himself an Apostle. On these and other grounds, many critics have considered the internal evidence of the Apocalypse, taken by itself, adverse to its Johannine authorship. But, on the whole, it seems favourable,

though by no means conclusive. Thus, in view of the strong external evidence, we should not hesitate to accept the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse, if it was the only work in the New Testament attributed to St John.

Contrast between the Apocalypse and the other Johannine Literature.

But a most serious difficulty arises, when we compare the Apocalypse with the Gospel and Epistles. There are indeed points of contact; both the Gospel and Apocalypse speak of Christ as a Lamb, though the Gospel has "the Lamb of God" *Amnos*, as in Acts viii. 32, 1 Pet. i. 19, and the Apocalypse has "the Lamb," *arnion*; and a few characteristic terms occur in both, *e.g. alethinos*, true or genuine, occurs nine times in the Gospel, four times in the First Epistle, ten times in the Apocalypse; and in the rest of the New Testament only four times in Hebrews, once in Luke, and once in 1 Thess. Such resemblances, however, might be due to some connection between the writers, or to the use of the one by the author of the other. Apart from these, there is a striking contrast between the Apocalypse and the other Johannine literature, alike in style, vocabulary, and doctrinal standpoint. In the other literature the style, though extremely simple, is easy and natural; in the Apocalypse it is rough and awkward, as if Greek were an acquired tongue, in which the author was not at home. Many of the key-words of the one are either absent from or rare in the other, *e.g.*, *world* (*kosmos*), *darkness*, *light*, *eternal life*, *abide in* are characteristic of the Gospel; and *endurance*, *testimony of Jesus*, *pantocrator* (*Almighty*) of the Apocalypse. The Apocalypse is crowded with references to, and quotations from the Old Testament; they are comparatively rare in the Gospel, and almost entirely[1] absent from the

[1] Westcott and Hort do not recognise *any*.

Epistles. The Apocalypse is Judaistic, and "Jew" is a term for a true believer, ii. 9, iii. 9; the Gospel and Epistles are Pauline,[1] and "Jew" is a term for the unbelieving enemies of Christ. This contrast seems to many an insuperable difficulty, so that Harnack[2] states that no impartial scholar believes that the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse were written by the same author.

In spite of this judgment, we will venture on a very concise review of this whole situation. We may assume that the Johannine authorship of the Epistles stands or falls with that of the Gospel. With regard to the latter and the Apocalypse, we have the following alternatives, both may be Johannine, or neither, or one but not the other. To most the Gospel is far more attractive than the Apocalypse; and they are tempted to rely on the internal evidence for the Gospel, and to escape from the difficulties by ascribing the Apocalypse to another author, either a second John or some other unknown writer. They are supported by the fact that for centuries large sections of the Church refused to include the Apocalypse in the Bible. It is true that external evidence sometimes means nothing more than an otiose assent to the claims which a book makes or seems to make for itself; and that the superior weight of a great name enriches its reputation by attracting to itself the credit for work done by less conspicuous persons—"John" was sure to be interpreted as the name of the great Apostle. Nevertheless the external evidence for the Apocalypse cannot so easily be set aside. If we reject the testimony borne to the Apocalypse by Polycarp, Papias, Justin Martyr and Melito—to say nothing of that of Clement of

Summary.

[1] With the doubtful exception of the reference to "Gentiles" in iii. J. 7.

[2] Encycl. Brit.

Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen and Irenæus, we discredit our chief witnesses to the authorship of the Gospels and Epistles and indeed of all the New Testament books. If the bishops of Sardis, Smyrna, and Hierapolis, and that itinerant truth-seeker Justin Martyr and the other witnesses were wholly misinformed as to this important book, it is useless to discuss external evidence for any New Testament books. Hence we seem bound to accept at least one of these books as Johannine, and, if *only* one, the Apocalypse. Must we therefore deny that St John wrote the Gospel? But here too, the external evidence for the *authorship*, though not so strong as in the case of the Apocalypse, is too considerable to be lightly set on one side. We must therefore turn to the attempts to explain how two works so unlike as the Gospel and the Apocalypse can be by the same author. Naturally efforts are made to minimise the differences; we cannot follow these into their examination of numerous details; suffice it to say, that the same facts make a very different impression on different minds, variously biassed. But, admitting an important difference, we may put the Apocalypse early, and the Gospel as late as possible, and attribute the Hebræo-Greek and Judaistic tone of the Apocalypse to the Apostle's early training; and the purer style and more catholic ideas of the Gospel to a long sojourn at Ephesus among Greek-speaking Christians of the Pauline school. The lapse of time would also leave room for a growth in the inspired understanding of the Christian Revelation. Yet the Apocalypse cannot well have been written before St John was sixty, and at that mature age a man scarcely ever changes his style, and seldom recasts his theology into a new mould. Another explanation is that in both books the substance is from the Apostle, but that the actual writing, in whole or in part, of

one or both, was the work of a disciple—or, as we should say, a private secretary. Such a view might well be supplemented by the former; a certain lapse of time would help to explain differences, which could not very well be due to the employment of different secretaries. In any case, the internal evidence shows that Apostolic authority can be claimed for the substance of the narrative and teaching in the Fourth Gospel.

Before closing this chapter, we may state two principles, which should affect our views, not only of the Johannine Literature, but of all the critical controversies in regard to the Old and New Testament. In the first place, neither the fathers nor the reformers hesitated to speak of a work as St John's, or St Paul's, or St Peter's, if they felt that it fairly represented the Apostle's teaching, and had some real connection with him. Thus Origen, though he regards the actual authorship of the Hebrews as an insoluble enigma, yet holds that it may rightly be spoken of as St Paul's, because he thinks that it substantially expresses the Apostle's thoughts, and may have been composed by a disciple from notes of his master's teaching.[1] Similarly Calvin refers to 2 Peter as "Peter's," and feels justified in doing so, "not," as he says, "that he wrote it himself, but that some one of his disciples at his command included in it what the necessity of the times required."[2]

Secondly, we must remember that the Biblical teachers and their times were exceptional and inspired beyond other ages and persons, and that we may sometimes exaggerate critical difficulties by applying the standards of feebler and darker days to an epoch of exalted spiritual power.

[1] *Cp.* Eus. Eccl. Hist., vi. 25.

[2] Epistolæ, Lib. i. p. 3c., ed. 1548, ap. Westcott, Canon, 484.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHA

In addition to the books included in our New Testament, there were current in the early Church a number of other Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses, most of them bearing the name of an Apostle, or some other prominent disciple of our Lord, or early Christian teacher. Of these, some are extant, others have been lost, or lie amongst the promiscuous rubbish of some Eastern monastery waiting for the fortunate discoverer. A full catalogue of them would occupy too much space. We will mention a few, and briefly describe the most important works. There were (i.) Gospels—of the Hebrews, of James, Barnabas, Philip, Andrew, Thaddæus, Thomas, Nicodemus, etc., etc. The Gospel of the Hebrews had a wide circulation, and is often supposed to have been closely connected with our First Gospel. The extant apocryphal gospels deal chiefly with the history of Joseph and Mary, of the Infancy of our Lord, and of His Passion. There were (ii.) works like the Acts, dealing with the history of the Apostles—the Preaching of Peter, the Acts of Paul, the Acts of Peter and Paul, Acts of Barnabas, etc. etc. There is also a considerable literature, the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, attributed to Clement of Rome, and giving an account of the work and teaching of St Peter and Clement. (iii.) The most important Epistles are the two attributed to Clement of Rome, of which the first only is genuine, and the

Epistle of Barnabas. Amongst (iv.) Apocalypses we may mention those of Peter, John, and Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, etc.

An important early work not falling into any of these classes is the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. We have already referred to this work as dated from A.D. 90-135, it contains general practical teaching, similar to the Sermon on the Mount, and directions as to the conduct of public worship, including the Lord's Supper. It was probably based on an earlier work, "the Two Ways," which may have been Jewish. The Epistle of Barnabas is not generally supposed to be genuine, but to be a work of the first half of the second century. It has much in common with the Teaching of the Twelve, and is perhaps also based on "The Two Ways." It is somewhat in the manner of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but indulges much more freely in the Alexandrian allegorical exegesis. The First Epistle of Clement is addressed by a distinguished Roman Christian to the Church of Corinth, to promote harmony and good order; and is modelled on 1 Corinthians and Hebrews. It is accepted as genuine, and dated about A.D. 96. The Shepherd of Hermas is a collection of Parables and Visions concerning the history and ultimate fate of the Church. In spite of early theories, it cannot have been written by the Hermas of Romans xvi. 14, but is a work of the middle of the second century.

CHAPTER VII

THE FORMATION OF THE CHRISTIAN BIBLE

How the Canon was determined.

When the Christian Church was formed, it found a Bible actually in existence. The Jews had the idea of a Canon, a set of books distinguished from other literature by their unique religious authority; the Old Testament embodied this idea. This Jewish Bible was an essential part of the foundations of Christianity, and the Church accepted and emphasized its authority. In determining the contents of the Old Testament, they depended on Jewish tradition. There were differences and uncertainties among the Jews as to which books were to be included in the Sacred Scriptures, and the Church took over these differences and uncertainties. The Jewish Hebrew Bible consisted of the same books as our Old Testament; while, in the Greek Bible, the Old Testament Apocrypha were added; and the Christian Church from the beginning until the present day has always hesitated between these two Canons. The Jews were doubtful about Esther, and their uncertainty communicated itself to the early Church, and has revived in our own times.

We have seen that the Jews had a collection of Sacred Books, different in kind from other books; but it is clear—in spite of Josephus—that they were not agreed that the collection was finally closed. The history of the Old Testament Apocrypha and of the Book of Esther

shows that, at the beginning of the Christian Era, the removal of books once received and the addition of new works was still matter for discussion. Hence the Church, in adopting the Jewish principle of a Sacred Canon, was quite at liberty to make additions to it. As the first century of the Christian Era ended, and the Apostles of Jesus and then all those who had known Him and His Apostles passed away, the oral traditions became corrupt and conflicting, and men were forced to rely on the writings of the Apostles and their companions, for an authoritative account of the words and deeds of the Master and His first Disciples. Such writings became the Christian addition to the Bible, the New Testament; their distinguishing characteristic, the note of canonicity—was a connection, direct or indirect, with the Apostles. The fact that Christian writings had attained to the same canonical rank as the Old Testament was shown in various ways. They were read at public worship; they were appealed to in theological controversies; commentaries were written on them; they were translated into many languages; they were included in the same MSS. as the Old Testament, *e.g.*, in the great MSS., the Sinaïtic, Vatican and Alexandrian.

These things, however, were not done by the authoritative decision of any central authority; they were due to the judgments and predilections of individuals and communities. The habit of treating a book as canonical grew up gradually and unconsciously like all other habits. In a large measure, the canonical books won their position by conquering the heart and mind and conscience of the Churches. The proof of canonicity lay in men's experience of the spiritual value of a work. But this was not the theory of the early church, it was left to be formulated by Calvin and the Reformers. The early theory was that apostolic works were

canonical, and in the formal discussion of the canon, connection with the Apostles was the test applied.

But neither men's spiritual discernment, nor the principle of connection with the Apostles, at once decided whether a book was or was not canonical. We have seen that the number of books claiming connection with the Apostles or their companions was legion. Hence, while some books have been almost universally received from the first, viz., the Four Gospels, the Acts, the Pauline Epistles, 1 Peter, 1 John; others now received were only accepted after long hesitation; and there are others, which were at one time accepted by sections of the early Church, which were ultimately excluded from the Bible, notably the First Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas. These and others are included in some of the great Greek MSS. of the Bible. The Sinaïtic MS. contains the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd;[1] the Alexandrian MS. contains the two Epistles of Clement; and the Græco-Latin sixth century MS., the Codex Claromontanus, in a Latin list of the "lines of Holy Scripture," includes the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd, the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of Peter.

The best summary of the diversities of opinion and practice in the first three centuries is that given by Eusebius, in the celebrated passage in Book III., ch. 25, of his Ecclesiastical History, a work composed about A.D. 324. In this passage, he divides the books claiming to be canonical into four classes, according to the extent to which the claims of each were admitted. The passage is as follows:

"It is natural that we should sum up the New Testament Scriptures, which have been indicated. First, then

[1] Part of the Sinaïtic MS. of this book is lost.

we must place the holy quaternion of the Gospels, which are followed by the account of the Acts of the Apostles. After this we must reckon the Epistles of Paul; and next to them we must maintain as authentic the Epistle current[1] as the former of John, and similarly that of Peter. In addition to these books, if it be deemed possible,[2] we must place the Apocalypse of John, the judgments on which we shall set forth in due course. And these are held to belong to the *homologoumena*.

Homologoumena or Fully Acknowledged Books.

"Among the *antilegomena*, which are nevertheless well known and generally recognised,[3] we class the Epistle current under the name of James, and that of Jude, together with the second of Peter, and the so-called[4] second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name."

Antilegomena, or Books to which Objections have been raised.

"Among the spurious writings must be reckoned, the Acts of Paul, and the so-called Shepherd, and the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to these, the extant epistle of Barnabas, and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles; and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it deemed well,[5] which some, as I said, reject, but which others class with the *homologoumena*. And among these some have placed also the Gospel according to the Hebrews, with which the Hebrews who have accepted Christ are especially delighted. All these may be reckoned among the *antilegomena*. But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which, according to

Notha or Spurious Books.

[1] *φερομένη*.
[2] *εἴ γε φανείη cf.* below.
[3] *γνωρίμων τοῖς πολλοῖς*.
[4] *ἡ ὀνομαζομένη*.
[5] *εἰ φανείη, cf.* above.

church tradition are true and genuine, and commonly accepted,[1] from those others which, though not included in the Testament, but among the *antilegomena*,[2] are yet at the same time known to most ecclesiastical writers."

Heretical Books.

"We have felt compelled to give this catalogue that we might be able to know both these works and those cited by the heretics under the names of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the Gospels of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has thought it worth while to mention in his works. Further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things related in them are so entirely at variance with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. Wherefore they are not to be placed even among the *notha*, but are all to be cast aside as absurd and impious."

Thus Eusebius, one of the few great scholars of the early church, recognises and accepts diversities of opinion and grades of certainty as to the canonical status of various books. But Eusebius himself was involved in a long and obstinate struggle in which men sought to make all Christendom agree in accepting a single formula as to the relations of the Persons of the Trinity. Such an age was not likely to tolerate any difference of opinion on the practical question as to what books were to be read in churches, and might be used as armouries from which to draw controversial weapons. The Canon became a matter for Councils. But, as usual, uniformity in practice proved even

[1] ἀνωμολογημένας.

[2] οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας.

more difficult to secure than a unanimous profession of belief in a creed.

At this point we must retrace our steps, and recognise that, in a sense, there is not one Christian Bible, but many. It has been well said, that it is impossible to translate anything perfectly from one language to another. The words and idioms of the language of the translation at once deprive the book of something of its original meaning, and import into it new ideas due to the modes of the thought of the people who use the new tongue. Even if the translation is done with the utmost scholarship and literary discrimination, an English Bible, as read and understood by Englishmen, is something very different from a Greek Bible as read by an Alexandrian. And the primitive translations were very imperfect as translations. Moreover, they adopted different canons. Indeed, Christendom has never been at one as to the books which are to be included in the Bible.

The Greek Bible.

We will begin with the Greek Bible, which was *the* Bible of the early Church. We may start from the position described by Eusebius. Greek fathers and councils are throughout uncertain and inconsistent as to the doubtful books, the Old Testament Apocrypha, Esther and the Apocalypse, and some of the New Testament Apocrypha. The Sinaitic, Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., each of them includes a large group of the Old Testament Apocrypha, and our Canon of the New Testament. The absence of the Apocalypse from the Vatican is probably due to the mutilation of that MS. In the absence of any Greek MSS. which exclude either the Apocrypha from the Old Testament, or the disputed books from the New, we may conclude that for practical purposes the Greek Bible, during the Middle Ages, had the same canon as our English

Bible, plus the Apocrypha. The Greek theologians seem in practice to have adopted this Canon, in spite of theoretic objections to the Old Testament Apocrypha, Esther and the Apocalypse.

Text of the Greek Testament.

As the Greek New Testament is the original we may briefly indicate the authorities for the text. They are infinitely superior—both in number and in proximity to the time of composition of the books—to the authorities for the text of the Old Testament, or for that of any Greek classic. We have two MSS., the Sinaitic and the Vatican, belonging to the fourth century, and a continuous series of MSS. from that time down to and even after the invention of printing. The total number amounts to about 3000. We have also a series of versions beginning in the second century with the Old Latin and the Peshito Syriac and continuing to our own time. And further we have a series of quotations from the New Testament Books, beginning with Clement of Rome and also continuing to our own time. This multiplicity of authorities of course involves an immense number of various readings, but the great bulk of them are trivial; and although the remnant of important variations still form a numerous body, yet they only slightly affect the history and teaching of the New Testament.[1]

The Latin Bible.

We know that a Latin version or versions of the whole Bible were current in the second century; this is known as the old Latin, or, less happily, as the Itala, and probably originated in Africa. The Old Testament was translated from the Septuagint, and therefore includes the Apocrypha. Dr Westcott[2] states that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not included in the

[1] *Cf.* p. 213. [2] N.T. Canon, 254.

original version, but was added before the time of Tertullian; and that "there is no external evidence to show that the Epistle of St James or the Second Epistle of St Peter was included in the *Vetus Latina*." This version is preserved in some thirty or forty MSS. of parts of the Bible, several belonging to the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries.

This old Latin Version was revised by Jerome, A.D. 383-404, and the new version ultimately supplanted the old, and became known as the Vulgate. The Vulgate, however, in its final form was not simply Jerome's revision. Jerome made a determined attempt to limit the Old Testament to the Palestinian Canon, including only books extant in the Hebrew—as in the English Bible. He refused to translate the Apocrypha, and only reluctantly made versions of *Tobit* and *Judith*. Augustine was inclined to adopt a similar attitude, but a Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, at which he was present, accepted a Canon, including all the books now in the English Bible, together with the Old Testament Apocrypha. In spite of the theoretical doubts of scholars, this became practically the Canon of the Western Church. The Vulgate, or Latin Bible, came to consist of Jerome's revision of the Hebrew books, the New Testament, and *Tobit* and *Judith*, together with the old Latin Version of the rest of the O.T. Apocrypha; sometimes with further additions. The Psalter in the Vulgate is not Jerome's final revision from the Hebrew, but his earlier revision of the Old Latin Version of the Septuagint Psalter. The Vulgate was the Bible of the Western Church till the Reformation, and still remains the Roman Catholic Bible. There are a very large number of MSS. of the Vulgate, some of them as old as the sixth century.

The Syrian Bible.

There was a translation of the Gospels into Syriac in the second century, represented by the Curetonian Syriac and the newly discovered Lewis codex. There are also Syriac versions of the N.T. made in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Philoxenian and Harclean, and others of less importance. But the Bible of the Syrian Church, was the Peshito or Syriac Vulgate. The Peshito Old Testament was translated from the Hebrew, but bears numerous traces of the influence of the Septuagint. It did not originally contain the Apocrypha, but these books were subsequently added. The Peshito New Testament excluded 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, Jude and the Apocalypse.

There were also numerous other versions, Egyptian, Arabic, Armenian, Gothic, etc., with interesting peculiarities of their own.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROTESTANT BIBLES

THE revival of learning brought to light afresh the old doubts as to the date, authorship and canonicity of certain books of the Bible. The Church of Rome gave formal sanction to the Vulgate, as the authoritative Bible. The Council of Trent, A.D. 1546, decreed that "If, anyone does not receive the entire books with all their parts as they are accustomed to be read in the Catholic Church and in the old Latin Vulgate edition, as sacred and canonical . . . let him be Anathema." Thus the Old Testament Apocrypha were finally and authoritatively included in the Roman Catholic Bible, on the same footing as the other books.

The Reformers, on the other hand, reverted to Jerome's position and made a sharp distinction between Holy Scripture and the Old Testament Apocrypha. The latter however were still sometimes bound up with the books of the Protestant Canon. But this practice has become very rare in the English Bible and the numerous translations made by Protestant missionaries and others. Thus the Bible means one thing to a Romanist and another to a Protestant, but the Protestant has the advantage of using only those books which are universally accepted.

In the New Testament there was a tendency among the Reformers to revert to a canon similar to that of the Syrian Church, approximately corresponding to the *homologoumena* of Eusebius. Luther characterised James as

"a right strawy epistle" and placed Hebrews, James, Jude and the Apocalypse at the end of his translation, as works of inferior authority. But the Lutheran church ultimately ignored this distinction. Calvin passes over 2 and 3 John and the Apocalypse in his Commentary, and rejects 2 Peter. But here again the habits of the mediæval church ultimately prevailed, and these works were included in the Canon of the Reformed Churches.

The English Bible.

The earlier English versions are important, and one of them, the Geneva or Breeches Bible, A.D. 1560, was, for forty or fifty years, the most widely circulated English Bible. But *the* English Bible is, of course, the Authorised Version published in A.D. 1611; it was very strongly influenced by the earlier versions, especially Tindale's. These in their turn were either translated from, or very much influenced by, the Vulgate, which has thus largely determined the phraseology, style and sense of the Authorised Version.[1] The Greek Text used by the translators was the Textus Receptus, till recently usually printed in Greek Testaments, a corrupt text based on a few late MSS; but, as we have said above, the corrupt readings do not materially affect the history and teaching. The Authorised Version included the Apocrypha, from which lessons were appointed to be read in the services of the Established Church. But the sixth of the XXXIX articles expressly adopts Jerome's position that the Apocrypha are not to be used "to establish any doctrine." It enumerates the books of the Hebrew Old Testament as canonical, but gives no list of the books of the New Testament, but simply says, "All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly

[1] The Prayer Book Version of the Psalms is taken from Cranmer's Bible, A.D. 1539. This Psalter is largely dependent through previous versions on the Vulgate, and therefore, p. 210, on the Septuagint.

received, we do receive, and account them Canonical. The intention of this last sentence is no doubt to accept the N.T. Canon of the Mediæval Church, and to ignore the distinctions drawn by Luther and Calvin. The Westminster Confession adopted the same Canon, that of the ordinary English Bible, but is more explicit in its exclusion of the Apocrypha: "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of Divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings."

After the Reformation, as after all great religious movements, there ensued a certain deadening of the spiritual life and slackening of its activities. Critical questions were again allowed to slumber till towards the close of the eighteenth century. Since then the old discussions as to date and authorship, and even canonicity, have been renewed and their scope has been extended, till scarcely any traditional view has been left unchallenged.

The discussions have, indeed, revealed a measure of uncertainty as to the history of the Scriptures, and in many circles ancient traditions that had long been accepted as of almost divine authority have been set aside in favour of critical theories. But during the controversy principles have been established that set the authority of the Bible on an immutable foundation. The old test of canonicity was prophetic or apostolic authorship, and men trembled for their Bibles when the claims of Moses or St John were challenged. To speak of a paragraph of Isaiah or Jeremiah as a later addition seemed to them to be the same as cutting it out of the Bible. But now it is recognised that a book or a passage is none the less an inspired portion of the Divine Revelation, because we do not know its author,

or because it was written by a different author, or at another time than those fixed by tradition. The Sacred Scriptures have vindicated their claims by the recognition they have won from men of many generations, races and churches; they prove their inspiration afresh to every reverent student. "Our conviction of the truth of Scripture," says Calvin,[1] "must be derived from a higher source than human conjectures, judgments, or reasons; namely, the inner Witness of the Spirit. . . . We feel perfectly assured that it (the Scriptures) . . . come to us . . . from the very mouth of God . . . because we feel a divine energy living and breathing in it." Similarly in the Westminster Confession: "Our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth and divine authority thereof is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit bearing witness by and the Word in our hearts." The testimony of the Church to the Bible is simply the declaration that the great army of the faithful have received and accepted this witness of the Spirit.

The revival of Biblical scholarship has been accompanied by a vast accession of interest in the Scriptures; of which there are many striking tokens. One of the most important is the Revised Version. This new translation is the work of committees representing English and American scholarship, and does much to acquaint the English reader with the original meaning and contents of the Bible. Unfortunately, in the Old and New Testaments, the Authorised Version was only altered by a two-thirds majority; so that it is always uncertain whether the verdict of scholarship is to be found in the text or the margin. The translation of the New Testament was published in 1881, and was not based on the Textus Receptus. The

The Revised Version A.D. 1831, 1885, 1895.

[1] Institutes, Book 1, Ch. vii., §§ 4, 5.

Revisers constructed for themselves the text which the material at present available seemed to show was the form of the text in the time of our earliest authorities—about the end of third century. Here again the margin is often to be preferred to the text. Some of the most striking alterations are the spaces and notes which indicate the doubtful authenticity of Mark xvi. 9-20, the Appendix to Mark; Luke xxii. 43, 44, the Bloody Sweat; John vii. 53—viii. 11, the Woman taken in Adultery; and the omission from 1 John v. 7, 8, without note or comment, of the reference to the Three Heavenly Witnesses.

The Revised Version of the Old Testament was published in 1885. It is made from the Masoretic or traditional Hebrew Text, although that text is probably more corrupt than the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament. This unsatisfactory course was necessitated by the difficulties of O.T. Textual Criticism. The materials are late, their relative value is uncertain, and they have not been fully examined. There is not the same agreement as to principles, methods and results, as in regard to the text of the New Testament. The Revised Version of the Apocrypha was published in 1895.

Circulation of the Printed Bible.

Another token of the revival of interest in the Bible is the great increase in Biblical literature of all kinds, and especially the wide circulation of the Bible itself, in editions of every description. The numerous "Teachers' Bibles" and "Helps" testify to the desire to grasp the meaning and actual teaching of the Bible. Editions like Dr Cheyne's Psalter in the Parchment Library, and the "Modern Readers' Bible," which abandon the conventional black binding and the familiar arrangement of chapter and verse, assert the claims of the Bible as literature. But the

most striking evidence of the unique influence and authority of the Bible is its vast circulation in about four hundred languages. Some of the most important facts on this head will be found in the following statement, for which I am indebted to the Rev. J. G. Watt, M.A., Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

(*a*) *Circulation by the Chief Bible Societies* :—

(1) British and Foreign Bible Society, founded Mar. 7 1804;

Total Circulation to Mar. 31, 1896,

(Bibles, Testaments or Portions), 147,366,669.

Bibles, Testaments or Portions to Dec. 31, 1896, 150,000,000, at least.

(2) American Bible Society, founded 1816, has issued during 80 years up to 1896, 61,705,841 copies.

(3) National Bible Society of Scotland, founded in 1860 by a union of other Societies (Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.). Circulation in 1895, 770,363 copies. (Circulation since union not given.)

(4) Netherlands Bible Society, founded 1815; circulation, 2,438,076.

These four do not merely supply their own lands, as the German and Swiss Bible Societies almost entirely confine themselves to doing, but carry on a large foreign work.

The total circulation of copies of Scripture by all agencies since the invention of printing probably does not exceed 300,000,000 copies.

(*b*) *Number of languages into which the Scriptures have been translated* :—

1. Translations promoted by the B. and F.B.S. up to June 1896, . . . 333
2. Total translations known to exist in Dec. 1896. 395

The latter total is exclusive of versions for extinct tribes, but includes those in the dead literary languages, Latin, Sanscrit, etc. The total is sure to reach 400 in a few months.

The reader will note that Mr Watt's limit of 300,000,000 for total circulation leaves a wide margin for the work done by minor societies, private publishers, etc., but there seems no reason to suppose that it is too wide.

This wide diffusion of the Bible continually enlarges the range of discussion. Every new commentary or exposition raises fresh questions and revives forgotten controversies. Every new version provides a novel setting for ancient teaching; nay, every thoughtful reader finds lessons which are not in text-books, or creeds, or confessions. The Bible lives to-day as it has never done before, because it has been taken out of the prison of traditional dogma, and allowed to speak for itself, to assert its own authority in the full light of history and science. Just because it is instinct with the highest life, it is compassed about with doubts, difficulties and uncertainties. To ignore these is to think of the Bible as dead and impotent. Because life is wonderful and manifold, each man reads its meaning and deciphers its history differently. The Scriptures are rich with varied marvels, because they are fashioned "not after the law of a carnal commandment, but after the power of an endless life."[1]

[1] Heb. vii. 16, *ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου.*

APPENDIX A

ANALYSIS OF THE HEXATEUCH

THIS analysis is based on the analyses in *Kautzsch* (*Bibel*); *Driver's Introduction* (which is chiefly followed in Gen., Ex., Num.); those given in the tables of *Holzinger's Introduction to the Hexateuch*; and on the author's *Hebrew Text of Joshua* in *Dr Paul Haupt's Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. For J and E, see pp. 11 ff., 62. P, p. 83; P is used in these tables to include the Law of Holiness, and later additions; D includes the later Deuteronomic writers. The compound symbols JE, etc., indicate that the passage is compounded from the documents J and E, etc. Editorial additions and smaller fragments are not indicated. In Joshua it may be understood that D sections must often include matter taken from JE, but no longer recognisable as such; and that in JE sections there are smaller editorial additions of D besides those indicated. For a more minute analysis, the English reader is referred to *Driver's Introduction*. An asterisk *following* a reference—*e.g.*, (Gen.) xvi.* under J, indicates that the bulk of the section so marked belongs to the source to which it is referred, but that small portions are from one or more of the other sources. These small portions are indicated by references in the column or columns assigned to their source or sources, with an asterisk *preceding* them—*e.g.*, (Gen.) *xvi. 3, 15, 16, under P.

GENESIS.

?	E	JE	J	PJ	P
			ii. 4^b—iv.		i.—ii. 4^a.
			*v. 29.	vi.—xi.	v.*
xiv.		xv.	xii., xiii.*		*xii. 4^b-5.
					*xiii. 6, 11^b-12^a.
			xvi.*		*xvi. 3, 15, 16.
					xvii.
	xx.		xviii., xix.*		*xix. 29.
		xxi,* xxii.			*xxi. 1^b, 2^b-5.
					xxiii.
			xxiv.—xxv. 6.	xxv. 7-34.	
			xxvi.*		*xxvi. 34, 35.
			xxvii. 1-45.		xxvii. 46—xxviii. 9.
		xxviii. 10—xxix.*			*xxix. 24, 29.
		xxx.—xxxiii.		xxxiv.(? as to P)	
				xxxv.	xxxvi.
		xxxvii.*	xxxviii., xxxix.		*xxxvii. 1, 2^a.
	xl.—xlii. 37.*		xlii. 38—xliv. 34		*xli. 46.
	xlv. 1—xlvi. 5			xlvi. 28—xlvii.	xlvi. 6-27.
		xlviii.*			*xlviii. 3-7.
			xlix.*		*xlix. 1^a, 28^b-33.
	l. 15-26.		l. 1-11, 14.		l. 12, 13.

EXODUS.

E	JE	J	PJE	P
i. 8—12, 15-22. ii. 1-23[a].				i. 1-7, 13-4. ii. 23[b]-25.
	iii.—vi. 1.			vi. 2—vii. 13.
	vii.—xi.*			*vii. 19, 20[a], 21[b], 22. *viii. 5-7, 15[b]-19. *ix. 8-12.
	xii. 21—xiii.*			xii. 1-20. *xii. 28, 37[a], 40-51. *xiii. 1, 2, 20.
	xv.* xvi. 4, 5. xvii.—xxiv.*		xiv.	xvi.* *xix. 1, 2[a]. *xxiv. 15-18.
	*xxxi. 18[b]. xxxii.—xxxiii. 11.	xxxiii. 12—xxxiv. 28.		xxv.—xxxi.* xxxiv. 29—xl.

LEVITICUS.

This Book—apart from later additions—is wholly an excerpt from the Priestly Code, including in the latter term the Law of Holiness (see p. 73).

NUMBERS.

JE	PJE	P
xi. 29—xii. xxii. 2—xxv. 5.	xiii.—xvi. 34. xx.—xxii. 1.	i.—x. 28. xvi. 35—xix. xxv. 6—xxxi.
xxxii.*		*xxxii. 18, 19, 28-33. xxxiii.—xxxvi.

DEUTERONOMY.

For chapters i.—xxxiii. see pp. 10, 66 ff.; chapter xxxiv. is compounded from JE, D, and P.

JOSHUA.

E	JE	J	D	P
*i. 1, 2, 10, 11.			i.*	
	ii.—viii. 29.*		*ii. 10, 11.	
			*iii. 7, 10.	
			*iv. 12-14.	*iv. 19.
			*iv. 21—v. 1.	
			*v. 4, 5.	*v. 6, 7, 10-12.
			*viii. 1[b], 2[a].	*vii. 1.
			viii. 30—ix. 2.	
	ix. 3—x. 27.*		*ix. 9[b], 10[a], 24, 25.	*ix. 17-21.
			*x. 25.	
	*xiii. 1.	*xiii. 13.	x. 28—xiii. 14.*	
	*xvi. 1-3, 9.	*xv. 14-19.	*xiv. 6-15.	xiii. 15—xxi. 40.*
	*xvii. 1[b], 2.	*xv. 63.		
	*xvii. 14-18.	*xvii. 11-13.		
*xix. 49, 50.	*xviii. 2, 3[a], 4-6, 8-10.	*xix. 47.	*xviii. 3[b], 7.	
			[*xx. 4-6]†	
			xxi. 41—xxii. 8.	xii. 9-34.
			xxiii.	
xxiv.*			*xxiv. 11[b], 13, 31.	

† Omitted by the LXX, probably a late addition.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I.—WORKS WRITTEN BEFORE THE EXILE OR TOWARDS THE BEGINNING OF THE EXILE

Historical Events, etc.	History and Laws.	Poetry.	Prophecy.
	Events and Utterances. Primitive Laws and Customs. Early Documents and Traditions, pp. 8-11. The Prophetic Narratives, J and E, before 750.	Proverbs x.-xxix., 900-700. Portions of the contents of the Psalter and of the Book of Proverbs were composed at various dates before the Exile.	Amos, *c.* 750. Hosea, *c.* 745-735. Isaiah, *c.* 740-690.
Hezekiah, *c.* 727-695. Fall of Samaria, 721. Deliverance from Sennacherib, 701.	Books of Samuel before 700.* Combined Prophetic Narrative, JE, *c.* 650.		Micah, *c.* 720-708.
Josiah, *c.* 638-608.	Publication of "Kernel" of Deuteronomy, 621.		Zephaniah, *c.* 630-605. Nahum, *c.* 625. Habakkuk, *c.* 605. Jeremiah, *c.* 626-586.
Fall of Nineveh, 607-6. Defeat of Pharaoh-Necho at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar, 605-4.			
Fall of Jerusalem, 586.	Kings,* *c.* 600.		

* Substantially.

II.—WORKS WRITTEN SHORTLY BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE EXILE

Historical Events, etc.	History and Laws.	Poetry.	Prophecy.
Fall of Jerusalem, 586.	Combination of JE and Deuteronomy*=JED.		Obadiah, *c.* 586?
	Law of Holiness, *see* p. 70.	Some Psalms.	Ezekiel, *c.* 592-570.
(Period of Exile.)	Completion of the Book of Kings.	Lamentations, *c.* 540.	II. Isaiah, etc., *see* pp. 58-60.
Fall of Babylon, 538.	Judges.*		Jeremiah l. li.
Return from the Exile, 538.			Haggai, 520.
			Zechariah i.-viii. 520-518.
(Persian Period.)			III. Isaiah, etc., *see* pp. 76, 77.
	Ruth, *c.* 450?	Some Psalms.	
	Priestly Code, P. before 444, *see* p. 83.		
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		Job, 350?	Joel, 350?
	Pentateuch divided into Five Books.	Proverbs, 400-250.	Jonah, 350-300?
Fall of Persian Empire, 333.	Late additions to Judges, Samuel, and Kings, *see* pp. 71, 90.		
Battle of Issus, 333.	Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, 300-250.	Canticles, 300?	Compilation of Complete Book of Isaiah.
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		Completion of Psalter, *c.* 150.	Daniel, 170-160.

* Substantially.

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