

HISTORICAL BOOKS

OF THE

OLD TESTAMENT.

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SYLLABUS OF LECTURES

BY DR. AIKEN, ON

Special Introduction to the Historical Books of the OLD TESTAMENT.

CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

(See Dr. Green's Lectures on Old Testament Canon and Philology.)

Canon Westcott's definition of the Canon of the Scriptures: "The collection of books which constitute the original written rule of the Christian faith."

We recapitulate certain points in regard to the O. T. Canon, inasmuch as part of our proof in regard to the historical books turns upon the nature and value of the N. T. references to, and quotations from, the O. T.

We shall not expect to find within the O. T. either the terms that afterward came into use to describe the collection, or the enumeration of its constituent parts, or the definition of its functions. The later Jews, in the Talmud and elsewhere, employ the terms *hakkathubb*, *sepharim*, *hassepher*, *kithbbe haqqodhesh*, *miqra*. The well-known analytic designation is *Torah*, *nebhim*, *akhethubhim*. Whole frequently called *Torah*. In the Greek Apocryphal books no single term is applied to the whole, while the three divisions are recognized and designated. The N. T. names. Fuerst's explanation and comment on the phrase Sacred Scriptures, or Holy Scriptures. N. T. use of "the law" in John xii. 34; x. 34; xv. 25. Paul's use in I. Cor. xiv. 21. Reuss's assertion that "the law" means only "the law and prophets." His comment on Luke xxiv. 44: reply.

Comment on the fact that some O. T. books do not appear to be quoted from or alluded to in the N. T.; also on the assertion that the Rabbins settled the canon about A. D. 70.

The prologue to Ecclesiasticus gives in three forms the threefold division of the O. T. collection. Comment on their meaning. Josephus, about A. D. 100, gives an enumeration, explains the limits set to the collection, and also the grounds and the measure of the nation's regard for it. The only open questions relate to distribution. He also quotes from all the books but four. Philo's quotations and testimony. Comment on alleged diversities of opinion among the early Jews. (1) They express private opinion in regard to one or two books; (2) Grounds of esteem paid to Baruch and Ecclesiasticus; (3) Contents of the LXX. version.

It is objected by Fuerst and others that no discrimination but a chronological one determined the bounds of the O. T. collection. Improbable that everything else had perished. Compare also Eecl. xii. 11; II. Macc. ii. 13, 14; and consider the age of the older Apocrypha, as compared with the critics' theory in regard to the later canonical books. See I. Macc. ix. 27, and cf. iv. 46; xiv. 41. Consider the theory of some critics in regard to the influence of some of the Apocrypha on the thought and style of the N. T., as compared with some canonical books. General conclusion favorable to the Palestinian and Protestant canon.

THE BIBLE AND CRITICISM.

The legitimacy of the processes that are resorted to, and the validity of the results that are most confidently announced, in the sphere both of the O. T. and N. T., challenge careful scrutiny. In the case of the O. T. the results are often revolutionary, in respect to the literature, the history, the nature and scope of the dispensation; the issues involve also the N. T. Are the methods legitimate and only misused, or are methods and results to be condemned together? Is "criticism" necessarily irreconcilable with the

higher claims of God's word, essentially irreverent and out of place—or necessary to a correct understanding of the Scriptures, and to the vindication of their claims? Does the Bible invite, invoke and challenge criticism to establish its honors and its influence?

Origin of criticism as a method or process in dealing with literature, and with all that is documentary, memorial and monumental. Dr. Rainy's definition of criticism as a science and as an art. The beginnings of criticism in the schools of Alexandria, and its revival after the invention of the art of printing. The great names in critical science.

Freund's definition of criticism in philology. The sphere of *textual criticism*, its *paleographic* and *diplomatic* methods, and its more subjective and conjectural processes. Use of the term *lower* (or *external*) criticism. Necessity that it be supplemented by other methods, even in dealing with texts. Meaning of the term *higher* (textual) criticism, and the value of its best results.

Leaving the text, this criticism passes on to consider the authorship of a work, and the time of its composition;—an inquiry of wider range, more delicate and difficult. The value of presumptions; the warrant for misgiving or doubt. The relations of *hermeneutics* to this critical process. The transition from philological to historical criticism, and the specific aim of the latter. The former examines, makes accessible and available, the sources with which the latter is to deal.

What, then, are some of the recognized principles and accredited methods of historical criticism?

Three matters of chief concern suggest three lines of inquiry, bearing on the authorship, the form and the substance of the historical material before us: the witness, the form of his testimony, and its reliableness, sufficiency and purport.

1. As to authorship; the comparative value of an anonymous, and an identified authorship or testimony.

2. As to form; the question as to the originality and purity of the form before us; the extent and the occasion of any suspected or apparent change.

3. As to substance; the main inquiries relate to the reliability of the testimony, its sufficiency for the purpose for which we are asked to receive it, and its purport.

Putting the matter in more technical form, as indicated by the methods of the masters of historical science (like Von Sybel and Droysen), we find that they insist on a four-fold process of investigation, bearing on the authenticity,—the integrity,—the correctness and reliability,—and the adequacy and completeness of the historical material with which we may be dealing. (Ambiguity of the term “authenticity,” as used sometimes of the form, sometimes of the substance, of that of which it is affirmed. We use it in the former sense, for which the term “genuineness” is sometimes preferred.)

(a) Our *first* inquiry must be, whether the material before us is what it purports or claims to be;—the question of authenticity in its broadest sense. It includes but reaches beyond the question of authorship, whether asserted within the work under examination, or in any title however attached, or by any tradition, so as to deal with anonymous historical material:—looking for the period, the region, the class of agents or influences from which the work may have come forth;—asking what the work purports to be, for what purpose it professes or appears to have been produced, and what there is to warrant its profession or claim?

Consider the wide range of possible conclusions, and the significance of the conclusion.

(b) Our *second* inquiry must be, whether the material before us is in unchanged form what it was and aimed to be; or, if not unchanged, what alterations can be detected and eliminated. Has there been a development from earlier to later forms? This is the question of *integrity*.

(c) The *third* question is, whether the document (or whatever it may be) when it was produced, did and could give what it claims to establish, or is regarded as establishing;—or whether at the very time of its production it could claim to be correct only partially and relatively, or not at all? This is in a broad way the question of *credibility*.

Four subordinate inquiries are involved :—

(1). Whether what is reported is in itself possible, judged by the standard of human experience ?

(2). Whether it is possible under the given conditions and circumstances ?

(3). Whether in the motives, the aims, the personal relations of the narrators, there is anything discernible to warp the conception, or the representation of the facts ?

(4). Whether incorrectness is unavoidable, in consequence of the inadequacy of the means or opportunities of observation and apprehension ?

The first two inquiries related to the subject matter ; the last two to the observer or witness. Criticism, also, looks after any possible general or individual coloring that might result from characteristics of time, place, circumstance, or personal peculiarity.

(d) A *fourth* inquiry is, whether the material before us contains all the elements of which we are seeking to gain knowledge, or need to have knowledge ; or, in what degree and in what respects it is incomplete ?

When all is done we have not the true historical fact, but prepared material. A constructive process must now follow the critical process. We are bound to form a positive picture of the condition of things brought before us by the results of criticism.

Criticism claims the right to apply these methods and processes, without limitation or qualification, to the Bible.

But the Bible claims and evinces a divine, as really as a human authorship. Its internal characteristics and claims, the credit gained, the influence exerted, demand consideration all the way, and not merely at the end of the critic's work. These writings cannot be justly put on the same plane with any others that criticism handles. Whom are you impugning ? What are you invalidating ? are questions that must be borne in mind.

While both the lower and the higher criticism have a legitimate application to the Scriptures, the application should, for every reason, be made with the greatest caution,

discrimination and reverence. The claim of pre-eminent jealousy for the peculiar prerogatives and honors of the word of God, is little warranted by the history of Biblical criticism, as practiced by the "critical" school.

Critical methods should be employed with peculiar carefulness as well as thoroughness.

(a). Because Christianity is so conspicuously an historical religion in its foundations and in its essence.

(b). Because Christianity stakes so much upon the nature and reliableness of its Scriptures.

(c). Because unbelief so frequently originates in the rejection of the historical foundations and elements of Christianity and its Scriptures.

It is not peculiar to Christianity to contain elements of real or alleged history; it is the proportion and significance of the historical elements that is characteristic. Illustrate the relation of the historical to the doctrinal in Christianity. The credibility of the Scriptures the necessary condition of their accomplishing their work. Criticism—Christian criticism must ever keep this in mind.

THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE O. T.

THEIR HISTORICAL NATURE AND THE VALUE OF THEIR HISTORICAL EVIDENCE.

I. Their arrangement, connection and general aspect.

The fact is quite familiar to us that in the Hebrew Bible the historical books are found distributed in the three great divisions of the O. T. (5 in the *Torah*, 6 in the *Nebhiim*, 6 in the *Kethubhim*), while the LXX. has brought them together and arranged them, as nearly as might be, in chronological order. Three partial exceptions—Ruth, Esther and Chronicles.

This historical narrative covers a period extending from the beginnings of human history to a point a little later than the middle of the fifth century B. C. Slight breaks after Genesis and Joshua, and within Judges, as also between Kings or Chronicles and Ezra.

This continuity not one of mere historical succession. If the record is even substantially reliable we have :—

(1). A continuity, a steadiness, a quality of historic movement absolutely unique. (2). This movement is entirely inexplicable, as the result of the unfolding of any natural germs, or the working of any natural forces, belonging either to the Hebrew people, or to the whole group of peoples that at any point come into historic contact with them. (3). If the history of Israel, and the development of its religion were natural, as Kuenen, Tiele and others teach, then the historic documents of the O. T. should be judged unauthentic, incredible, full of legends and more positive inventions, crowded with anachronisms, with inversions of cause and effect, and the most unwarranted claims—which claims, however, are here innocent, legitimate and (*quasi*) divinely authorized.

If, however, the substantial authenticity and credibility of these books are tenable, then the distinguishing feature, both of the historic movement and of the record, is the presence and control of the supernatural; the marvellous elements are no surprise; here is a peculiar divine presence; the actors, events, ordinances and economies are special divine instrumentalities.

Is a middle ground tenable? Can we concede in respect to the literature, the archaeology, the history, etc., what destructive and reconstructive criticism claims, and preserve the Church's heritage of faith in respect to the pre-eminently and distinctively supernatural character of the dispensation? Can we change the perspective of the whole scene and movement without loss of confidence in the O. T. as part of the canon of our faith?

II. The nature and limitations of the best attainable proof of the authenticity and integrity of these books.

(a) The historical period as compared with that of the N. T., and the period of authorship.

(b) These historical books are followed by no testimonies corresponding with that of the church fathers, the early

versions, the writings of the early heretics. Relative age of the oldest MSS.

(c) These books for the most part, if not entirely, anonymous. The meaning of the titles, at the best, debatable.

(d) So far as tradition supplies the lack, this must be scrutinized. The meaning of the citations and allusions of the N. T. must be carefully investigated.

(e) With respect to the integrity of these O. T. books, our judgment must be reached by the accumulation of approximations and probabilities. The wide interval left by MSS. and versions, when narrowed to the utmost, leaves a considerable interval. Internal evidences must be carefully studied, and the exceptional safeguards and guarantees supplied by the reverence of the Jews for the very form of their sacred books, duly estimated.

Compare the estimates of Stade and Josephus.

PENTATEUCH.

Our general inquiries are three: (1) What have these books been supposed to be, in respect to their nature and authorship, and for what reason? (2) What do they purport to be? (3) What does the evidence, when scrutinized and sifted, prove them to be?

For the description of this portion of the O. T., as given in the later books, see II. Chron. xvii. 9; Josh. xxiv. 26; Neh. ix. 3; II. K. xiv. 6; Neh. viii. 1; II. Chron. xxv. 4; xxxiv. 14. There are more abbreviated expressions, like "the law of the Lord," "the law of Moses," "the law," or simply "law;" in some cases the reference may be not to the books, but to their great theme.

The fivefold division is mentioned by Philo and Josephus. The Greeks devised the name *pentateuchos*. The Rabbins spoke of the five-fifths of the law. The Jews designated each book by its opening word or words; the LXX. by a name suggested by some prominent subject.

Three reasons have been given for the place which these books occupy in the O. T. collection: (1) The position be-

longing chronologically to their subject matter; (2) The time of their composition; (3) The fact that this portion of the O. T. was first consecrated to a public and official use.

Reasons why many critics propose to substitute the term Hexateuch. Does *Torah* ever include Joshua? To which division of the Hebrew Scriptures was Joshua assigned? Joshua not reckoned by the Samaritans with the Pentateuch.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Reach and importance of the question as stated by Reuss.

The investigation to be pursued under three heads: 1. Assertions and ascriptions which appear to decide the authorship in whole or in part. 2. Corroborations. 3. Objections and difficulties.

I. Assertions and Ascriptions of Authorship.

- (a) Such as are found within the Pentateuch.
- (b) In other books of the O. T.
- (c) In the N. T.
- (d) In Jewish tradition.

(a). Assertions and Ascriptions found within the Pentateuch itself.

There are passages in which Moses is directed to write certain things, or is said to have written certain things, in accordance with a commandment of the Lord. Opposite inferences drawn from this characteristic of these passages.

Ex. xvii. 14; Ex. xxxiv. 27; Num. xxxiii. 2; Ex. xxiv. 4, 7. What do these passages fairly imply, and how much do they cover? As to Deuteronomy, Reuss says: "Deuteronomy (chap. v. 28) claims undoubtedly to have been written by Moses himself."

Deut. xxxi. 9, 11: "Moses wrote this law," etc.; xxxi. 24, 26. What is meant in these passages by "this law?" Is it Deuteronomy alone, or the legislative part of Deut., or the completed law of the Pentateuch? Consider chap. i. 5; iv. 8; xvii. 18, 19; xxvii. 1, 3, 8; xxviii. 58-61; xxix. 19, 20; xxx. 10; xxix. 29; xxxii. 46.

What is "this law?" Is it the law of Deuteronomy, or the law of the Pentateuch?

In favor of the former conclusion it is said:

(1). The assertions of Deut. iv. 44 sq., v. 1 sq., make a sharp discrimination between the Deuteronomic legislation and all that the preceding books contain.

(2). The phrase, "this law," which occurs in 19 of the 22 instances in Deut. in which the law is mentioned, seems to limit us; all the more in view of the fuller expression of iv. 8, the expression "which I command you this day" (recurring more than 25 times), and the words of xxix. 1.

(3). If xvii. 18 refers to anything more than the specific law with respect to the king, it seems to relate only to the law of Deut.

(4). The law referred to in xxvii. 4, 8, can hardly be more extensive than the law of Deut.

On the other side it is urged:

(1). The law of Deut. is not in its style apparently, nor does it purport to be, the original legislation, nor independent legislation: but rather to be a hortatory restatement.

(2). While the phrase "this law" seems to refer most specifically to the law of Deut., it would greatly force the emphasis to conceive of this law as distinct and separable. The expression usually denotes the Pentateuch legislation as a whole.

(3). Deuteronomy seems to imply the previous existence of the other books of the Pentateuch, in its allusions to facts then recorded, especially to the covenant at Horeb, and the legislation referred to Sinai and the wilderness, which is often repeated with close verbal coincidence. Expressions like those of xviii. 2 (cf. Num. xviii. 20) and xxiv. 8 (cf. Lev. xiii. and xiv.) seem to require the previous existence of originals found in the middle books.

(4). As to the copy of "this law" required in Deut. xvii. 8, it can hardly be the seven verses of the immediate context, nor the law of Deut. alone, but the entire legislation of the Pentateuch.

(5). As to the inscription required by xxvii. 4, 8 (cf. Josh. viii. 32), it might be for such a special occasion at least the substance of the entire legislation.

(6). Joshua i. 7, 8, seems to refer to the whole law, and many of the laws which specially guided Joshua are not laws of Deut. : see e. g., Josh. i. 13 sq. : v. 2, 10 ; xiv. 1, 2, 6 sq. ; xvii. 4 ; xviii. 1 : xx. ; xxi. 2-8 ; xxii. 29.

We do not seem to be required to restrict, or warranted in restricting "this law" to Deut. in any such sense as to exclude, or not to imply, the Mosaic authorship of the preceding books. Most critics admit that Deut. explicitly claims Mosaic authorship.

(b). *Assertions and ascriptions found in the later books of the O. T.*

It should not be expected that direct mention of the authorship of the Pentateuch would appear in the succeeding books, but only allusion to the relation of Moses to the history or the legislation.

Josh. i. 7, 8, seems to refer the book of the law as well as the law to Moses : so viii. 31-35 ; xxiii. 6 ; xxiv. 26.

In Judges and Samuel the law is referred to Moses, without express mention of the book. I. K. ii. 3 contains in their most complete combination forms of expression occurring in Ex. xv. 26 ; Lev. viii. 35 ; Num. xxxi. 13 ; Deut. iv. 45 ; vi. 17 ; viii. 11 ; xx. 13 ; xi. 1 ; xxvi. 17 ; xxx. 16, etc. In I. K. viii. 53, 56, we have forms of expression made familiar in the Pentateuch ; e. g. Ex. xix. 5, 6 ; Deut. iii. 20 ; iv. 20 ; ix. 26, 29 ; xii. 9, 10 ; xiv. 2 ; xxv. 19, etc. In II. K. xiv. 6 sq., we have a verbal quotation from Deut. xxiv. 16. II. K. xviii. 12, refers to the covenant and to the commands without mention of a book of the law. II. K. xxii and xxiii. refers to "the book of the law," "the book of this covenant" and "the law of Moses." The meaning of these references will be discussed hereafter. The later historical books, by common consent, refer both the law and the Pentateuch to Moses. See II. Chr., xxii. 18 ; xxv. 4 ; xxx. 16 ; xxxiv. 14 ; xxxv. 14 ; Ezra iii. 2 ; vi. 18 ;

Neh. i. 7: viii. 1: ix. 3; xiii. 1. In the Prophets we should not expect to find explicit mention of the books of the Pentateuch and their authorship. See, however, Dan. ix. 11, 13: Mal., iv. 4 (E. v.), and Is. lxiii. 11, 12.

All these allusions are simple, incidental, natural, harmonizing best with the implications of the Pentateuch itself. Indirect evidences become proportionally more important.

(c). *Intimations Concerning the Authorship of the Pentateuch found in the N. T.*

We are dealing with a later time, whose general faith does not flow from direct or independent knowledge, ruled possibly by established traditions, and accustomed to repeat current formulas. But we are dealing with new and peculiar witnesses. Many critics rule out their testimony.

(1). A number of passages in the Gospels refer to Moses as the legislator, without quoting words from the Pentateuch in form referred to him. These express the faith of the time, and carry by implication the equally prevalent faith in regard to the books. There was no more, no less, of one faith than of the other. Mt. viii. 4: xix. 7, 8: John viii. 4.

(2). Another small group of passages employs the word Moses, or the phrase "law of Moses," for the books of Moses. Luke xxiv. 27: Acts xv. 21: Luke xvi. 29, 31.

(3). There is a large class of passages in which Moses is named in connection with words from the Pent., cited as spoken or written by him.

Thus Mt. xxii. 24, 31: Mk. xii. 19, 26: Luke xx. 28, 37: Mk. vii. 10: Acts iii. 22: vii. 37: Rom. x. 5, 19.

(4). There is another group of passages like John i. 45: v. 45-47: Acts xxvi. 22: II. Cor. iii. 15.

In these classes of passages, by as great a variety of methods as could be secured, expression is given both to a faith and a habit: faith in the leadership, legislatorship, authorship of Moses—and the habit of speaking naturally and artlessly of the books as his. This faith and habit entertained where, and as they were, and endorsed as they were, are not to be lightly thrust aside.

But it has been said: Christ and the Apostles did not come into the world to instruct the Jews in criticism: to accomplish his purpose Christ must abstain from opposing many gross errors of his countrymen: our Lord so far condescended to the general notions of his countrymen as to adopt their modes of speech in regard to their sacred books: faith in Christ cannot restrict our critical inquiries: the emphasis of the N. T. passages is not on the Mosaic authorship but merely on things contained in books ascribed to Moses. Some ascribe the style of Christ and the Apostles simply, but directly, to their ignorance.

But it was replied long ago: Christ and the Apostles did come to teach truth, not to be imposed on by common ignorance, nor to foster vulgar errors: his denunciation of the rulers' views of tradition (e. g.) shows how much he prudently spared their errors, and how he regarded Scripture. The quibbling interpretation put on several of the above passages illustrates the spirit of much current criticism.

(d). *The established and traditional faith of the Jews.*

Aside from the indications given in the N. T., we have those furnished by the O. T., by Philo, Josephus and the Talmud. See I. Esdr. i. 11; v. 49; vii. 6, 9; Baruch ii. 27, 28; II. Macc. i. 29. The general faith is admitted to have been most explicit and emphatic. There is no other faith of the kind so intense, so unanimous, so abundantly and variously corroborated, while sustaining a relation so unique to every department of the national life.

At this point we interpose three remarks:

R. 1. If criticism should establish the existence of differences of style in various parts of the Pent., this would not, in the face of adequate affirmations and corroborations, disprove Mosaic authorship. Moses being the author need not personally have written the whole.

R. 2. Certain closing paragraphs must be from another hand: and here and there in other instances by due authority, verbal explanations, etc., may have been introduced.

R. 3. The Mosaic authorship of the Pent. is not in the slightest degree inconsistent with the use by Moses of documentary as well as traditional material in the preparation of Genesis. The length of life ascribed to the early generation makes a living tradition of a very few links, adequate for all its purposes.

II. Corroborations of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.

(a). *The entire naturalness and antecedent probability of such a record from the hand of Moses.*

Critics have asserted the improbability that Moses should have produced a work of such compass, of such contents, under such conditions, with such variety in its material and style, in fully developed perfection, etc., etc.

Such *a priori* considerations are to be set over against other probabilities and positive evidences. The absence of parallels in other literatures weighs but little. He who admits the existence of Moses must concede to him extraordinary capacity, a rare human training, an exceptional Providential discipline, and a very special relation to the resources of the divine wisdom and power. The occasions for his acting, and acting in this way were exceptional. The known characteristics of the people made it more natural and essential that this law of God to Israel should be written (Baumgarten) cf. Deut. xxix. 4, 13; xxxi. 27-29; xxxii. 15; x. 16. The normative influence of this literature should seem nothing remarkable.

(b). *The perfect practicableness of such a record in those times, under the existing conditions, and from the hand of Moses.*

The objections urged a generation or two ago against the existence of the art of writing, alphabetic writing, among the Hebrews as early as the age of Moses, are utterly abandoned. Cuneiform writing, it is claimed, was invented by the Accadians 3,000 years B. C. Egyptian hieroglyphic writing can be followed back to the 3d dynasty. There is



in Paris a papyrus from the 5th dynasty, estimated by Lenormant to be 2,000 years old at the time of Moses. The Hittites used alphabetic writing probably before the age of Moses. The Phœnician claims are well known. It is a mere assumption that the Hebrews were less civilized than the nations about them. Moses was brought up in Egypt as the son of Pharaoh's daughter. The officers set over the Israelites in Egypt, and those set over divisions of the tribes organized for their march through the wilderness, were *Shoterim*, writers.

(c). *The general unity and consistency of the narrative in itself and its contents, a unity not superficial but fundamental, a unity such as is best explained on the supposition of unity of authorship.*

Of course, to prove oneness of authorship the unity must be something more than that which characterizes the O. T. as a whole, simple unity in the view taken of God, His general relations to men, His special relations to Israel, of the economy which He instituted, and the work which He is carrying on in Israel, and through Israel for the world. There appears to be a more specific oneness of spirit, purpose and conception throughout the Pentateuch.

And so far as such evidences appear, they are so far forth inconsistent with the theory, that we have wrought together in the Pent., the work of an annalistic, a theocratic, a prophetic narrator and a Deuteronomist, the proof of whose existence consists in part of their marked diversities in style, and thought, and faith.

One of the strongest evidences, not merely of unity of plan, but of unity of authorship, is found in the mutual references which connect part with part in a way and to an extent that is characteristic and unique among the books of the O. T. These are not only closer and more frequent than are found elsewhere, but are perfectly natural to one writing in the time and with the probable aim of Moses, while many of them would be less natural to a later writer, or to a composite work. Mr. Warrington, *c. g.*, illustrates the habit of the Pent., especially in its hortatory and pro-

phetic parts, of referring to a personal knowledge common to the writer and his readers; a knowledge of the events of the past in Egypt and the wilderness—all very natural to Moses, but which would be from a writer of Manasseh's time, "the most exquisite of literary frauds." (Hengstenberg).

(d). *The constant and unstudied evidences of personal participation on the part of the author, in the acts done and the events recorded in the four later books.*

It has long been recognized that the books are so constructed as to convey this impression. The books were naturally so produced, or other and later writers successfully produced this appearance.

In favor of the former position, attention has been called to the minute recital of names, description of places, specification of numbers, of the names of minor leaders and their genealogy, of dimensions, materials, etc., all important and natural for the time. Explanations and minute directions abound that only embarrass the narrative, and which a late writer would therefore avoid. Interruptions, irregularities, repetitions appear, appropriate to one like Moses, but unlikely to be used or simulated by a later writer.

In regard to the legislation, observe: (1) The large proportion of laws given in a direct and somewhat bald way, as received by Moses from God for direct transmission to the people; while (2) In other cases the legislation appears closely connected with conditions just then existing, and is sometimes changed as conditions change. Observe especially the tone of the Deuteronomic laws. The blending of these two methods was eminently natural for Moses.

But critics object:—

(1). There are chronological contradictions within a narrative professing to be chronological, and to put events and facts in their causal relations. A personal participant could and would avoid this.

In illustration cf. Num. i. 1, and ix. 1. But this seeming return of the narrative upon itself is sufficiently explained

by ix. 6-14. Cf. Ex. xvi. 35, with Josh. v. 12; Ex. xvi. 34 with chap. xxxvii.; Num. i. with Ex. xxxviii. 26; Ex. xix. 22, with chap. xxviii.

(2). There is serious incompleteness at various points in the narrative. See especially Num. xx., where 38 years, more or less, simply disappear from view. It is, besides, utterly unlikely that all that was interesting or important in incident, institution or legislation, should be crowded into two years at the beginning and end of the wilderness life. But according to the narrative these 38 years had their function which was fulfilled, and this solemn silence is one of the most eloquent portions of the narrative.

(3). There are many repetitions, mutual contradictions and manifest errors of arrangement in the narrative.

There are repetitions, it is said, in the *legislation*. *E. g.*, in Ex. xxxiv, legislation is repeated which has just been recorded in chap. xxi.-xxiii.; and in Lev. xx., legislation that has already been recorded in chap. xviii. It is improbable that Moses should have thus given to the people twice at God's command within so short a time the same precepts, or should have thought it needful to record them twice. But if anything so momentous as a renewal of the covenant occurred at the time referred to in chap. xxxiv., why should not requirements made at its first institution be repeated? And while Lev. xviii. reprobates certain offences, chap. xx. emphasizes the punishments to be visited upon them; and why should not some of the details be repeated?

There are *historical* repetitions, it is said. Compare Num. xi. with Ex. xvi. 12 sq.; Num. xx. 1-12 with Ex. xvii. 1-7; Num. ix. 15-23 with Ex. xl. 34-38. This is the kind of objection that is frequently urged against narratives in the Gospels, wherever two miracles, or any other two historical narratives, exhibit marked resemblances, whatever the points of difference, and however clear the proofs of a recurrence of somewhat similar events.

There are historical *inconsistencies*, it is said. Compare Ex. iii. 11 and vi. 30 with Num. xii. 8 and Ex. xi. 3; Num. xiii. 1, 2 with Deut. i. 20-22; Deut. i. 37 and iii. 26 with

Num. xx. 12 and xxvii. 14. Examination shows that there is here no real inconsistency.

Material is introduced, it is said, in inappropriate connections: e. g., the genealogy of Moses and Aaron in Ex. vi.; compare Num. xxvi. 59: the visit of Jethro to Moses "at Sinai" in Ex. xviii., before Sinai has been reached, and "before God" when the tabernacle had not been erected. Moreover, a tabernacle is called for in Ex. xxv.-xxxi., while its erection is called for only in xxxiii. 7-11, and its completion must have required time: and the ordinances concerning the shewbread in Lev. xxiv. 5-9, are presupposed in Ex. xl., and should be connected with the legislation of Ex. xxv.

The question of the genealogy is discussed hereafter in another connection. The visit of Jethro was at least substantially at Sinai, and the succession of events is but slightly modified to avoid breaking the narrative of Israel's dealings with God. It is commonly assumed that temporary arrangements for the tabernacle anticipated the final structure. Dillmann regards the shewbread legislation of Leviticus as designed for a different time from that implied in Exodus.

(e). *There are ample and varied evidences of minute and special familiarity with the lands and times covered by the history.*

See Hengstenberg, Ebers, Palmer, Vigouroux, Rawlinson and other authorities.

Von Bohlen (1835) and Tuch (1838) asserted the inaccuracy of many of the Egyptian representations of Genesis; but the discoveries and interpretations of the last 50 years have signally vindicated the narrative. It is exceedingly difficult to credit all the writers required by the document hypothesis with this exact knowledge and correct representation; and all the more, if some of the documents took their form as late as some critics assume, and their material had passed through so many redactions. Just so far as this intimate familiarity with Egypt and the wilderness is all-pervading presence, it becomes a welcome suggestion that one Moses may have been the author of the narrative.



Observe, also, the free way in which words of Egyptian origin are introduced without explanation or comment, as if by an author who knew that his first readers would be as familiar with them as himself.

Vigouroux devotes 170 pages to the examination of the story of Joseph in its minutest details, as illustrated by monuments and documents. Ex. i.-xv. may be tested in the same way. Palmer bears witness to a like accuracy in the details of the narrative of the wilderness life.

We may consider together—

(f). *Evidences of the controlling or modifying influence of conditions, such as were peculiar to the age of Moses ; and*

(g). *Evidences that when the books of the Pentateuch were written the occupation of Canaan was yet future, and that many of the provisions of the legislation were anticipative.*

There are characteristics of the time of the Exodus and the wandering in the wilderness, which correspond remarkably with the history and with the form and substance of the legislation set forth in the Pent. : and these are reproduced at no subsequent period : moreover, in many of these provisions the residence in Canaan is distinctly contemplated as future.

Salvador contrasts the conditions of the Mosaic legislation with those of the legislation of Lycurgus, Draco, Solon, Numa, Confucius, Mahomet, etc.

There are certain exigencies in the condition of Israel in Egypt which are met in characteristic and effective ways in the facts of the history and the legislation.

(1). In the social and political condition of the people the slight and inadequate organization.

(2). In the temper and spirit, the moral tone and tendencies of the people, the conspicuous characteristics are such as might be expected of such a people, living in such conditions in such a land : effeminacy, self-indulgence, self-distrust, an aversion to self-denial, hardship, discipline, etc.

(3). In their religious life a fading away of the old faith, and a serious complication with positive idolatries. See

Josh. xxiv. 14 ; Lev. xvii. 7 ; Ezek. xx. and xxiii. ; Ex. xxxii. ; Lev. xviii. 21 ; xx. 2 ; Deut. iv. 15-19.

(4). These faults are dealt with and these wants met in the theocratic system, which is not a product of the tendencies and necessities of the time, but comes to meet them from without and from above. It implied (Hengstenberg) that law in all its details was direct from God : that God was the basis as well as the source of right ; that all power was an efflux from the divine supremacy ; that God will reward and punish ; that He supplies means of knowing His will ; that He dwelt among His people. The singular intermingling of laws on all subjects is a reminder that God claimed and exercised the right to regulate life in all its spheres. The ceremonial law had manifold moral and disciplinary uses.

(5). Whether the Pentateuchal legislation is provisional or most permanent in its character, the frequent assertion and constant implication is, that the occupation of Canaan is yet future. And the probability is very great, that these laws which so reflect and provide for the minute and peculiar conditions of that wilderness life, must have been put on record there. It is difficult to account otherwise for the accuracy with which they have been preserved.

But it is objected, that all through the Pent. we find incidental phrases and forms of expression, archaeological explanations and the like, which imply a later authorship and a residence within the Promised Land.

Conservative commentators admit that now and then an authorized prophetic hand may have introduced some of these expressions—the only difference being with reference to the number of these later modifications. This is a matter of detail and need not be inconsistent with a high doctrine of inspiration, nor with a firm maintenance of the Mosaic authorship of the Pent. as a whole.

A later time is said to be implied in passages like Gen. xii. 6 ; xiii. 7 ; xl. 15 ; so with the phrase, “ unto this day,” in Gen. xix. 37 ; xxii. 14 ; xxvi. 33 ; Deut. iii. 14 (cf. Num. xxxii. 41 ; Jud. x. 3, 4), etc. See, also, Gen. xxxvi. 31 :

Num. xv. 32 sq.; Lev. xviii. 28; the Song of Moses in Ex. xv.; Deut. iii. 11; the designation of Abraham, Aaron and Moses as "prophet" in Gen. xx. 7; Ex. vii. 1; Num. xi. 29; xii. 6, in apparent contradiction to I. Sam. ix. 9. See, also, the citation in Num. xxi. 14 from "the book of the wars of Jehovah"

Other passages presuppose a writer and a people already established in Canaan; e. g., passages employing the phrase "beyond Jordan," of the East side of Jordan, Deut. i. 1, 5, etc.; the designation of the West by *gann*, especially while the people were at Sinai, Ex. xxvi., xxvii., xxxvii., xxxviii.; Num. ii. and iii. The whole style of Lev. xxvi. presupposes long residence in Canaan, and much experience there of idolatry and judgment. See, also, Num. xv. 22 sq.; Deut. xix. 14; Deut. xx. (the laws of war). See the implication of the laws of Lev. xiv. 33 sq.; xxv. 29 sq.; xvi. 21; xxvi. 31 sq.; Deut. xi. 20.

(h). *Characteristics of language pointing to a relatively archaic time like that of Moses.*

Bleek maintains that we find the Hebrew purest just in the oldest writings preserved to us; and that the later writings are distinguished by a depraving of the language, an intermixture with other Semitic tongues; and that in the oldest literature there is such development as implies a not inconsiderable previous literary activity.

Style corroborates the asserted Mosaic authorship only so far forth as linguistic and rhetorical evidences point to an ancient authorship, and unity of authorship. In recognizable particulars the Pentateuch has a diction somewhat its own, with some characteristic grammatical forms. (Keil's Introduction, sec. 14.)

The Dean of Canterbury maintains that, as compared, e. g., with Isaiah, both forms and words in the Pentateuch are easily distinguished; and as an Aramaic scholar asserts that the Pentateuch often uses one equivalent, where later books use another, for Syriac words.

(i). *Incidental evidences, scattered in a continuous series of references through the succeeding books, showing that the records of the Pentateuch had been previously produced.*

These are all the more significant when derived from the history of the divided and frequently hostile kingdoms of Judah and Israel. When the reference to facts, laws, predictions contained in the Pentateuch is minute, and forms of expression are identical, "tradition" does not furnish an adequate explanation.

Joshua is so full of recognition of the Pentateuch that for this, among other reasons, it is claimed that we should speak rather of a Hexateuch. The very confusions and disorders of the time of the Judges are constantly measured in the narrative itself by the standard which the Pentateuch supplies. Hävernick argues: The deterioration of the people must have been quite different from what we find in the time of the Judges, if we give up the assumption of a time like the Mosaic, and a fixed standard transmitted from it. So likewise many things in the books of Samuel and the early part of Kings, are less intelligible if we sever them from the Pentateuch. Even some of the assumptions and seeming usurpations of Samuel indicate a wish to comply with the spirit of the Pentateuch, where the observance of its forms was not possible.

Many details of David's life are hard to be understood except on the supposition of the settled authority of the Mosaic economy. His parting charge to Solomon is full of the spirit of the Pentateuch legislation. The course of the early Kings of Israel, even in many of their irregularities, shows that they were in some things consciously at a disadvantage as compared with the Kings of Judah; and sometimes they seem to be counterfeiting compliance with the requirements of the Pentateuch, or devising plausible substitutes. The older Prophets, both of Judah and Israel, are full of the spirit of the Pentateuch.

III. Objections and Difficulties urged against the claim of Mosaic Authorship for the Pentateuch

Such objections and difficulties as have been thus far incidentally suggested, if allowed any force, go to show the inconclusiveness of the arguments by which the claim of Mosaic authorship is supported. Prof. Strack says of the reasons adduced against the Mosaic authorship: "It is not to be denied that if each of them be considered separately, very different judgments can be formed in regard to them, partly according to the critical, partly according to the theological point of view, occupied by him who is judging them." But the attempt is made to show by evidence of many kinds, (1) That the Pentateuch in its present form cannot be from the age, and of course not from the hand of Moses; (2) That it is not an original unit from any age or hand; and (3) That the order of the composition of its important sections, the time of that composition (at least approximately), and the kind of influence that was dominant over the several parts can be measurably determined.

Certain characteristics and tendencies of the critical spirit and method attract attention.

1. Its professed philosophical and historical impartiality, and its contempt for all that is not critical. Of course all prepossessions are professedly set aside. Some lines of evidence are ruled out, on which "traditional" views in part rest. Authority is repudiated. The legitimacy of the use of N. T. citations is often denied. Frequently a doctrine of nature and its laws is assumed which excludes the supernatural. A corresponding doctrine is often maintained in regard to historical development and the laws of human progress. We are cautioned against the attitude taken by the historians of Israel, as though the critics never took an attitude.

2. The measure and quality of the respect shown by the critical theory and method for the historical reliability of the O. T. records. The records are good authority so far as they support, utterly bad when they conflict with, or fail to support, the theory.

3. We are constantly forced to observe the amount of support which the theory derives from things that are negative, from what does not appear, from what is not said and what is not known, from the seeming non observance of laws, and the like. Kuenen vindicates this mode of procedure, provided (a) The persons in question were pious Israelites and sincere friends of the theocracy; and (b) Their mode of acting, far from being an isolated fact, is common to a multitude of their contemporaries. He adds (c) That acts apparently in accord with more or less of the prescriptions of the law do not prove the existence and validity of the law at the time; because the acts may be due to a popular custom, possibly later embodied in a law.

4. The theory continually assumes the existence of the most absolute and open antagonism between the prophetic and the priestly institutions, orders and functions. Books from prophetic hands alone reliably describe the times. We are often misled by our wrong application of the word *Torah*, which frequently means only instruction, not the law. "Prophetism and the authority of the later *Torah* are profoundly incompatible" (Kuenen). "They (the spiritual prophets) deny that these things (sacrifice and ritual) are of positive divine institution, or have any part in the scheme on which Jehovah's grace is administered in Israel" (Robertson Smith). How, then, would the prophets stand in the light of the N. T. ?

5. It is the delight of the theory (if not a necessity to it) to magnify discrepancies, to create inconsistencies and positive contradictions where none exist. Volumes of meaning are extorted from phrases or incidents that can be made to appear favorable to the theory, while every thing on the other side is reduced to a minimum.

6. It is difficult to decide whether the theory and its results are in a larger degree the consequence, or the fruitful source, of low views in regard to the nature, authority and value of the O. T. Scriptures. The intrusion of any dogmatic principles or considerations is strenuously objected to, except the dogmatism of science. Many upholders of

the theory will allow no inspiration except such as may be affirmed of numbers of men, a people, a class, a train of influences, a course of events. It is difficult to form a clear conception of the inspiration that was engaged so many centuries in fashioning the composite Pentateuch, rejecting, remodelling, creating false appearances, producing studiously false impressions—the crowning result being that the nature and scope of the Pentateuch and its legislation have remained hidden until within this generation.

HISTORICAL SURVEY.

“ We have to assume that this view (Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch) was the general view at the time of Christ and the Apostles: we find it expressly in Philo and Josephus ” (Bleek). In the first Christian centuries there were individual dissenting opinions, especially among the Gnostics. So with two or three Jewish scholars in the middle ages: so with Carlstadt, Hobbes, Spinoza, R. Simon and others in the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1753 Astruc, in his *Conjectures*, etc., called attention to the changing use of the names of God in Genesis, inferred the existence of older documents, and laid the foundations of the *Document* hypothesis. This was extended by Eichhorn, DeWette, Bleek and Ewald to other books, reinforced by other tests, and supplies a fundamental element to the modern critical position.

In 1805 Vater brought forward definitely the *Fragment* hypothesis, previously suggested by Peyrere, Spinoza and Geddes, which insists that much of the material, both historical and legal, especially the latter, consists of small fragments, often showing no clear connection, and no palpable order.

Passing from the literary form, criticism began now to deal also with the contents of the Pent., *c. g.*, the literally historical character of the events, and the relative age of the laws recorded there. DeWette, Augusti, Vatke and George are the leaders.

A third theory, the *Supplement* hypothesis, assumes an original document to which later and successive additions

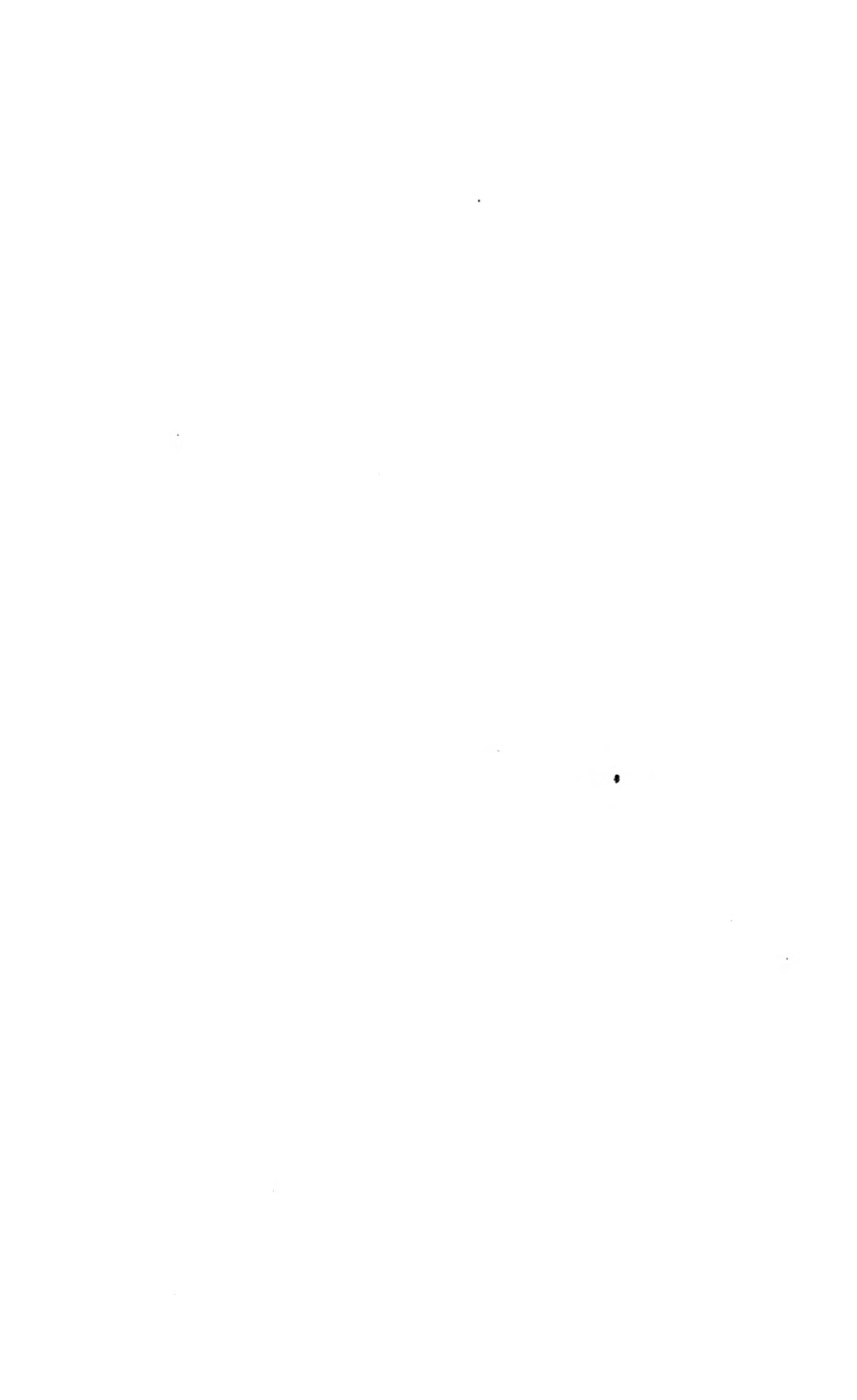
were made. Tuch, Stähelin, DeWette, Von Lengerke and others its advocates; Schrader almost its only recent adherent.

Further study led to the abandonment or serious modification of the theory of a single fundamental document. Ewald, Knobel, Hupfeld (1853), Boehmer (1862), and others suggested and described several more or less independent documents, later wrought together. Hupfeld claimed to identify a second Elohist, whose age, as compared with the Jehovist, is differently interpreted. Riehm (1854) more clearly distinguished the Deuteronomist.

Strack gives these as four points in which critics are substantially agreed. (*a*). There are merely or chiefly four documentary sources of the Pent., E, E², J, and D. (*b*). Several sections of the Pent., although preserved to us only within these four, are considerably older. (*c*). The Elohistic are older than the Jehovistic portions (disputed by many). (*d*). E, E² and J had been wrought together before D was produced (also disputed).

Critics differ widely as to the mutual relations of these documents, the time of their combination, etc.

Another school, working partly within the same lines, partly after methods of their own, has lately come to the front. Reuss claims to be its founder; Vatke and George (1835), Graf, Kayser, Wellhausen, Stade, Kuenen and others, its chief advocates. For various reasons at different times, they have pronounced the legislation of the middle books in its present form, mainly postexilic. Graf at first separated the Elohistic historical material from the Elohistic legislation by an interval of centuries, but changed his ground. The oldest documents, it is claimed, know no enjoined worship at one central sanctuary, hold worship at high places entirely legitimate, know no detailed law of sacrifices, no exclusively theocratic explanation of the feasts, no distinction between priests and Levites, and in general no hierarchy (Kautzsch). Three strata in our historical books correspond with the three strata of the Pentateuch. An enormous literature has been developed by this controversy.



Delitzsch claims that the question must be left to experts, the church as a whole having no interest in it, and needing to have none:—from which latter view we entirely dissent. The reliableness or unreliableness of the O. T. Scriptures, the real nature and meaning of the O. T. economy, God's relation to it and its relation to His plans for saving men, the meaning and value of N. T. comments on O. T. laws and facts, are too deeply implicated. The theory is admitted to be revolutionary. Many phases of the development of the theory, as well as its characteristic spirit and methods, suggest caution and inspire distrust, in spite of the fact that its advocacy is so brilliant, and that it is so much the mode.

EXAMINATION OF THE CRITICAL METHOD.

There are two lines of investigation of which the critical method makes chief use, separately or in combination. Their conclusiveness separately, and their significant coincidence in their main results, are insisted on.

I. The method of literary analysis.

II. The method of "realistic" analysis (Merx): the examination of the substance, structure and contents of the Pentateuch, studied by itself and in its historical, its legislative, and its few poetical portions,—and also in relation to the data supplied by the other books of the O. T., historical, prophetic and poetical.

Historically the literary examination broke ground, and prepared the way for historical criticism. Many of the more recent discussions simply assume the results of the literary analysis to be incontrovertibly settled, and give the literary part of the proof, if at all, only for the sake of symmetry and completeness.

Kuenen, looking for fixed starting points, finds them in the threefold grouping of the Pentateuch laws, which is self-evident, and the peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis and the opening of Exodus, which is equally indisputable. Prof. Strack admits, "In general, there prevails too great confidence in the reliableness of the literary analysis."

I. The aim and method of the literary analysis.

This method aims to trace out documentary sources and incorporated fragments, the plan, the unity, the proofs of an editing to which all has been subjected, and an approximate identification of the editors, by its careful and discriminating dealing with lexical peculiarities, characteristics of thought and style, of doctrinal conception and purpose, with any seeming preference for favorite material.

We are asked to consider—

A. The use of the names of God in the Pentateuch.

Kuenen's argument, *c. g.*, is:—

1. The names Elohim and Jahve are by no means simple synonyms. Jahve is the proper name of the God of Israel: Elohim is always an appellative, which, however, frequently in the O. T. acquires the character of a proper name.

2. The original distinction between the two names is often the reason for the use of one or the other, but not always.

3. While elsewhere the motive is only matter of inference, the reasons are for Genesis and Ex. i.–vi., given by the authors themselves in Ex. vi. 2, 3, with which Ex. iii. 13–15 (from another hand) corresponds. Inferences to be drawn in regard to Jahve when it occurs in earlier passages

4. It is obvious that the exclusive use of Elohim is limited to a portion of Genesis, while in another portion the name Jahve is presupposed as known, and unhesitatingly used.

5. Although these parallel records in Exodus must have led at once to the conjecture that more than one narrator in Gen. intentionally avoided the use of Jahve, yet at first all Elohim passages were referred to one and the same author.

6. The authors of these remote narratives would probably treat of the continuations of the history, and their reports be transmitted to us as in the Hexateuch. This seems to have been the case.

Remarks:—

(1). We cannot accept the interpretation which Kuenen and his entire school give to Ex. vi. and Ex. iii. With them

the passages are conclusive as to the impossibility that the name Jahve could have been used by God or of God before the time of Moses.

(a). This interpretation involves a very inadequate conception of the meaning and use of the word *shem* as employed in these passages and in the O. T. generally. The names of God are peculiarly significant and representative. God's glorious memorial name is not given merely to distinguish Him from the gods of Egypt. See Is. ix. 6; lvi. 7; Ex. xxiii. 21. When Dillmann says that Ex. vi. 3 asks for the name, and not the import of the name, etc., we reply that Moses was intent on something infinitely more important than a mere appellation for his God. He asks for something that will justify all that he is to do, and summon the people to do. See Ex. xxxiii. 19; xxxiv. 6, for the progressive revelation to Moses himself. "The *proton pseudos* of all document and fragment hypothesis lies in this, that the main connection of the names of God with the revelations of God is mistaken, etc." (Keil).

(b). This interpretation involves a no less inadequate conception of the meaning of *nodhot*. See Ps. ix. 10; xci. 14. Baumgarten calls attention to the fact that a revelation of *El Shaddai* is to be made to the great heathen nation while *Jahve* is making Himself known to Israel.

(c). It greatly weakens the force of Ex. vi. 3, as a whole, to suppose that the stress of the verse is laid on God's taking a new name, disclosing one not in any sense previously known. The first clause refers to something substantial and essential; the second can hardly fall off to the mere giving of a title. "As to the import of my name, Jehovah, I was not known to them," alone does justice to the deep significance of this series of communications and dealings. So Jewish commentators understand the passage.

(d). If the critical interpretation of Ex. vi. and Ex. iii. is not warranted, it becomes of course far more difficult to rule out the 160 instances in Gen. in which Jehovah occurs, as belonging all of them to post Mosaic documents, and introduced inadvertently or by some intention into their pre-

Mosaic parts. The expedients to which the theory is obliged to resort inspire distrust.

(2). This particular criterion, whatever may be true of the others, is of very little use for the chapters and books following Ex. vi. Kuenen admits its use to be very infrequent after this point. Dr. Stebbins shows that in 28 chapters called Elohist Elohim occurs but 7 times, while Jehovah occurs 237 times.

(3). On the supposition that the critical interpretation of Ex. vi. and iii. is unwarranted, whatever perplexities exist in regard to the peculiar use of the divine names in Genesis, will remain to be solved in some other way. No hypothesis is wholly free from difficulties.

(4). Unless the name of Jochebed, Moses' mother, given in Ex. vi. 20, and Num. xxvi. 59, is a fabrication or an afterthought, Jahve appears to have been one of the elements of which it was composed. Dillman suggests its pointing possibly to the use of the divine name, Jahve, in this family. But why here?

B. *With this discriminating use of the names of God we find, it is said, other lexical peculiarities associated.*

Schrader (DeWette's Introd., viii. ed., §186), gives 14 words or phrases as characteristic of the 1st Elohist, 13 as characteristic of the 2d Elohist, 30 as common to the 2d Elohist and the Jehovist, while 11 are said to be peculiar to the Jehovist. The discussion is important, chiefly in its bearing upon the chapters following Ex. vi. Whatever evidence may appear that Genesis is composite, do the same lines of division run through from Ex. vii. to the end of Joshua, as is claimed? Just in proportion as the divine names fail to furnish a clear line of demarcation, the other criteria should be clear, and their application decisive.

Conservative scholars do not accept, as one of the axioms, the doctrine that these lexical discriminations were triumphantly established forty years ago. Of course, as Keil and others have long admitted, if the different names of God embody different conceptions of His relations to the world

and to His people, the style of representation will in other respects conform. Some words and turns of thought and expression will be natural, pertinent and necessary, in one class of passages, that will not be in the other. The same remark will hold good with respect to favorite material. The genealogical, legislative and other clearly defined portions of the books will naturally have their own technical terms and *usus loquendi*. This does not, however, necessarily establish diversity in the authorship and age of the documents, the religious views which they represent, the attitude of the writers, the classes to which they belong, and the interests which they are seeking to promote.

The invention of the 2d Elohist, and the necessity of combining in him Elohistie with Jehovistic peculiarities, suggests the question : If in Him, why not in others ?

If critics differ by 1,000 years in the period to which they assign certain portions of the Pentateuch, we conclude that the criteria cannot be very clear and decisive. Careful examination fails to establish the claims of most of the words said to be distinctively Elohistie or Jehovistic (Vos.)

The next three points we treat in combination. It is said

c. *Marked rhetorical peculiarities of thought and style are associated with this characteristic use of words :* also,

d. *Distinctions in the selection and use of favorite material;* and

e. *Characteristic doctrinal conceptions and aims.*

Schrader describes the 1st Elohist as broad in style, circumstantial, repetitious, with a marked fondness for genealogical details. Wellhausen says : " Stiff, pedantic style, etc. This of all the documents has the most pronounced characteristics, and is therefore most easily and surely identified." Dillman says : " The style is broad, juristically precise, formal, etc."

The 2d Elohist, according to Schrader, sharply distinguishes different times and periods, emphasizes general relations, keeps close to the chosen line. Wellhausen judges this document historical only in form : the historical serves

as a mere frame-work for the legal material, a mask for disguising it.

Of the 2d Elohist, Dillmann says: "This document is richest in details of material, contains in many ways the reminiscences that are most original and fresh. The portions of the land, and the patriarchs that most interest it, show it to be a document of the middle or northern tribes, etc." As to the discrimination between the 2d Elohist and the Jehovist critics differ widely.

In respect to the religious complexion of the documents, the 1st Elohist, according to Schrader, knows no altars or sacrifices in the earliest periods, and no distinction of clean and unclean animals, conceives of the intercourse of God with men as simple and direct, with no phenomenal or mediating interpositions except the simplest, etc. The 2d Elohist, setting forth God as Elohim, represents Him as manifesting Himself in dreams, appearing by His angel, set forth under anthropomorphic forms in His intercourse with men. Tuch represents Jahve as well as Elohim as appearing in dreams, the angel as sometimes the angel of Elohim, sometimes the angel of Jahve, etc. The Jehovist introduces the worship of God as Jehovah from the first (Gen. iv. 26), brings in sacrifice from the time of Cain and Abel, discriminates from the first between the clean and unclean, finds altars, arts and industries in primitive times, and exhibits a more developed theology, anthropology and mythology, etc.

Wellhausen says: The Jehovist shows least of the influence of the prophets. . . . The 2d Elohist has felt at least the breathings of prophetism. . . . The religious elements are more energetic as well as more refined, etc. The style of the Deuteronomist, Ewald describes as exceedingly tender, but at the same time somewhat diffuse, without the terseness and firm grasp of the antique style.

Remarks:—

(1). There is a measure of truth in some of these discriminations, so far forth as God's manifestation of Himself, now in a more general way as Elohim or El Shaddai, and again

in a more special way as Jehovah, would naturally involve diversities of conception and representation, with a corresponding style of phraseology. Keil clearly recognizes the *a priori* reasons for anticipating these varieties. Havernick urges that the more clearly we recognize the divine presence in the history and the record of it, as an early and constant reality and power, the more impossible will it be to maintain all the critical results of this literary analysis.

And all the more when we observe:—

(2). The very minuteness of many of these discriminations, and the overweening confidence, and overawing positiveness with which they are set forth, creates distrust of them; so also the magnitude of the conclusions drawn from very small premises, “the want of an objectively fixed foundation being supplied by so much greater subjective certainty” (Bredenkamp).

(3). Just in proportion as the lexical tests fail to establish the discriminations that are asserted, and to identify and define the documents, we are thrown back on the subjective judgments and estimates of the critics, a most uncertain and fluctuating reliance, leaving us in constant doubt at which end of the theory the facts stand.

(4). While critics point triumphantly to the number of particulars in which they are agreed, it is no less obvious that in other particulars they are in the sharpest antagonism to each other. See Watson’s Hulsean Lectures for 1882, for a telling exhibition of differences of judgment in regard to the style and spirit of the same documents. We are left to wonder how the same conclusion was reached from these contrasting premises; how the documents were identified as the same when their peculiarities are so differently estimated. And the outlines are very shadowy, and the fragments in which we are to find these clear discriminations often very small.

II. *The realistic analysis, or the historical criticism of the Pentateuch.*

1. The fields of investigation to be searched by this historical method are: (a) The legislative portions of the Pen-

tateuch ; (b) The historical portions both of the Pentateuch and of the following books ; (c) The prophetic and poetical literature of the O. T.

2. The chief points to be investigated are : (a) The mutual relations of the main legislative codes ; (b) The mutual consistency of the details of this legislation ; (c) The mutual consistency of different parts of the history ; (d) The relations of the Mosaic history to the legislation which is referred to that time ; (e) Evidence furnished in the subsequent history of the apparent existence or non-existence, observance or non-observance of the laws, etc. ; (f) Evidence from the prophetic and poetical literature of the existence or non-existence, observance or non-observance of the laws, etc. ; (g) Evidence from the historical, prophetic and poetical books of the actual existence of a different order of things, out of which the legislation may more probably have grown.

(3). The alleged result reached by the investigation of these points.

(a). It is said to be in all respects unfavorable to the claim of Mosaic authorship either for the whole, or for any considerable part of the legislation, or for the record of it.

(b). It is said to be in all respects favorable to the theory that the legislation now recorded in the Pentateuch owes its origin chiefly to three quite different periods and trains of influence ; and that the authorship of the record is in like manner to be extended over several centuries, and to be assigned to several different hands, which can be in a broad and general way identified, and their mutual relations determined.

Vernes gives this statement (*Encycl. des Sciences rel.*, X.): The first partial edition of the Hexateuch, amounting to about 80 chapters, was composed in the prophetic spirit by the Jehovist early in the 8th century B. C. The Deuteronomist, at the end of the same century, contributes material amounting to about 40 chapters, exhibiting a combination of the prophetic spirit with priestly inclinations. A few years after the reforms of Josiah the Deuteronomist combines this

new material with the work of the Jehovist in a second edition of the Hexateuch. The Elohist, after the exile, writes a new history of Israel, including numerous and detailed legislative provisions, conceived under an entirely sacerdotal or clerical inspiration, etc., etc. Within the century between Nehemiah and Alexander the Great, the second edition of the Hexateuch was brought by unknown hands into combination with the Elohist-Ezraic code in our present Hexateuch.

We are then to study first:—

(a). *The mutual relations of the main legislative codes of the Pentateuch.*

The codes, so called, of the Pentateuch are three: (1). The book of the covenant, mentioned in Ex. xxiv. 7. (2). The laws of Deuteronomy, including in general Deut. iv. 44–xxvi. (3). All the other laws in Ex., Lev. and Num., commonly called the priestly or (priests') code.

In respect to the first Kuenen says: The sequence is by no means always clear and regular; some items break the succession; the preceding verse (xx. 22), which lacks confirmation, connects these laws with the words which Jehovah spoke to Israel from Heaven. There is one allusion to an earlier commandment (xxiii. 15), and no announcement of laws to be subsequently promulgated.

In regard to Deut., he says there are these questions only: Where the collection begins and ends, whether iv. 44–xxvi. or xii.–xxvi., and, whether the collection has come to us in the original form. It is in general homogeneous, and sharply distinguished from both the other codes.

With the exception of two or three fragments in Ex. xii., xiii. and xxxiv. the third collection includes all the remaining laws of the middle books—very miscellaneous, ill arranged; much might be omitted without loss. Some have the character of novels; they are also some times mutually inconsistent. They relate mainly to the cultus, the sanctuary and its servants, sacrifices, festivals, purity and purification, vows; other things are touched in a priestly sense.

R. 1. While there are facts lying on the very surface of the narrative and the legislation which justify a certain discrimination between these various parts of the Pent., the differences both in substance and form are greatly exaggerated.

R. 2. The want of orderly arrangement within the several parts is rather in favor of an ancient and Mosaic authorship (Dean Payne Smith). "In Palestine the national code would have been digested and made uniform." The laws as they stand appear to be recorded as they purport to have been given, at intervals, and in a fragmentary way.

R. 3. The fundamental assumption of the critical theory, constantly reiterated, that each code and each law must be the product and exponent of its own times; and that, therefore, from the subject and form of each law we may infer the conditions out of which it grew, and which made it reasonable and necessary, is in most absolute opposition to the whole scheme and conception of the Mosaic economy. This assumes that God is the guard and guide, the law-giver and ruler of Israel. It is continually asserted that the great part of the economic laws of the Pent. deal with the life of a sedentary and agricultural people, and would not have originated among, or been given to, nomads in the wilderness, etc. But this nomad life was transitional and was expected to be brief, and is adequately provided for. The long life of the future in Canaan was that which had been for centuries promised, that toward which God had been leading the people and for which he had been disciplining them, for which he had brought them out of Egypt, and in which he was now to establish them. That so little was done for political and social organization, favors the idea that God being always ruler over all, might put them at one time under one human guidance, again under another. What would occupy a foremost place in any humanly devised codes is here left out of the account as a matter of legislation. The enforcement of all laws rests on the basis of God's relations, and will in experience be proportionate to the reality and vigor of the people's recognition of God.

R. 4. In respect to the mutual relation of the codes the one thing that we can discuss as a settled thing is the sup-

posed discovery, that the Deuteronomic code as a published code is the product of Josiah's time. "This book must serve as the basis for critical research, because the date of its publication can be accurately enough determined" (Reuss). See II. K. xxii., xxxii.; II. Chr. xxxiv., xxxv. See Ewald's description of the way in which Deut. is put into the mouth of Moses, and of the substance and scope of the book (Hist. of Isr., iv. 220 sq.); and Dean Stanley's sketch of the peculiarities of Deut. (Jewish Church, II. 552).

(1). As the record stands before us it is according to II. K. xxii. 8, "the book of the law" that Hilkiah reports to Shaphan as found in the house of the Lord. Presumptively this form of expression points to something previously known.

(2). Whatever difficulties there may be in accounting for the surprise and consternation of the king, and his apparent ignorance of the law, its demands and its threatenings, with all his zeal for reforms apparently already initiated and in progress for some years, it is more difficult to account for the facility with which the high priest, the scribe, the king, the prophetess and the people, receive as the law of the Lord and the law of Moses (xxiii. 25), a book which none of them had ever seen before, a book to all intents and purposes just produced, yet purporting beyond any other book of the O. T. to be from Moses himself.

(3). Whatever features may or may not be peculiar to Deut., we cannot but regard these as singular products of Josiah's time; the definition of the duties of the prophetic order, when since Samuel prophets had been coming and going 500 years; the definition of the duties of kings, when from the time of Saul there had been kings for 450 years; the inculcation of the necessity of political unity now, rather than when the tribes were first coming out of Egypt and the wilderness into Canaan; the perils connected with high places were moreover no new perils (see the account of Balak and Balaam, 800 years before); while the blessings and curses might as well be connected with a law promulgated by the real Moses, as by a fictitious Moses.

(4). The national relations made prominent in Deut. are peculiar for so late a day as that of Manasseh and Josiah ; relations to Canaanites, Amalekites, Ammonites, Midianites and Moabites ; relations to Egypt suggested by the recent bondage, rather than by the complications of the monarchical period ; and no allusion to Syrians and Assyrians.

(5). Some of the most characteristic elements of Deut. seem to have been known before Josiah's time. Hosea and Amos appear to refer repeatedly to things mentioned in Deut. alone of the books of the Pent. Cf. Hos. v. 10, with Deut. xix. 14 ; Hos. iv. 4, with Deut. xvii. 12 ; Hos. iv. 13, and viii. 11 with Deut. xxiii. 18 ; xii. 2, 4 sq. ; Amos iv. 4, with Deut. xiv. 28 ; Am. viii. 5, with Deut. xxv. 14 sq.

Zahn says : Every literary untruthfulness brought forward with the purpose to deceive, passed in the first centuries of the church with all the teachers of the church whose writings have come down to us, as an abominable sin. And Bredenkamp urges that it is a sheer *petitio principii* to suppose that it had been otherwise with the Jewish sacred literature.

(b). *The mutual consistency of the Pentateuch legislation.*

The general argument of Kuenen, etc., is, that the first and second codes purport to have been recorded by Moses, while in the third, the laws purport to have been revealed to Moses and put in force by him, but may have been recorded by others. In Deut. no other previous legislation is presupposed except the Decalogue of Deut. v. 6-18. Other laws were revealed at Sinai ; but these laws of Deut., designed for a people dwelling in Canaan, are now first communicated to the people (v. 28 ; vi. 1). The writer does not presuppose the knowledge by the people of any earlier laws, like those of the book of the covenant. Even in chap. ix. and x. no mention is made of such a book and the people's acceptance of it. The laws of the priests' code were also designed for the people in Canaan ; these codes may therefore be fairly compared. We discover essential differences and even contradictions that cannot be removed.

To illustrate these differences Kuenen selects eight particulars :—

(1). Place of worship : See Ex. xx. 24 ; Deut. xii. and par. ; Lev. xvii. and par. By the law in Ex. many places are allowed ; in Deut. one is insisted on ; in Lev. one is presupposed.

But the capricious selection by men of places for worship is surely cut off by the phrase in Ex. : Where I record my name. Divine sanction is essential ; and the form of expression points quite as naturally to change of place in the course of history ; especially when an authorized contemporaneous plurality of places finds no support elsewhere in the law.

(2). The religious festivals : See Ex. xxiii. 14-17 and par. ; Deut. xvi. 1-17 ; Lev. xxiii. and par. The two popular codes agree (cf. also Ex. xxxiv. 18, 22-24, and xiii. 3-10) in recognizing three yearly feasts : in the priests' code, however (see Lev. xxiii. *passim* ; Num. xxviii. 18, 25, 26 ; xxix. 1, 7, 12 ; Ex. xii. 16), there are seven, distinguished by holy convocations, abstinence from labor and sacrifices.

Dillmann says : " The point of view (of Lev.) is broader, and that there is a contradiction between this and the other legal documents cannot be fairly asserted." Things that differ are confounded in the *haggim* and the *moadhim*, and so Sabbath and new moon are put on the same footing as Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.

(3). Priests and Levites : See Ex. xxviii. and par. ; Num. iii. and par. ; Deut. xviii. 1-8 and par. According to the priests' code Aaron and his descendants are the only lawful priests ; all Levites are set apart for service at the sanctuary, but excluded from the priesthood (see Num. xvi. 9, 10 ; xvii. 5 ; xviii. 1-3). According to Deut., however (x. 8-9), the tribe of Levi is set apart " to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name," *i. e.* to the priesthood. All have the right to become priests. So in regard to blessing ; Num. vi. 23-27 ; Deut. x. 8, 9 ; xxi. 5.

The concise answer is, that in some portions and passages of the O. T. the distinction between priests and Levites is sharply drawn, elsewhere not. See Malachi, when according to the theory the priests' code had been in existence many years; yet in i. 6; ii. 1-8; iii. 3, 4, the phrase "sons of Levi" is used of those who are performing the most strictly priestly functions.

(4). Tithes of the fruits of the field and of the flock: See Num. xviii. 21-32; Lev. xxvii. 32 sq.; Deut. xiv. 22-29; xxvi. 12-15. The tithe of Lev. and Num. is undoubtedly different from that of Deut. The author of Deut. must have alluded to a second tithe if he had known of one, and offered some justification. In xviii. 3, 4 he names no tithes among the sources of the priests' income. Cf. Num. xviii. 21. If two tithes were assessed while it is pretended that only one is demanded, "the one legislator can be maintained only at the expense of his moral character." (Kuenen).

On the subject of tithes see Dr. Ginsburg in Kitto's *Cyclop.*, and McClintock & Strong's *Cyclop.*

To assume that a full statement in regard to tithes must be made wherever tithes are mentioned is wholly unwarranted. Deut. may be silent in regard to one tithe, and Num. in regard to another, without justifying a slur on the character of the one legislator. It is a sheer assumption that Deut. xviii. 3, 4 professes to give all the sources of the priests' income. And the precepts of Deut. necessarily presuppose other ordinances. (Bredenkamp).

(5). The firstlings of the flock: See Ex. xxii. 30; xiii. 12, 13; xxxiv. 19, 20; Deut. xv. 19-23; Num. xviii. 15-18. As compared with Ex. the law in Num. protects the priests from certain possibilities of loss; while between Num. and Deut. there is more positive contradiction. That which in Deut. is expressly awarded to the offerer and his household, to be eaten by them before the Lord, is in Num. wholly given to the priests. See the views of Riehm and Robertson Smith.

The difficulty has been met by two lines of suggestion; that these laws relate to firstlings belonging to different

tithes, which under Jehovah's direction are disposed of in different ways; and that the phrases "give to Jehovah" (Ex. xxii. 30) and "sanctify unto the Lord" (Deut. xv. 19), are sometimes misapprehended. If that was duly given or sanctified which in specified proportions was given to the priests and used by the worshippers, the essential requirement of the two laws is met.

(6). The dwelling places of the priests and Levites in the land of Canaan: See Deut. xviii. 6 and par.; Num. xxxv. 1-8 and par.; Josh. xxi. 1-40. While according to Num. and Josh. the Levites receive their cities with the respective suburbs in absolute possession, according to Deut. they reside as guests in the cities of the Israelites (xii. 12, 18; xiv. 27, 29; xvi. 11, 14), and are with widows, orphans and strangers commended to the benevolence of the people (xii. 19; xxvi. 11 sq., etc.)

Neither does Deut. imply that the Levites had no such assignment of cities as that declared in Num. (See xviii. 8, where their patrimony is recognized, although not described), nor does it, in making them objects of generous benevolence, imply that apart from that they were entirely destitute.

(7). The beginning of the Levites' term of service: See Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47; Num. viii. 24. According to Num. iv. they serve from their 30th to their 50th year; according to Num. viii. from the 25th to the 50th.

The ordinary explanation is, that the first regulation has reference to the heavy service of the wilderness period, the second to the subsequent, more settled life in Canaan, or the lighter duties of their office even in the wilderness, "in the tent of meeting."

(8). The emancipation of Israelitish slaves: See Ex. xxi. 1-6; Deut. xv. 12-18; Lev. xxv. 39-43. The laws of Ex. and Deut. ordain emancipation after six years of service; that of Lev. in the year of jubilee.

Dillman holds these directions not inconsistent. The permanent bondage of an Israelite or his family was not allowed. Lev. deals with the case of those who, on account

of poverty, had sold themselves. To release them in the 7th year might only return them to the wretchedness of their old condition ; yet even they might not be held beyond the year of jubilee.

(c). *The mutual consistency of different parts of the Pentateuch history.*

The first point insisted on by Reuss and others of his school is the numberless repetitions of the history : thus the promise to Abraham ; the story of a patriarch's calling his wife his sister ; Beersheba ; the sending away of Hagar and Ishmael ; the name of Isaac ; the name Israel ; Bethel ; the genealogies of Moses and Aaron ; the return to Moses of his wife and children, the water brought from the rock, etc., etc., appear from two to six times each. In other cases two accounts have been unskillfully combined : as in the story of the deluge, of Abraham's departure from Ur and Haran, of Joseph, of the mission of Moses to Pharaoh, of the passage of the Red Sea, of the sending of the spies, of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

In all these cases exposition should be careful and exact ; inferences should be cautiously drawn ; the critical principle should guard alike against forced harmonizing and forced antagonizing ; the authors should be credited with the belief that they were not bringing into their narratives insoluble contradictions. If there is real repetition a reason should be sought ; if only an apparent repetition, the differences should have full weight.

Apply these principles to the cases above specified.

(d). *Relations of the Mosaic history to the legislation recorded in the Pentateuch ; or, the fitness of the historical setting of the Pentateuch legislation.*

The naturalistic doctrine would make the legislation as a whole, and each item of it, the pure and simple product of the natural conditions in which the legislator found himself and the people at the time when the laws took their form. Others who admit supernatural elements, nevertheless,

argue that in the case of the legislation, as in the case of prophecy and all kindred matters, the subjects of which the legislation (or prophecy) treats, must be within the natural field of view of the legislator (or prophet), and so must be not only supernaturally possible, but natural under the historical conditions of the case.

No one should deny that in the case of very many items of the legislation there may be found, and in the case of many more may have existed, antecedent usages, human deliberations, consultations and experiences, and the like—all of which on the higher theory are in the Mosaic system taken up to a higher plane, divinely sanctioned for their present purpose, divinely adapted and enjoined: while all these are supplemented by provisions and enactments coming more directly from the divine wisdom and authority.

Can, then, the laws contained in the last four books of the Pent. be held to date from an epoch when the Israelites were only hordes of nomads, traversing with their flocks the wilderness of Sinai, and the steppes East of the Dead Sea? Reuss lays stress on three points as chiefly proving the unfitness of the historical setting of this legislation: (1) The entire want of political organization; (2) The want of correspondence between the civil legislation in many of its particulars, and the time when it purports to have been given; (3) A like want of correspondence in the case of the ritual laws.

(1). No ties but blood, common language, religion and barbarism, bound together these nomads. Yet an undisputed nationality is presupposed: and this ungovernable people could not dispense with a firm and permanent control, if the laws were to have any chance of execution.

So Kuenen:—maintaining that the legislation assumes the existence of authorities who are nowhere instituted or instructed. Much that is said needs fuller definition: e. g. Deut. xix. 12; Ex. xxi. 6; xxii. 8; Deut. xvii. 8 sq.

As for the nomad life, it was evidently incidental and transitional. All that is said of their occupations, habits, tastes, and their very faults, proves that they had been an

agricultural people, and this they expected to be. The Egyptian life had also been for many of them a city life, in the closest contact with the culture of Egypt. Much that is described and prescribed implies proficiency in the industries and arts of civilized life. As to political organization, it is a marked peculiarity of the legislation that it makes little of that of which human codes ordinarily make so much. Tribes, generations, houses, and individual families had their organization; there were elders, etc. The theocratic principle controls and explains all.

(2). Reuss argues that any law actually promulgated must correspond with the actual condition of the people if it is to have any chance of being executed. Numberless laws of the Pent. imply wholly different conditions from those actually existing. The agriculture of Canaan is very unlike that of Egypt. Many things imply a somewhat advanced civilization.

As for the differences between Egyptian agriculture and that of Canaan the forefathers of the Israelites had lived for generations in Canaan, and continual intercourse between the two countries would keep the traditional knowledge from dying out. It is plain that the Israelites were not the barbarians whom the critics delight to depict.

(3). Of the ritual laws Reuss selects two for special challenge; the law of the Sabbath, and those which relate to worship at one central sanctuary. Of the Sabbath law there are two versions, one connecting the institution with the mythical history of the creation, the other with deliverance from the Egyptian bondage. And the labors from which the people are enjoined to rest, are rural labors, manual toils.

As for the new reason given in Deut. for Sabbath observance, it seems eminently natural that the universal and essential reason first given should be supplemented (not superseded) by the more national and temporal reason.

In regard to the central sanctuary, the required pilgrimages, etc., it is said, the demands are impracticable. Ex. xxiii. 17 does not, in form, make such a demand; Lev. xvii.

points to a different geographical and political horizon for the legislation:—to a time when all the territory to which the law could apply consisted of one city and a few villages.

Ex. xxiii. 19 (if not 17), seems to point to one place. And as for Lev. xvii.-xxvii., Dillman regards this whole group of laws as pre-eminently the Sinaitic:—Sinai-laws. No law-giver could have enacted these after the legislation of Deut.

(c). *Evidence furnished in the subsequent history of the apparent existence or non-existence, the observance or non-observance of the laws, and of the institutions to which the laws relate.*

In the view of the critics this is the most important, and the most decisive evidence accessible to us.

Even Genesis, it is claimed, may be called to witness, so far forth as it testifies to acts done by those who are set forth as types of theocratic perfection, which are recorded without censure, although in flagrant contradiction to the letter of a law recognized as obligatory for the whole people. How could Moses, as author both of Genesis and of the law, make such a record, without some precaution taken as a safeguard for the authority of the law? Cf. Lev. xviii. 9, 20; xviii. 18; xiii. 12 with the marriages of some of the patriarchs, and of Moses' parents: and the laws of Ex. xxi. and Deut. xxi. with the sending away of Hagar.

The history does not pretend that all was right which it records; makes distinction of time in respect to the fulness and precision of divine revelations; does not set forth the patriarchs as models of theocratic perfection: holds up the law and not these examples as the standard of duty; abundantly warrants the condemnation of all that is contrary to fundamental morality, and supplies proof of the evil tendency of whatever is evil.

The examples of Abraham and Jacob were not to be followed when groves and pillars had been forbidden on account of their relations to idolatry, etc., etc.

Passing to the time of the Judges, criticism makes much of the "theocratic heroes" of the period, and of the lack

of evidence that they or their historian knew anything of the law which Joshua had just established so firmly. The four examples relied on as proving knowledge of the law mean nothing of the sort; Gideon's refusal to be king; Jephthah's vow; Samson's consecration, and the marriage of Boaz (Reuss). The tabernacle is not named in Judges, and men worshiped where they would. Sacrifice is spoken of with satisfaction, offered at many different places. Laymen offer sacrifice: the legal festivals are not once mentioned.

"Israel's iron age" is far from satisfactory; yet the indirect witness borne by the book of Judges to the preceding books is most impressive by the very way in which the irregularities of the time are marked as abnormal. In such an age only two kinds of power could secure the observance of a law like that of the Pentateuch: adequate political power did not exist, and the existence of moral power was to be tested. The wilderness life was not promising. "Every man did that which was right in his own eyes," by no means proves that each man's own inclination was the only standard of right.

The distribution of the land by Joshua was largely ideal: was to be made real: "by little and little;" under conditions explicitly laid down. The destruction of the Canaanites was enjoined and justified, and the consequences of failure to execute the divine bidding were distinctly announced. Lev. xviii. 27-30; Deut. ix. 1 sq. Cf. Ex. xxiii. 32, 33; xxxiv. 12-16; Num. xxxiii. 55, 56; Josh. xxiii. 12, 13; Jud. ii. 2, 3.

The history recorded in this book is a wonderful witness to the law and institutions of Moses. So far forth as the people did not aim at that for which the law was given, and observe what it prescribed, they experienced just what the law denounced. Such a book should not be expected to bear much testimony in regard to the details of a more normal life. The conditions of the country often put many of the provisions of the law in abeyance. And the law was never designed so to limit God, that he could never allow or create an exception to what it ordained.

No one claims that the law was, through this period, both well known and strictly observed. Many of the irregularities may be explained in a way quite consistent with the previous enactment and knowledge of the Mosaic law; so of Gideon's refusal to be king. Jephthah's vow, rash and cruel as it was, may have been suggested by it; so the ascetic practices of Manoah's wife, and the course of Boaz.

But beyond these four instances, there are many more in which, by fact or phrase, the book bears witness to a knowledge of Pentateuchal requirements. There was a "house of the Lord," and in Shiloh, where "the feast of the Lord" was also observed. "The ark of the covenant" is in the custody of the priests. A grandson of Aaron "stood before it." Numerous technical expressions correspond with those of the Pent.

The abnormal condition of the land and the times explains some of the irregularities. God's own intervention calls forth others. The four instances of irregular sacrifice are all called forth by supernatural manifestations. No previously existing local sanctuaries are endorsed by them. Shiloh is the place of the sanctuary at the end of Joshua's time, in Micah's time, in Eli's time.

As for the books of Samuel, Reuss urges such points as these: Samuel's tribe; his irregular residence as a child at Shiloh,—in the house of God, which cannot have been the tabernacle. There were apparently other sanctuaries—at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, Ramah and Nob. The ceremonies are peculiar (I. S. vii. 6); all Levites sacrifice (ii. 28); even women serve (ii. 22). Anybody could sacrifice,—the men of Bethshemesh (vi. 14); of Kirjath Jearim (vii. 1); Saul (xiii. 9; xiv. 33 sq.) Samuel opposes the setting up of the kingly office (ch. viii. 8), in spite of Deut. xvii., and Gen. xvii. 6. Moses is named only as liberator (xii. 6), and his laws not at all.

But Samuel could be Levite and Ephraimite. No ignorance or disregard of the law is shown in Hannah's consecration; none in Samuel's conduct in the tabernacle at Shiloh (Jud. xviii. 31). Shiloh lost its pre-eminence (iv. 3 sq.), and

all the approved sacrifices at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah and Ramah are connected with Samuel's presence. Nob is a city of priests. For some unknown reason the high priesthood seems to fluctuate between Ithamar's and Eleazar's line. If ii. 28 is an interpolation (Reuss), what does it prove in regard to the service of women? The seemingly irregular acts of sacrifice have a clear justification or stand as irregular. Omission of Moses' name, and of reference to his laws, is the most negative of proofs. The way in which the people sought a king is Samuel's justification.

As for David, Reuss objects to the non-Levitical mode of bringing up the ark from Kirjath Jearim; and claims that Nathan's words to David (II. Sam. vii.) show that nothing was known of the splendid tabernacle of the wilderness. Men continued to go up to Gibeon even to the beginning of Solomon's reign. David and his family sacrificed at Bethlehem (I. S. xx. 6, 29); at Hebron (II. S. v. 3; xv. 7); on the Mount of Olives (II. S. xv. 32); and David built an altar on Araunah's threshing floor (II. S. xxiv. 25). There were two priestly lines; David's own sons, a Jairite, and Nathan's son, were priests. David sacrifices (II. S. vi. 17 sq.); xxiv. 25; I. K. ix. 25), and even takes part in a human sacrifice (II. S. xxi. 6). Levites are mentioned only in one doubtful passage (II. S. xv. 24). Oracles are often mentioned, which any priest may give—and usually images are associated. There were teraphim in David's house (I. S. xix. 13). Nabal's sheep shearing is the only festival mentioned.

In the bringing up of the ark there are normal elements, as well as irregularities, and the vindication of its sacredness by terrible judgments can hardly be connected with an unknown law. Bearers of the ark are mentioned in xxv., vi. 13, and Levites as bearers in xv. 24. The ark and the tabernacle are separated; the time for the final establishment of the one central sanctuary had not come; that and the re-establishment of one priestly line come in Solomon's reign. Abnormal worship is for the present unavoidable. As to the "priesthood" of David's sons, etc., the great ma-

majority of expositors agree in giving *kohen* here a political import. In the sacrificial acts ascribed to David Levites may have really officiated. The execution of Rizpah's sons is no act of worship. In connection with Urim and Thummim God might be consulted (says Riehm) "anywhere where one has at his disposal the ephod, and a priest competent and authorized to inquire of God." There is no intimation that David had any knowledge of Michal's teraphim.

(f). *Evidence from the prophetic and poetical literature of the existence or non-existence, the observance or non-observance of the laws ascribed to Moses.*

It is said to be claimed for the prophets that they never cease to exhort the Israelites to the obedience due to the moral law; and that there is no part of the Pentateuch which does not serve as a text for their discourses, their commentaries and their appeals. Whereas, in fact, before Jeremiah there is nothing that resembles a citation from, or a commentary upon, an ancient and official text. Neither are there indirect citations. *Torah* means simply instruction; never legislation. The ancient prophets never insist on ritual observance; they speak more than contemptuously of it. See Is. xxix. 13. The great festivals are unknown; priests are rarely mentioned, Levites never.

Proverbs is the earliest of the poetical books that bears the impress of the late Judaism. (So Reuss).

R. 1. This representation fundamentally misconceives, and historically inverts the mutual relation of the law and the prophets.

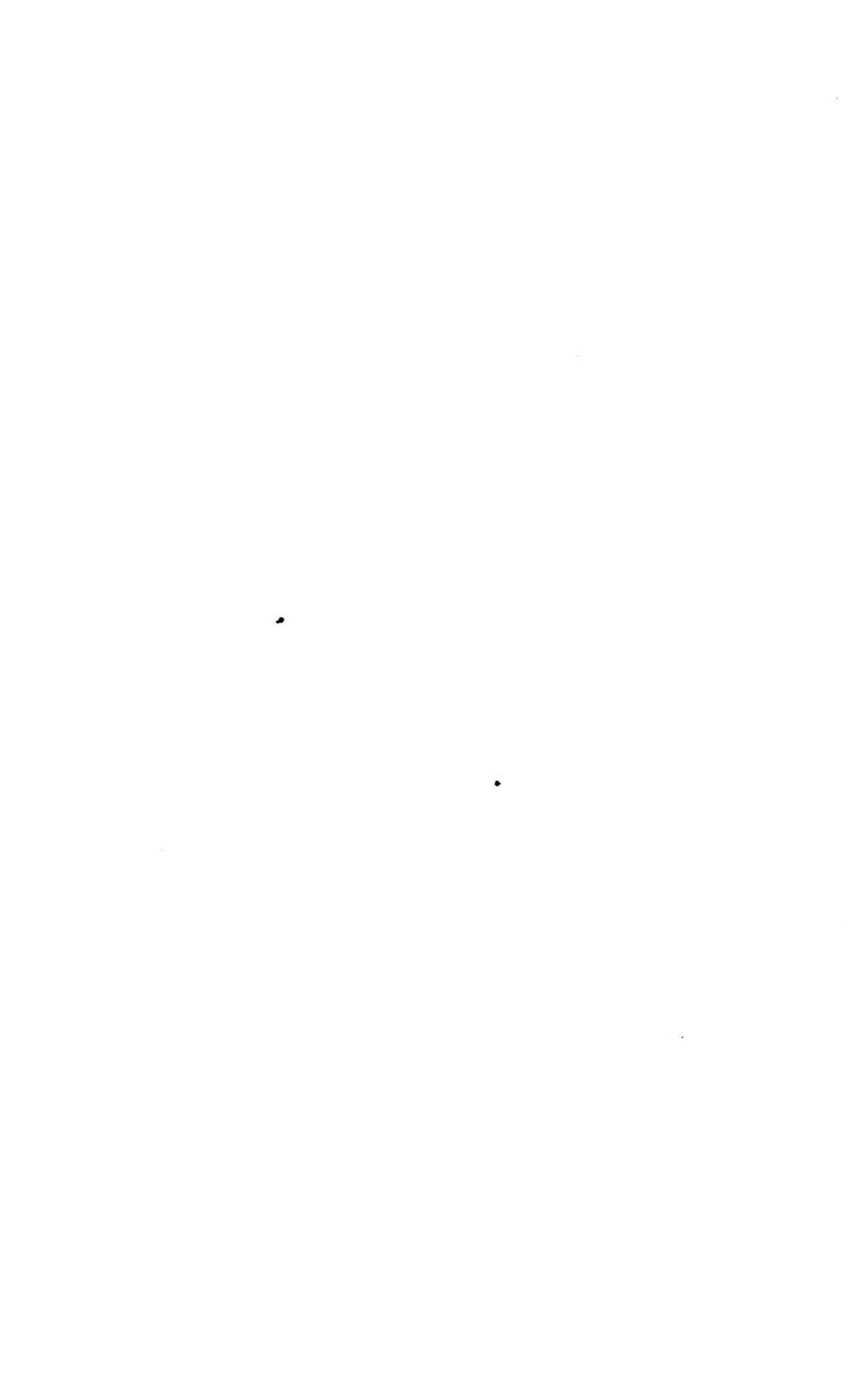
The holiness of God is the first principle of the O. T. religion, and the holiness of men its great practical aim. This explains what is done both for the community and for individual men. Inward holiness should show itself in all the relations of life. The system is historically progressive. Its earlier and more imperfect forms are easily misapprehended; and failing of their appropriate effect need to be supplemented, on the one side by discipline, on the other by agencies like those of the prophetic institution. The law

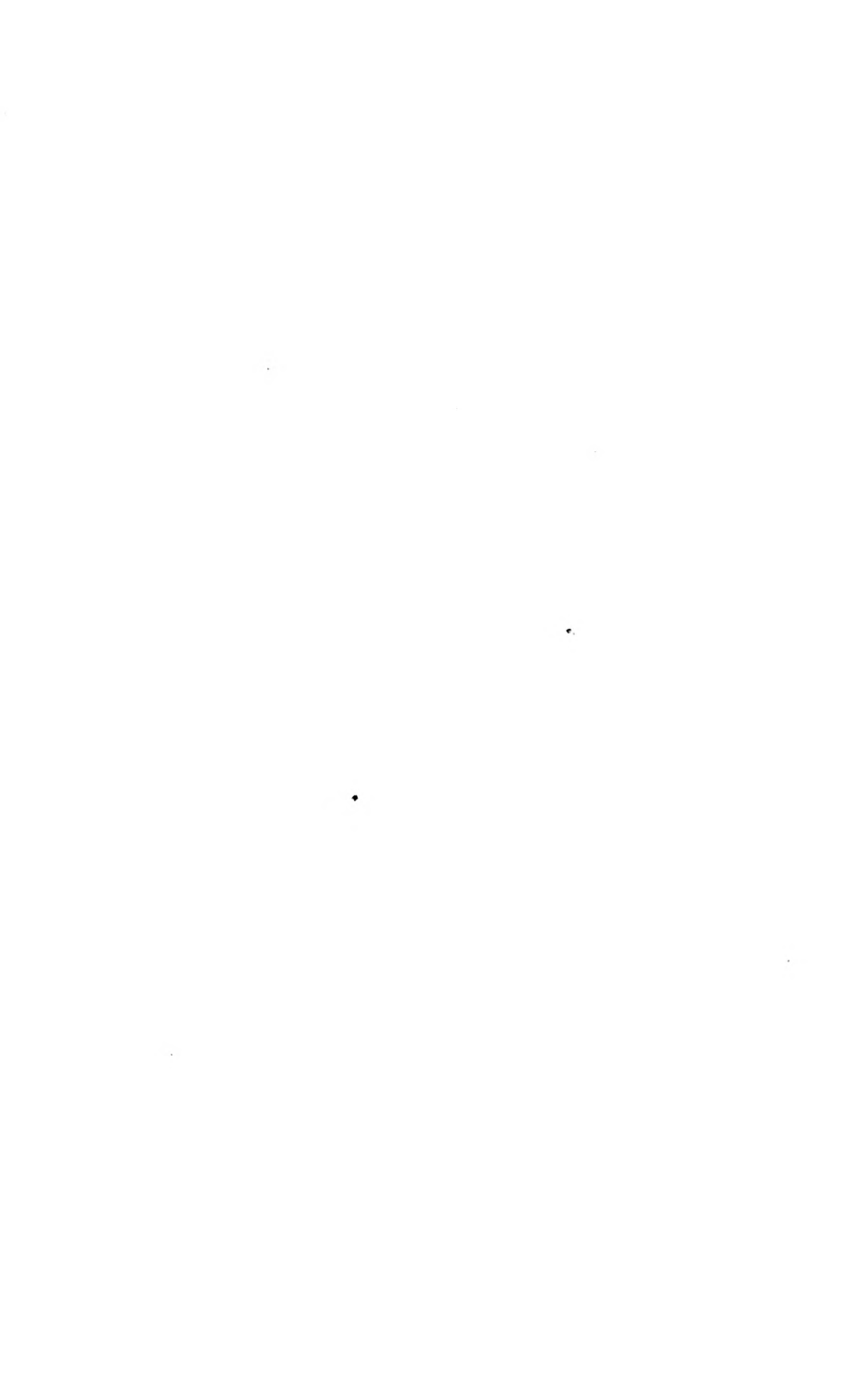
entered upon its work with an unspiritual people fresh from the bondage of Egypt and the idolatries and judgments of the wilderness, and to be established in a land full of peoples of a most unspiritual type. Truth must be taught by forms and symbols liable to constant misunderstanding and misuse. The tendency was strong, when the law was observed, to rest in externals as sufficient and satisfactory.

The law was an ideal law: the people, their kings, often their priests, were far from being ideal. The prophetic institution had been set up in Moses, the law-giver, and announced in the law itself. It was never, in its intention, antagonistic to a true priesthood or a true observance of the law. The law and the true prophets stood as mighty and harmonious witnesses for God, and agencies working toward holiness. Their conception, their tendency, their normal result were one. They agree in their immediate aim, the development of personal holiness, and in their remoter aim, which was to prepare for Christ. And in prophecy itself there was development: compare the earlier and the later. The common relation of law and prophets to Christ seems utterly irreconcilable with the critical doctrine of a deadly mutual antagonism. And of the two the law must be the antecedent. It is wholly inconceivable that the law should stand on the foundation of prophecy. Where prophecy had failed there would have been little promise or prospect of success from the Levitical law.

R. 2. The critical conception demands of the prophets a kind and amount of reference to the law, which should not be at all expected, and because this kind of detailed reference is wanting, declares the Deuteronomic law non-existent before Josiah's time, and the law of the middle books non-existent until the return from the exile.

If our conception of the relation of the prophets to the law, as above given, is correct, they need not be continually, in the spirit and after the method of the later scribes, referring to its minute specifications. It is enough if they plainly have it in mind, are concerned alike for the neglect and the misapprehension of it, and use all their power to secure the





holiness at which it aims. The prophets' service will be rendered by broad and deep denunciations of sin, and the declaration of the divine purpose, on the one hand of judgment, on the other of grace.

R. 3. This critical representation greatly understates and misstates the amount of actual allusion in the books of the prophets to the things that are central, essential, fundamental in the law. After all the denials of the critics, the more conservative and the more radical, it is still maintained (see especially the thorough discussion of Bredenkamp), that the psalms and the older prophets obviously presuppose, and have their root in, such things as these :

(1). The covenant set forth in its nature and conditions in the Pent., with mention of Moses as the organ of the divine communication, and with undoubted recognition otherwise of its substance. See passages like Amos iii. 1; Hos. viii. 1; vi. 7; xiii. 4 sq.; Is. v.; and especially Jeremiah. Sacrifice is from the first assumed to be at least an accompaniment of the covenant. The rebuke of abused and perverted sacrifice shows how true sacrifice is esteemed. See Ps. 1. The *Torah*, which this relation implies, cannot be mere instruction, but a law. *Torah* denotes sometimes prophetic instruction, sometimes the entire revelation of divine counsel and direction, sometimes plainly legislation. See Deut. xxxiii.; Hos. iv. 6; viii. 12; Mic. iii. 11; Jer. xviii. 18; Ez. vii. 26; xxii. 26; Zeph. iii. 4; Mal. ii. 7. Places, persons, offerings are made holy by their relation to the holy God: see Ex. xix. 5, 6; Is. vi. 5; chap. xxvi., and other passages. In respect to idolatry prophetic teaching harmonizes with Ex. xx.

(2). As for the worship which the prophets contemplate, there is a normal worship which is never rejected as ungodly. The ritual law has a moral side, which it is the great aim of the prophets to exalt to higher honor. See Deut. vi. 5; xxx. 6; Lev. xix. 2 sq.; Ps. xl., l., li., etc.; Am. iv. 4, 5; v. 4; v. 21-27; Hos. v. 4; ix. 4, 5; Is. i. 10 sq.; xix. 19 sq.; xxix. 1; xxx. 29. Mich. vi. 6-8 is not a denunciation of all ceremonial worship, but of the inadequate and

gross conceptions of the multitude. So Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21 sq., and kindred passages. *Your* sacrifices, not *your sacrifices*, the prophets condemn.

(3). As for the place of worship, see the implication of Psalms like the iii., xv., xxiv., xxvii, l., lx., ex.; and cf. passages like Am. i. 2; ix. 11; Hos. iii. 5; xiv. 2, 3; Is. ii. 2; xxix. 1; xxx. 29; xxxiii. 20. The high places are generally denounced because of their associations with false gods, impurity, and idolatry. (See Dr. Green's "Moses and the Prophets," pp. 137-169.)

(4). As for the priestly class, the tribe of Levi is the priestly class, if there is any, and the legitimate priests are by descent Levites. That priests are so little referred to in their normal work should not excite surprise. That the character and conduct of many of the priests is so brought out by the scathing rebukes of the prophets, shows not an antagonism between the orders, but the true nature of the priestly office, and the greatness of the sin chargeable on those who are untrue to it. This throws, moreover, a flood of light on the moral and religious state of the people.

(g). *Evidence from the historical, prophetic and poetical books of the actual existence of a different order of things, out of which the legislation may more probably have grown.*

To discuss this point in full would require a detailed examination of the chief theories as to the real origin of the legislation, which is denied to Moses as its author. Within the limits of our time this is impossible.

All the historical connections of the legislation which appear on the surface of the Pent. narrative are cut away by such dicta as this (S. Sharpe, Hist. of the Hebrew Nation, p. 15): "These laws are, indeed, all said to have been delivered by Jehovah to the Israelites on their march out of Egypt; but this was only the priestly manner of saying that these laws were agreeable to the will of God." The chief warrant for Wellhausen's great reconstruction of the history of Israel is the alleged possibility and necessity of carefully separating the historical from the legislative tradition.

(Encycl. Brit., xiii. 399). "Moses was not regarded as the promulgator, once for all, of a national constitution, but rather as the first to call into activity the national sense for law and justice, and to begin the series of oral decisions which were continued after him by the priests." The giving of the law at Sinai he declares "the product of the poetic necessity, etc." Stade professes to write a history of the people of Israel. The object of a *Biblical* history is edification: that of a *history* is truth. The *Biblical* history is specially attracted by narratives which have a religious tendency; a *history* remorselessly exposes all narratives that betray a tendency. The method of the *Biblical* history is harmonistic; it knows no contradictions; the true element of a *history* is the contradictions by which it lays hold on the real threads in the web of the historical recital. The chief difficulties encountered by the historian are, the fact that the history of Israel is essentially a history of religious ideas, the marked peculiarities of Hebrew authorship, and the fortunes of the traditional text.

With full liberty assumed to make the documents what you will, and put them where you will, a critic who is not superior to the "subjectivity" that works such mischief in the Biblical narratives, and sometimes betrays "tendencies," may, by the use of the historic imagination, give you "a history of Israel" (its legislation included). Its reliableness will, perhaps, remain a matter of question.

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