

WHY I STILL BELIEVE
THAT
MOSES WROTE DEUTERONOMY.
SOME REFLECTIONS AFTER READING
PROFESSOR ROBERTSON SMITH'S
ADDITIONAL ANSWER TO THE LIBEL.

BY
GEORGE C. M. ✓ DOUGLAS, D.D.,

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If any verbal errors are discovered by the reader, his indulgence is craved, on account of the writer's absence from the country.

WHY I STILL BELIEVE

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MOSES WROTE DEUTERONOMY.

DN the following pages I wish to deal with the critical evidence presented by Professor Smith in favour of the opinion that parts of the Pentateuchal Law are later than the time of Moses, and that in particular Deuteronomy is of an age subsequent to Hezekiah's reforms. My health, and other circumstances beyond my control, have kept me out of the discussion in the Church Courts ; and now that the action of the General Assembly has tended to awaken hopes of a settlement of the legal questions in a way in which all parties may be enabled to acquiesce, I desire to write nothing which may in any way prejudice any one. But there is another question that would have to be answered, whatever course might have been taken in the Courts of the Church—namely, What is the value of the evidence alleged in favour of Professor Smith's critical views as they stand out in contrast with the opinions generally held in this country, that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch ? In attempting to answer this, I shall confine myself to the statement that he has made in his “ Additional Answer to the Libel.” Of this he modestly says (p. 11) : “ I shall select from an argument of enormous compass only a few of the simplest lines of evidence, and these I

shall attempt to set before the Court in a form sufficiently popular to be followed by those who have not the advantage of scholarly training, and a knowledge of the original language. Such a statement must necessarily omit many powerful arguments, and convey a very imperfect idea of the critical position. It must not, therefore, be supposed that in laying this paper before the Presbytery I take upon myself the burden of proof, which properly lies on the prosecution, or that I consent to limit the discussion of the case to the points which I now raise.” In point of fact, I am disposed to think that his case is stronger on account of the selection and compression of the arguments ; while the rhetorical form, with occasional repetitions and excrescences, owes not a little to the warmth of his feelings as he throws his whole soul into a brilliant yet earnest pleading in a case whose importance to himself it is impossible to exaggerate. In these circumstances, no one can take offence at occasional pungent statements which a calm student might pronounce to be indefensible ; and, as a whole, his statement is marvelously free from certain blemishes which disfigure the writings of many of the recent critical school. His evangelical Christianity, his extensive reading, his high intellectual and moral qualities, which secure the esteem and affection of all who know him, appear all through the pleading ; and if I believe that his arguments are inconclusive, and that his assertions are often based on suppositions instead of ascertained facts, I reply to him not without diffidence, and I acknowledge willingly how much weight I should be ready to attach to any definitely formed judgment of his, unless in certain speculative matters where I think he has been somehow misled.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENTS.

As I also wish to make my statement brief, and easily understood by all, I shall not dwell upon minute points, nor argue over a word or phrase merely because I can object to it. Nor shall I take up any extreme ground, nor deny that there may, perhaps, have been considerable “editing” of the work of Moses, however far I am from being convinced of this by any evidence that I have seen. Nor shall I deny the possibility of the Mosaic laws having been given orally between the exodus and the conquest of Canaan, and yet having remained for the most part unwritten till ages afterwards ; and I should be able to point, in confirmation of this possibility, to the case of the oldest and most comprehensive of all prophetic utterances, which formed no part of Scripture till it came to be recorded in the Epistle of Jude. But Professor Smith’s opinion has reference, not principally, if at all, to the time when the laws were reduced to writing, but to the time when they were given forth by God. He says (pp. 12, 13) :—

“ According to the tradition which the libel proposes to incorporate with the official creed of the Church, and to protect from criticism, by the use of ecclesiastical censures, the whole Pentateuchal law was delivered to Israel before the death of Moses, and, with the possible exception of some temporary ordinances designed for the special circumstances of the wilderness journey, all the statutes of the law were meant to be observed in the land of Canaan from the first settlement of the people downwards. When several laws are given on the same subject, they are to be regarded as mutually supplementary, and their provisions cannot be really contradictory, though at first sight they may appear to be so. Those critics, on the contrary, whom I follow, and who maintain the character of the Pentatench as a record of revelation, while admitting that the fundamental laws of the theocracy were given to Israel through Moses, hold that these laws were modified and added to from time

to time by prophets and other divinely guided leaders of the Old Testament dispensation, that the Pentateuch, in its legislative as well as in its historical parts, is made up of several documents originally distinct, that these documents were written at different times, and that as their object was not merely to give a history of the work of Moses, but also to expound in connection with this history the laws which the people were still bound to obey, the legislative part of each document represents the whole or part of the theocratic law, not precisely as it stood in the time of Moses, but with the modifications which, in the progress of the dispensation, were necessary to meet the needs of the people of God, and which had either been actually put into practice, or were, by prophetic authority, ordained as proper to be put into practice. As the prophets and the priests who acted with them did not always, or indeed often, exert so much authority with the Government as belonged by right to the mouthpieces of God's will, the new laws which they conveyed could not always be put into force at once. In such cases they could only commit these laws to writing, awaiting the earliest opportunity to get them recognised by the State. This is what is meant when it is said by critics that some parts of the Pentateuch may be supposed to be made up of legislative programmes; the communication to the people by prophetic authority of a necessary new application of the principles of the legislation of Moses, often preceding the adoption of the new law by the civil authorities. On this view the designation of all true theocratic laws, as laws of Moses, must be taken in a figurative sense, which, however, would not give rise to any misunderstanding. It was a recognised convention to incorporate new ordinances with the history of the first institution of the law by Moses, and however inconvenient such a practice may appear to us, it had the important advantage of constantly impressing on the people that no law could have force in Israel which did not attach itself to the principles of the Mosaic legislation as a genuine development of Mosaic ideas; while, at the same time, the people's duty of obedience to every law of God was enforced by teaching the Israelites always to look at the Divine commands in connection with the great work of God's grace in redeeming His people from Egypt, entering into covenant with them at Sinai, and guiding them to the land of promise."

On this extract I have only these two remarks to make: (1.) That it is not incumbent on those who

adhere to the old view to assert that “ all the statutes of the law were meant to be observed in the land of Canaan, from the first settlement of the people downwards ; ” or that it is only those who think that a part of the laws were spoken by later “ mouthpieces of God’s will ” who may admit that “ they could not always be put into force at once.” On the contrary, the law of the kingdom was not intended to come into operation until after a long course of sinning opened up the way for new methods of dealing with the people. And it is fair enough to contend (though for my part I do not) that the laws of one central sanctuary in Deut. xii. were not to come into operation until all the heathenish places of worship, &c., had perished, and rest had come to the people fully (v. 2, 3, 10), which Stephen connects with the appointment of Jerusalem for this purpose when the nations had been finally driven out, in the days of David (Acts vii. 44-47). Nor do I look on the history of the Jewish Church, more than on that of the Christian Church, as one of steady progress—far from this ; many a time the folly and perversity of God’s professing people, ay, even of His true saints, has left things undone which ought to have been done, as it has also led to the doing of things which He has forbidden. (2.) I do not acknowledge it as “ a recognised convention to incorporate new ordinances with the history of the first institution of the law by Moses.” On the contrary, as I find our Lord expressly noticing earlier elements in their worship which, therefore, Moses did not give, John vii. 22, “ Moses, therefore, gave unto you circumcision, not because it is of Moses but of the fathers,” which does not seem to warrant his exposition (p. 88) that “ Moses means no more than the old

dispensation ; " so I find later regulations attributed to David, 1 Sam. xxx. 25 ; 1 Chron. xxii.-xxix. (see especially xxviii. 19, " All this the Lord made me understand in writing, by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern," with a reference to what was said to Moses, Exod. xxv. 40), and to Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 3. And if there be some little variations in the ritual at Josiah's passover from that in the book of Exodus, such a circumstance tends to contradict the notion of such a " recognised convention."

Professor Smith says again (pp. 15-17) of the opinion which he rejects :—

" In truth, the confidence with which men propose to cut short all critical inquiry into the composition of the Pentateuch on mere grounds of *à priori* probability would be impossible, but for the fact that the difficulties of the critical theory lie on the surface, while the difficulties of the current view are apparent in their full force only when the Pentateuch is read with minute attention. . . . According to the current view, Israel received at the commencement of its national existence the laws which were to regulate civil and religious life through the whole subsequent progress of the state and people. . . . Thus in Deut. xvii. 14 *seq.*, a law is given for the future kingship, and in Deut. xix. 9, directions are given to increase under certain circumstances the number of cities of refuge. The existence of such exceptional provisions for future contingencies in a limited number of cases only serves to make it more clear that on the traditional view of the Pentateuch, the whole constitution and laws of Israel were designed to remain unmodified to the close of the dispensation. . . . In all nations new legislation is the invariable accompaniment of progress in national life, and . . . a stationary system of theocratic institutions could only be designed to correspond to a stationary condition of the whole national life. In giving to the people an invariable legislation, no part of which was to be abrogated or modified in later times by the inspired successors of Moses, God designed to prescribe . . . an *ideal* of domestic, social, and political life, from which, so long as the dispensation lasted, no age could depart without sin." The conditions of Hebrew life, it is admitted, never did correspond with the ideal, and some

parts of the law were therefore in every age impracticable. "But though observance of the law might be suspended, the law itself was there as a witness to the Divine ideal of theocratic life. From this ideal character of the legislation it is at once apparent that the details of Pentateuchal laws cannot have been shaped with regard to the special circumstances of national life in the age of Moses. . . . The legislation is essentially prophetic; even the form of its words is sometimes addressed to future generations (as in Deut. xix. 14)." It "did not grow up by successive revelations adapted to changing circumstances — it was framed by Divine wisdom in a shape independent of all change of national conditions within the limits of the dispensation."

Here I must again offer some remarks on what is an extreme or overstrained statement of the opinion I hold. (1.) I should not express myself to the effect that in the beginning of their national existence Israel received "the laws which were to regulate civil and religious life through the whole subsequent progress of the state and the people," unless I made it very clear that the regulation extended no further than to the principles; in which sense we should probably agree in making the same statement, though we might differ as to the classification of principles and details. I believe that outside the Ten Commandments and the ritual law there was very much in the sphere of *religious life* left to development through the instrumentality of the prophets; and in the sphere of *civil life* I believe they were left to work out their laws much as other nations were left, with this very important exception, that principles were laid down, especially in Ex. xxi.-xxiii., which secured the interests of truth, and liberty, and purity, and mutual confidence, in a way unknown to the nations of heathendom. (2.) Accordingly I should put much more emphasis on modifications than he seems to think we

can do. The law of the kingdom, to which I have referred already, and which he names without apparently attaching weight to it, is one of the most remarkable of these, and it had its roots in the promises made to the patriarchs (Gen. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11); though the fulfilment lay in a distant future beyond the age of the republic, whereas it is noted that a rival line of Abraham's descendants attained early to this royal dignity "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31); and the prophet Balaam saw this kingdom of Israel only in the far-off future (Num. xxiv. 7, 17). Another very important modification was the substitution of a temple, a house in which the Lord might dwell for ever, for the movable tent and tabernacle in which He had walked from the time of the exodus onward (2 Sam. vii. 5-7). The structure of this temple brought in many modifications, as to the courts, the size of the buildings, and the furniture (the change upon the altar giving rise to some needless difficulties and speculations, pp. 59, 60); also as to the age at which the Levites were numbered for their work (1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 26); and as to the courses into which they and the priests were distributed. (3.) My position is, therefore, one which insists on "new legislation" in civil affairs, as the "accompaniment of progress in national life;" only this legislation was chiefly human and natural, not supernatural and Divine: nor do I overlook such new legislation even in religious affairs, only I should assign it so limited a range as to place myself in quite a different position from that which I understand Professor Smith to occupy. And, practically, with these important explanations, I accept as a fair description of my opinions, that "a stationary

system of theocratic institutions could only be designed to correspond to a stationary condition of the whole national life." The gradually increasing manifestations of Divine light to the patriarchs were not controlled by anything in their course, so far as we know, except by the law of essential harmony with the more rudimentary manifestations already granted. A vast advance was made in connection with the mission of Moses and the institutions which he was to set up in Israel ; and these, in turn, became the basis on which the marvellous revelations were afterwards made, of which we learn from the other books of the Old Testament gathered by the Jews into the two volumes, which they named "The Prophets," and "The Writings" (*Hagiographa*), as distinguished from the first volume, which they named "The Law." But during his lifetime Moses occupied a unique position, since Jehovah "spoke with him mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches," while he beheld the similitude of Jehovah ; in strong contrast to the prophets, to whom Jehovah "made Himself known in a vision and spoke in a dream" (*Num. xii. 4-8*) ; and after his death the same unspeakable inferiority of the other prophets was still acknowledged (*Deut. xxxiv. 9, 10*). Israel had been raised to a wonderfully high level by the exodus and the work of Moses ; but from that time forward they occupied a position of comparative conservatism ; not, indeed, that they absolutely stood still, or that they had no missionary duties to the heathen world out of which they had been chosen and exalted, but that their chief duty was to hold fast that which had been entrusted to them during the long dark ages in which He "suffered all nations to walk in their own ways" (*Acts xiv. 16*).

And thus the closing admonitions of the last prophet of the Old Testament recognised no change in the law, even at the time that he mentioned the greatest of the line of prophets, and held out the prospect of a new Elijah—"Remember ye the law of Moses, my servant, which I commanded unto him in Horeb for all Israel, with the statutes and the judgments" (Mal. iv. 4). After the Old Testament had been completed, there were indeed attempts at progress, as well by the internal struggles of the sects which sprang up in the later Jewish Church, as by the external influence of contact with Greek philosophy, especially at Alexandria, and with Oriental speculation ; yet they really never rose above the level of the law of Moses, and if they ever imagined that they rose higher, the only explanation would be that really they were sinking below it. No doubt this put a strain upon their minds, and made them feel what "weak and beggarly elements" were included in that law ; but it was impossible to put new wine into old bottles, or to put a piece of new cloth upon an old garment, as our Lord expressly taught those who questioned Him on the subject. And the Epistle to the Hebrews uses similar language : "In that he saith a new covenant, he hath made the first old ; now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away" (viii. 13). It is to some extent the same even with the Christian Church and the New Testament Scriptures. The centuries have brought rich stores of experience to the Church since our Lord and His apostles left our world, and new insight has been granted us into the inexhaustible wealth of Scripture. There are also peculiar difficulties felt in these latter days, and men have longed for more light than is given in the written Word. But we must

wait for the second coming of Christ, just as the Jewish Church had to wait for His first coming; and the lesson of Malachi to the Jews is substantially the lesson of Peter to us (2 Pet. iii. 1-3, 13-18). (4.) It is a difficult matter to decide how far we are justified in saying (p. 16), "that since the conditions of Hebrew life never did correspond with the ideal, some parts of the law were in every age impracticable. Political complications, or social disturbances, themselves the fruit of Israel's sins, led to a state of things in which even the highest prophets made no attempt to carry out important parts of the law"—that law, nevertheless, remaining as "a witness to the Divine ideal of theocratic life." In the law itself, we know from our Lord's own lips, and in answer to a question as to the difficulty involved, that Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts, suffered that to be legal which had been otherwise in the beginning by the earlier law of God (Matt. xix. 3-9; Mark x. 2-9). We know that in the New Testament, in its connection with the Old, one writer "had many things to say, and hard to be uttered, seeing ye are dull of hearing" (Heb. v. 11). Nor need we be surprised should there have been evils in both the Old and New Testament Church, which have left effects never to disappear till the Church be presented to Christ "without spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." But I am not satisfied with the supposition here made, that on our principles the law of sacrifice at the central altar, of which I shall have to speak, was one of these, or that the prophets Hosea and Amos tolerated disobedience to it.

But in opposition to this "ideal stability" of the law, Professor Smith appeals to cases which we must

suppose to have occurred in the lifetime of Moses. In p. 17 he says :—

“Ordinances which were not to vary in the subsequent centuries, undergo repeated changes between Sinai and the plains of Moab—changes perfectly intelligible if the different forms of the law were adapted to the needs of different ages, and to changing conditions of society, but altogether unintelligible in a legislation given . . . to be the unvarying and ideal rule of Israel’s life.”

And p. 18 :—

“On the current theory we must suppose that these variations took place within a few years, or perhaps, in some cases, within a few months, in laws which were . . . given by Divine authority as the ideal and invariable rule of Israel’s life in the promised land, covering with prophetic foresight even contingencies of the remote future. Does not this view suggest difficulties to belief, at least as formidable as lie in the critical hypothesis of a figurative ascription of later legislative developments to the first lawgiver ?”

I shall have to speak afterwards of his theory that these variations are explained by successive legislation at great distances of time, and are connected with great changes in the condition of Israel. At present, I observe, that this might well be accepted as the explanation, if no reason to the contrary were adduced; but that I do not feel his difficulty in applying it very readily (in so far as modifications actually occurred) to the forty years between the exodus and the conquest of Canaan. I attach vastly more importance to this period than he appears to do, and I believe that even Divine legislation might be considerably modified, on account of the changing condition of God’s people within that period. A great statesman has just passed from among us, who, on his death-bed, received a congratulatory address in reference to successful legislation which he had effected

fifty years before : if his eye had not grown dim, nor his natural force abated, what a review would he have had to make of the altered condition of his people during that half century ! I think the changes in our country, however, have been insignificant in comparison with the changes during the administration of Moses, beginning with the slaves whom Jehovah brought out of Egypt with a high hand, because they were incapable of doing anything for themselves ; continuing it by a guidance signalised by a profession of miracles, than which even those of our Lord are scarcely more remarkable, and a series of murmurings and rebellions which are absolutely unparalleled ; and ending with the lawgiver and mediator himself handing over to a chosen and beloved successor the work which his own sin made him unfit to complete, yet handing over also a new generation of Israelites, the best, perhaps, that ever lived,—as well they might be after such a history and training. We speak of formative periods in the history of an individual or of a people, when every influence has an effect like that of the seal on melted wax : was there ever a formative period like these forty years ? The common consent of Christendom has echoed the language of the apostle (1 Cor. x. 1-11), who finds in it a mirror for the experience of the whole Church of God ; and it would not surprise me to be told that it contained a rehearsal of the whole subsequent history of Israel, and that, to the prophetic glance of Moses, the germs were visible of every evil and disorder, such as critics have supposed might be the cause of later legislation. Nor do I see any reason for comparing our view of such changes to that of Talmudic Judaism, that would “ ascribe the workings of the Most High to a human

changefulness of purpose" (p. 19); since our "traditional" view has come to us by a tradition confessedly unvarying, handed down from an age several centuries before the Talmud came into existence. It is altogether vain to object that we cannot point out the circumstances occurring during these forty years which led to the modifications; for even if I conceded the truth of this objection, which I do not, it is enough for me to turn aside its relevancy by maintaining that there is room enough in these forty years to make these modifications possible and suitable. And I might, with the utmost propriety, plead my ignorance of particulars as my excuse for saying nothing more; as I must in justice to myself say, that one of the greatest complaints I have against the self-styled critical school is an inability to confess ignorance, and a confidence that they can give the explanation of everything, from what at the best appears to me to be speculation, whose truth can never be established. By two examples, however, I can justify my plea of ignorance about the details of these forty years, details which, if they had been known, might have furnished explanations of changes in the law.

(1.) A fact of the highest importance, religiously and historically, is known to us only by an incidental expression in Joshua v. 2-9, that the generation who were condemned for their unbelief to die in the wilderness were laid under discipline, such as we might name suspension from Church privileges, and their children grew up uncircumcised, and, of course, unfit to enter the courts of the tabernacle, to offer sacrifices, or to eat the Passover: how far their own wilfulness led to this, and to what precise extent the disuse of circumcision extended, we cannot tell, but we do know that

it must have deranged the whole working of the Jewish Church, and it might well lead to a great concluding work of Moses, setting forth the law to them anew, and calling them to re-enter into the covenant as their fathers had done at Sinai. (2.) And another fact, not much less important, is mentioned in Amos v. 26, that so far back as in those forty years spent in the wilderness, the house of Israel, whose right and duty it was to bring sacrifices and offerings to Jehovah, bore about images of heathen gods, which they made to themselves: a fact stated categorically in the common rendering of this somewhat difficult text, and a fact to which I suppose that those would make the prophet at least allude, who render the verb so as to express a punishment in the future instead of a sin in the past.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CRITICAL ARGUMENT.

Five examples of changes in the law are presented in pp. 17, 18, which are meant to illustrate how perfectly intelligible they are, “if the different forms of the law were adapted to the needs of different ages, and to changing conditions of society,” far beyond what was admissible during those forty years.

(1.) There is the age of the Levites at service. In Num. iv. it is from thirty to fifty, and in Num. viii. 23-26 it is from twenty-five to fifty. But in explanation there is some weight to be put upon the words used, for after the “service” was over, there was still a “charge” to be kept by those above fifty. Now, this “service” is denoted by expressions more or less differing, *mlâcah* occurring for this work only in Num. iv. 3, and more important, that service is said in ver. 47 to be “the service of the burden (or

“carriage” of the ark, as in margin of 1 Chron. xv. 22, 27, and in 2 Chron. xxxv. 3) in the tabernacle of the congregation,” and the whole chapter is exclusively about this carrying of the ark in the movements of the camp through the wilderness; whereas the statement at the end of chap. viii. is entirely general, or without restriction, and follows the account of the consecration of the Levites to their office. What can be a more natural explanation than that they served from twenty-five to fifty, but that not till they had been five years at service were they permitted or promoted to carry the ark? I have already had occasion to call attention to David’s reduction of their age for beginning work to twenty, because this service of carrying the tabernacle was now at an end (1 Chron. xxiii. 24-27).

(2.) I fail to apprehend the force of the next objection:—

“The laws of Exod. xxi.-xxiii., which, with chap. xx., formed the basis of the Sinaitic legislation, are plainly designed for the period of settled residence in the land of Canaan. Now, at xxi. 7 it is expressly stated that a Hebrew maid-servant is not to be set free, like a man-servant, at the close of seven years. In Deut. xv. 12, 17, the law is the same for both sexes, and so it is taken in Jer. xxxiv.”

The law in Exodus is in terms for males; but the rights of a male bond-servant would surely apply to a female bond-servant, *mutatis mutandis*, just as the case of a man, being smitten and dying (ver. 12), applies also to a woman. A person might be sold to bond-service as a punishment, or he might sell himself on account of poverty. There was, however, this peculiarity in addition to these cases, that a father might sell his own daughter to be a maid-servant in the sense in which Hagar, and Bilhah, and Zilpah were maid-servants—that is, with the chance or expectation

of becoming a secondary wife, or even a wife properly so called, to her master or his son. For this additional case a provision is made in Exod. xxi. 7-11, and only of such a one it is said, "she shall not go out as the men-servants do." Deuteronomy repeats the law in the usual style of that book, altering and enlarging the expressions so as to bring in the law of love to act in the way of loading the faithful servant, male or female, as the case may be, with presents, at going away; and as it takes no notice of the special female case, it naturally presents the general law in all its comprehensiveness as applying to both sexes. I know of nothing to justify the statement at p. 56 (where he returns to this subject, and repeats the mistake of asserting "that maid-servants are exempted from manumission" in Exodus) that this belongs to a primitive state of things, in which a Hebrew girl was ordinarily bought to be the wife of her master or his son.

(3.) Reference is made to three laws which forbid Israelites to eat that which dieth of itself, or which is torn by beasts (Exod. xxii. 31 ; Lev. xvii. 12, 15 ; Deut. xiv. 21). The difficulty is, that Deuteronomy permits not only the selling of it to an alien, but also the giving it to the stranger within their gates, that he may eat it ; whereas Leviticus requires the stranger sojourning among them, no less than one of themselves, if he has eaten such food, to wash his clothes, and bathe himself in water, and be unclean until the evening. This law goes on to say : "But if he wash them not, nor bathe his flesh, then he shall bear his iniquity." The utmost that can be inferred from this difference seems to be that some of these strangers clung to the Lord's people, as this law encourages and invites them to do, and to obey the connected law in ver. 12, forbidding them to

eat blood ; but if any one of them declined to obey, he must bear his iniquity, and sink down to the lower level of those strangers who preferred to rank among the heathenish aliens, with whom they are classed in the law in Deuteronomy. But this is precisely such a modification as I should think it natural to meet with in Deuteronomy, arising out of the experience which the people acquired in the course of the forty years of the varying moral and spiritual attitudes and inclinations of these strangers or sojourners. And while it is true that the law of the God of Israel did not change in any essential feature, He wished to commend the law to the consciences and understandings of His people ; and the life and work of the great lawgiver might well be lengthened out for this purpose among other reasons. Similarly, the law of the Passover (Exod. xii. 43-49) appointed one law unto him that was home-born, and to the stranger that sojourned among them, in case he wished to eat the Passover. But he was not bound to eat it, and in that case he cast in his lot rather with the foreigner and the hired servants who were not to eat of it.

(4.) The burnt-offering for the day of Pentecost is not the same in Lev. xxiii. 18 and in Num. xxviii. 27. Nor ought it to be ; for any one who reads these two chapters attentively ought to see that while they describe the same cycle of holy days, they describe them from different points of view, and, therefore, they frequently diverge in their descriptions. On some of these days there were cumulative services. For instance, Num. xxix. 1-6 describes the special sacrifices for the first day of the seventh month, resembling, yet not identical with, those for the first day of every month, which are expressly said to be offered besides ;

and in ver. 7-11 it describes the sacrifices for the day of atonement, among other things, with a kid of the goats for a sin-offering, which again is expressly said to be besides the sin-offering of atonement of which we read in Lev. xvi. So I do not doubt that the Pentecostal service in Num. xxviii. 26-31 belongs to the day as the second of the three great feasts or solemn assemblies, and is distinct from the similar sacrificial service in Lev. xxiii. 15-21, which accompanied the presentation of the two wave-loaves—the first-fruits of the *finished* harvest. I am confirmed in this belief by the fact that the preceding verses (ver. 9-14) describe the sacrifice which accompanied the wave-sheaf—that is, the first-fruits of the harvest *commenced*, at the Pass-over time at the first of the three great feasts, a sacrificial service of which no notice is taken in Num. xxviii., as might be expected from the structure of that passage.

(5.) The last instance is: “In Exod. xiii. 11-13 a law is given, that after the people enter Canaan the firstling of an ass must be redeemed with a sheep, or else killed. But before the wilderness journey is over, and before the law has ever been put in force, the ordinance is changed (Lev. xxvii. 27 ; Num. xviii. 15), and it is provided that the firstling of an animal not fit for sacrifice shall either be bought back by the owner at the priest’s valuation, or, failing this, shall be sold by the latter.” No contradiction can be imagined between the laws in Exodus and Numbers ; even modification seems to me quite improbable, the latter passage simply mentioning an unclean beast in general, instead of specifying an ass, and not taking notice of the alternative of breaking its neck, instead of redeeming it. Redeeming an unclean animal was

the general rule ; both Exodus and Numbers direct this in that case, as well as in the case of the first-born of men ; but Exodus names a lamb (under which word a kid may be included, according to the usage of the Hebrew language), the commonest sacrifice, as that which was to be the ransom ; and Leviticus says nothing to the contrary, but puts in the caveat that the priest was to estimate the value of it, since there are lambs and lambs. The modification, therefore, amounts to this, that when the laws relating to a regular sanctuary and an organised priesthood came into operation subsequent to the date of the law in Exodus, the priests had the right to see that the ransom in this, as in other cases, was not illusory ; and further, that in case the owner did not agree to the priest's estimate, the animal was to be sold, instead of having its neck broken. This was surely a most natural arrangement, and one which is provided for in several cases in Lev. xxvii., which may fairly be regarded as specimens of the application of a principle. Even if there had been no express law, the lawfulness of such a commutation of the death of the animal into a payment might almost have been taken for granted ; it was expressly permitted in a case of forfeiture of a man's life (Exod. xxi. 30), only murder and manslaughter being excluded from its operation (Num. xxxv. 31). Nor do I attach any weight to the difficulty suggested, that this modification takes place " before the wilderness journey is over, and before the law has ever been put in force." For here again we may have an illustration of the truth, that God would have His law commend itself to the understandings and consciences of His people ; and though it had not been put in force, yet during these years of wandering I believe

that Moses and his assistants were diligently teaching the young generation, the hope of Israel, what the laws were, and that they encouraged them to think about these laws, and to ask questions about their operation.

I am sorry to tax the patience of my reader with what I may well call “tedious particulars,” to borrow an expression from Professor Smith (p. 39); but it is only by going over each of these selected instances in pp. 17, 18 that I can meet the impression conveyed by the paragraph. When the examination of these difficulties conducts me naturally to the result of perfect compatibility and harmony, the impression on my mind is, that this harmony, observed in consequence of closer examination, is a new and powerful evidence in favour of the old belief that all the legislation is the work of Moses; and that its alleged “varying ordinances, frequent repetitions, and apparent contradictions” (p. 19), are the vouchers to a thoughtful and unprejudiced mind that the interlaced history and legislation could scarcely have come into existence, except as the entire Jewish and Christian Churches have believed until quite recently.* I say a thoughtful and unprejudiced mind, for I am perplexed by the mention of a “criticism which started with no theological purpose, which argues solely on historical and philological grounds” (p. 19). That this is the case with individual critics, I do rejoice to believe; but I look on them as the exception, unless I were to understand the words with an inuendo (which I do not), that the critics started with no theological purpose,

* See, for instance, how the legislation for heiresses expanded (Num. xxvii. 1-11, and xxxvi. 1-12); and for keeping the Passover (Exod. xii.; Num. ix. 1-5, 6-14).

because they disbelieved in all theology, and despised it or hated it. Nothing seems to me better established in the history of that “higher criticism,” which has exerted vast influence in Germany for a century, since Koppe denied the authenticity of the latter half of Isaiah, and Semler published his free investigations into the Canon, than its basis in the denial of supernatural religion, whatever industry and learning have been called into exercise for its support from history and philology. I have not a doubt that Professor Smith and some others are as free from this tendency as myself; but though their criticism has shaken off the deadly malady, I have my fears that it has inherited secondary symptoms, though I hope these may yet disappear.

MOSES ASSUMED NOT TO BE THE WRITER OF THE PENTATEUCH.

“The present controversy turns directly on the date of the several parts of the Pentateuchal law. But it is proper to observe that, as matter of history, the earliest question discussed by critics was not whether all the laws as laws go back to Moses, but whether the Torah or Pentateuch, in its present form, is the work of a single author, and whether that author is Moses. And on this preliminary question scientific inquiry has led to conclusions which are no longer matter of dispute among scholars, which are accepted by Hebraists of every school in our own country as well as abroad, and from which, I imagine, no continental Hebraist, known to the world of letters, now dissents, with the exception of Talmudical Jews, Roman Catholics, and Keil, who is the surviving representative in Germany of the school of Hengstenberg and Hävernick, to which many in our country still adhere” (p. 20).

On the adjustment of the terms of this “preliminary question,” I have something to say afterwards; but it is quite reasonable that Professor Smith should

remind the community how many authorities take the same side as himself. It is right, however, to supplement his statement. (1.) At least a vast proportion of the prominent scholars to whom he can point are open unbelievers, whose arguments on all subjects connected with Scripture, he would admit as readily as myself, are to be scanned with care, if not with suspicion, by a believer. Accordingly, he excepts Talmudical Jews—that is, he has the support of the Jews who, refusing Christianity, have yet cast off their own ancestral faith, Talmud and Scripture alike, and are Pantheists or Deists. He excepts Roman Catholics, whose Church connexion involves their reverence for Scripture, and their belief in it. He claims orthodox Protestant scholars, like Delitzsch and Kurtz, whose position I shall explain later ; he himself refers to it more precisely at p. 25. And if there be a want of “continental Hebraists known to the world of letters” to uphold the ancient view, I suspect the reason is either the unsatisfactory state of matters which I am about to mention, or else the conviction of believing men that they may be content with what “the school of Hengstenberg and Hävernick” have achieved, while they give themselves to the pressing practical work of the Church in Germany. I do not say that they are wise to leave critical studies so much to others ; but any one who has known the weariness of studying volumes of doubtful speculations and verbal analyses on these subjects, may sympathise with those who think that enough has been done to satisfy them, and who, therefore, turn to more urgent duties in fields which promise far richer spiritual results. (2.) The testimony of so-called “Protestant” scholars (p. 23) comes largely from men who are inside the Churches of

Germany and Holland, only because these Churches comprehend the population generally, exclusive of Roman Catholics, Jews, anti-Christian Socialists, and minute bodies of dissenters. The professorships are filled by men appointed by the Government, generally men of literary eminence, but whose appointment was made without any regard to their spiritual insight ; so that an eminent theological professor often has been an utter stranger to the Gospel of Christ, and a bitter enemy of what we understand by revealed religion. Men who receive the Scriptures as the Word of God and men who reject them in this character will almost certainly handle exegetical and critical questions in ways that will lead each to regard the other as misled by prejudices. I rejoice in the confident conviction that there are believing critics among those who do not acknowledge the Pentateuch to be the work of Moses ; but, on the other hand, I know that it is impossible for any unbelieving critic to accept it as the work of Moses. (3.) Even believing men in the German Churches (of which I speak with the strongest affection and the deepest sympathy) are exposed to the temptation to take a lower view of the Old Testament than Professor Smith and I can take, because they so often assign a place to the Apocryphal books, not exactly inside it, as Roman Catholics do, but yet not clearly on the outside of it ; and thus their notions of what is implied in acceptance of these Scriptures as the Word of God cannot be satisfactory to us. So that it is premature when he thinks that he might at this point "turn from the theological aspects of the question to the evidence of Biblical facts" (p. 20) ; for this evidence is affected by the theology of those who estimate it, even as in civil and criminal cases it is

seen that the individuality of the judge affects his estimate of evidence. The current of thinking at the present day runs very much in directions which more or less favour Professor Smith's views, and by this current I have no doubt that he is influenced unconsciously and with perfect honesty, even as he may, perhaps, think that I labour under influences of an opposite kind. It is not in theology alone that I see this current toward attributing too much to speculations of the energetic and well-read critic, who is charmed with some supposed incidental confirmation of his views, which confirmation, just because it is incidental, seems to him of much greater value than the commonly received statements which he rejects as things lying on the surface. Thus in pp. 46, 47 the plain historical testimony of Chronicles to the descent of Zadok and Abiathar from Eleazar and Ithamar, which would be fatal to his speculations, is set aside as meaning only that they belonged to the higher and lower guilds of priests ; and the testimonies of the book of Joshua are very generally set aside by assumptions of interpolated texts and successive authors, all whose works are mixed up in the present form of that book (see in pp. 86, 87). In fact, anything like historical theology in the Old Testament becomes an impossibility on the new critical principles ; because, not to speak of comparatively smaller matters, instead of accepting the Pentateuch, the books of Isaiah, Zechariah, Daniel, and the historical books, as what to most eyes they still seem to be, and what they have from time immemorial been accepted as being, recent criticism has cut them up into shreds, or entirely altered their date of composition on account of preconceptions as to the time at which they ought to have been written. And this

criticism has such unbounded confidence in itself that even Professor Smith has not been able to keep himself free of it. Such phrases occur frequently as “would not have been possible,” “it is plain, then,” “of course” (p. 21); “the universal consent of those who have a right to speak,” “it is plain,” “it is impossible to defend” (p. 25); “the meaning of this passage plainly is” (p. 48); “how futile is the ordinary interpretation” (p. 49), &c. I should be afraid to say a word against the arguments in an interesting pamphlet which bristles with these and other similar expressions, meant, I suppose, for offence or defence as may be necessary, were there not other passages which indicate that the links in the chain of proof are of varying strength; “it is quite conceivable . . . it is very probable . . . it is hardly to be thought . . . we have found distinct evidence . . . the other books exhibit indications” (pp. 26, 27).

I am forced to express my very serious doubts, in fact my disbelief, of all the three positions which are admitted by so many, that he feels warranted in taking them for granted. So far as I can form a judgment, none of them is true, in any sense valid for the argument based upon them; and when the present epidemic among the critics has passed away, I believe that this will be acknowledged.

The *first* supposed truth now admitted is “that the first four books of the Pentateuch do not profess to be written by Moses, though we read that from time to time he was commanded to record some particular precepts or facts” (p. 20). I continue to think that the most natural rendering of Exod. xvii. 14 is, “The Lord said unto Moses, write this for a memorial in *the* book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua:” though

even the rendering “*a book*” leads me to ask, what book if not that which he was composing, and which became our Pentateuch? Of the act of writing this work, I get glimpses in the particular passages to which he refers: he thinks the writing by Moses is to be restricted to these individual places; I think the special naming of this, on special occasions, indicates Moses’ habit, so that evidence is required to show that his hand is to be excluded from any passage. And this, I think, is confirmed by passages such as Lev. xxvii. 34 ; Num. xxxvi. 13. I am not aware who of the adherents of the traditional view have doubted that the account of his death and burial is not from his own hand. How much is thus to be held the work of an editor is a matter of probable evidence. The oldest Jewish tradition already excludes these closing verses; many go further back to chap. xxxi, yet holding that the song and the blessing of Moses are truly his, though attached to the book by his editor. Some give to this editor such functions as that of inserting the name of Dan at Deut. xxxiv. 1 and Gen xiv. 14, and making geographical and historical notes in a few inserted clauses for the sake of plainness; some allow him much greater liberty. Nor do I know of anything but probable evidence; I know, indeed, of nothing but conjecture to guide us here, and, if I spoke at all upon the subject, I should like to speak with much diffidence and reverence. But I understand Professor Smith to make the broad distinction that is generally made between the first four books and the fifth, that on the face of it the last book does profess to be written by Moses with a directness which is not found in the first four: and he separates it emphatically from them as a book, or its legislative portion at least as a law-book quite

distinct from them, whereas I connect them, and thus I indirectly attribute to the first four books what is said directly of the authorship of the fifth. I wholly reject his statement that “the first verse of the book, as it now stands, tells us that Moses spoke ‘on the other side of Jordan from that on which the verse was written.’” Not that I think our authorised version quite free from blame in its rendering of the same Hebrew phrase sometimes “on this side of Jordan,” sometimes “on the other side Jordan,” according to their notion of the meaning intended, though I think he attaches importance to it here and at p. 27, while I attach none. I suppose the phrase means simply “across the Jordan,” and it was used by Moses sometimes of the eastern and sometimes of the western side according to circumstances easily intelligible by his readers or hearers, according as he had in his mind their physical position to the east of Jordan, or their ideal position in the proper land of Canaan to the west of it, the land in which their forefathers lived, and to which all their thoughts and aspirations turned as that which was now to be their home.* I dissent also from his views of the meaning and use of *Torah*. “In the foregoing books *Torah* does not mean a law-book, or a body of laws, but an individual revelation (literally, *instruction*), or a legislative prescription on one definite subject. In Deuteronomy, again, the expression ‘this *Torah*’ occurs very frequently, and is manifestly used throughout in one consistent sense of the body of instruction conveyed by Moses to the people in his last speech, without reference to any previous law or

* See it used for the western side, chap. iii. 20, 25; xi. 30; and for the eastern side, chap. iii. 8; and see it used in first the one sense and then the other, in Num. xxxii. 19.

laws ; “ see chaps. i. 5 ; iv. 8 ; iv. 44 ” (pp. 20, 21). The etymology of the word certainly suggests the meaning “ that which will instruct ; ” and this name is most beautiful and appropriate, as pointing out the characteristic of the law of God, that it combines authority with instruction ; but nothing can be more definite than the use of the word for “ law,” so that I recollect of no case where it means instruction merely. “ The *book of the law* ” is also certainly mentioned several times in Deut. xxviii.-xxxii., and not earlier, because the middle books present this law to us only in process of formation. But they do employ the word in a pretty wide sense, as in Lev. vii. 37 for the whole matter of chaps. i.-vii., and Lev. xiv. 54-57 for the whole matter of the two long chaps. xiii. and xiv. In cases where the expression occurs, “ this is the ordinance of the law which the Lord hath commanded,” or “ commanded Moses ” (Num. xix. 2; xxxi. 21), I see nothing so natural as to apply the term “ ordinance ” to the particular enactment, and the term “ law ” to the whole body of laws given through Moses. When it is said “ one law shall be to him that is home-born and unto the stranger that sojourneth among you ” (Exod. xii. 49; see also Num. xv. 16, 29), I prefer to understand it of the whole system of jurisprudence, of which particular instances are given. And the meaning, the whole authoritative instruction which God was about to give, appears to me to occur in Exod. xiii. 9, “ That the Lord’s law may be in thy mouth ; ” and in Exod. xvi. 4, “ That I may prove them, whether they will walk in my law or no.”

Then, again, I differ entirely from his opinion that in Deuteronomy “ ‘ Torah ’ is manifestly used *throughout in one consistent sense* of the body of instruction

conveyed by Moses to the people in his last speech, *without reference to any previous law or laws*" (p. 21), on which he insists again (pp. 35, 40). I think the references to both the earlier history and the earlier laws come up repeatedly, and that the book is unintelligible unless the historical and legislative substance of the other books (whether in written form, as I suppose, or, possibly, in unwritten form, though soon to be in writing) is taken for granted, as already known. Of this I see an example in a fact mentioned by himself (p. 23), though, in my opinion, he draws an erroneous inference from it, that the law of manslaughter is incomplete, "inasmuch as Deuteronomy says nothing about remaining in the city of refuge till the death of the high priest;" he might have added, nor about remaining there at all, so that if this had been the whole law, he might have returned to his own home immediately after being acquitted of murder. The very words (chap. i. 5), that "Moses began to *declare* this law," point to an explanation and enforcement of the law already known, as is the meaning of the peculiar word here rendered "declare," which, at chap. xxvii. 8, is represented in the English Bible by the adverb "plainly." I know of no reason for saying, "it is plain that the Deuteronomic Torah originally formed a book by itself" (p. 21), in any other sense than Genesis; or, perhaps, than any of the three middle books; and just as little reason for an earlier sentence, that, at the Feast of Tabernacles, in the Sabbath-year, "to read the whole Pentateuch would not have been possible;" for I think that Ezra and his companions did so (Neh. vii. 73; viii. 1-3, 13-18). I may afterwards have cause for explaining why I cannot even accept his statement that "this law" is used

throughout Deuteronomy in the one consistent sense stated by him here.

The *second* admission which I cannot make is, “that the hand which wrote down the Deuteronomic legislation cannot have composed the four other books” (p. 22). The argument from difference in a man’s style (though I hold that there are evidences of the unity of style) is most precarious, as endless examples show, not only in common authors, but in the case of an inspired author, as, I suppose, Professor Smith holds with me in reference to the Gospel of John and the Book of Revelation. And it is not difference of time alone, or chiefly, between the composition of the first four books of the Pentateuch and the fifth that is relied on when we explain the difference of style, but it is the difference of their character : the first four are a history, with the legislation interwoven that was associated with all its windings ; the fifth is like poetry after prose, a lofty style of rhetorical exhortation by the dying prophet, varying from his previous words, as the dying words of Jacob in Gen. xlix. vary from his earlier words. This consideration fully covers all that is presented of difference between the tone or language in Num. xxxv. and Deut. xix. on the subject of the cities of refuge ; not to say that a popular book upon the system of law in any country would often avoid the technical language of the laws themselves, for the sake either of plainness or of greater impression.

To my mind, a particularly instructive instance of the errors into which recent criticism has led men is afforded by the following passage. He points out that it is not enough to appeal to lapse of time as affecting a change in a man’s style, since “the last chapters of Numbers, which were not written before the fortieth

year of the wandering, are as different from Deuteronomy as any part of Exodus or Leviticus, and, in points of style, agree with the latter against the former. *For example, Deuteronomy always speaks of the mountain of the law as Horeb, and Sinai occurs only in the poetical passage, xxxiii. 2. But in the other four books we always hear of the law as given at Sinai;*" adding a note that Horeb is named in Exod. iii. 1; xvii. 6; xxxiii. 6. "And so we find Sinai and not Horeb in Num. xxvi. 64 and xxviii. 6, passages which were not written more than a few weeks before the last speech of Moses" (p. 22). This difference in the use of the names Sinai and Horeb is too obvious to have escaped notice, and it has been often turned to the account of the critical hypothesis, different words being pronounced the indication of different authors; while the three passages mentioned in Professor Smith's note, in which Horeb occurs in Exodus, are attributed to a writer other than the principal author of the book. But is there no better explanation than this clumsy one of inventing as many authors as will meet the apparently varying phenomena? Gesenius, no bigot to evangelical or traditional views, looked to a geographical solution, and supposed that Sinai might be the name of the whole mountain range, while Horeb was the name of the individual mountain from which the law was given. Others followed him in this explanation; only, an examination of the texts led Hengstenberg to invert the suggested meanings, to make Horeb the comprehensive name, and Sinai the particular mountain. His argument met with the approval of others; among the rest, of the greatest of the authorities in this century on subjects of Biblical geography, Dr. Edward Robinson

(“Biblical Researches,” vol. i. pp. 120, 591), after he had inclined to the opposite view. The reasons may be arranged under three classes:—(1.) Sinai is the name used while the Israelites were upon the very spot—that is, from Exod. xix. 11 to Num. iii. 1; whereas Horeb is the term used in the recapitulation in Deuteronomy.* Now, a person writing just under the shadow of a famous mountain would naturally use its own individual name, although if he wrote at a distance from it, and after a considerable time, perhaps in old age, giving a general description, he might be ready enough to employ the word for the mountain range to which this peak belonged. Moreover, we have Sinai mentioned so early as Exod. xix. 1, 2, and on so far as to Num. x. 12, where the breaking up of the camp, and the first march toward Canaan are described; but in these texts it occurs in a phrase of somewhat more extensive geographical signification—“the wilderness of Sinai,” though still meaning a comparatively limited district, in which this mountain was prominent; on the other hand, “the wilderness of Horeb” is a phrase which never occurs. After the march from the wilderness of Sinai took place, the name is met with only thrice. Two of these cases are no exceptions, being this phrase, “the wilderness of Sinai,” in the list of the encampments (Num. xxxiii. 15), and in a census made by Moses and Aaron on the spot (Num. xxvi. 64); “the wilderness of Horeb,” I have said, is never used. The only remaining case is in Num. xxviii. 6, at the head of

* The only time that Sinai is named in Deuteronomy is in the Song of Moses (chap. xxxiii. 2); and it is the very nature of a song to individualise and present vividly the scenery which it mentions. In fact, so many spots are named together in that verse that Horeb would not have been a sufficiently distinctive name.

the list of the sacrifices for the several appointed sacred seasons—"It is a continual burnt-offering, which was ordained in mount Sinai for a sweet savour"—where the precision of the nomenclature is quite intelligible; in truth, Moses was using language about the universal laws for sacrifices which might have become a stereotyped phrase in his mind, and in the minds of the people. The same geographical precision was required in one still earlier passage, Exod. xvi. 1—"The wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai." (2.) Horeb is used in the middle books only the three times mentioned in Professor Smith's note; and all of them are peculiar, suitable on the supposition that Horeb means the mountain ridge, and not a single peak. At the time he was about to see the burning bush (Exod. iii. 1), Moses "came to the mount of God [even] to Horeb;" or, as I should render it literally, he "came to the mountain of God Horeb-ward"—that is, in the direction of Horeb, for Horeb need not be identified with the sacred peak, but was that range in the direction of which Moses came, till he was led to Sinai; for, according to ver. 12 ("ye shall serve God upon this mountain"), the mountain on which he saw the burning bush was the mountain on which God met with His people. Again, Exod. xvii. 6—"Behold I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb," &c.; for the water was brought forth on this occasion from the smitten rock while the Israelites were encamped in Rephidim, ver. 1, which was the encampment preceding that in the wilderness of Sinai (chap. xix. 2). The third instance is not so remarkable as these two, but fits in well with the meaning of Horeb as a mass or group of mountains: Exod. xxxiii. 6—"And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount

Horeb." The preposition in the Hebrew is peculiar, "*from* the mount Horeb." If it means from this time and onwards in their journey through the wilderness, as it is often understood, it falls in exactly with what I said of the use of the more comprehensive or indefinite term when looking back from a distance, in respect of both place and time; if it means that they retired from Mount Horeb in such a spirit as is described in Zech. xii. 12, 13, speaking of a deep and universal mourning in a time of remarkable repentance, "every family apart, and their wives apart," the statement would be, that they retired from the whole group of mountains. (3.) There is a difference in the use of the prepositions with Sinai and Horeb. In Exod. xvii. 6, Jehovah says, "Behold I will stand *upon* the rock *in* Horeb;" that is, upon the particular spot in the district called Horeb. And it is this preposition *in* (now and then needlessly altered to *at* in the Authorised Version), which is used with Horeb, not only here, but also I believe uniformly in Deuteronomy, except, of course, chap. i. 2, 19, where *from* is used on account of a different construction. And I think the same is true of all the later passages in which Horeb is mentioned (1 Kings viii. 9; 2 Chron. v. 10; Ps. cxi. 19; Mal. iv. 4); always excepting 1 Kings xix. 8, "unto Horeb the mount of God," more exactly, "up to the mount of God, Horeb-ward," as in Exod. iii. 1. On the other hand, Sinai stands connected with several prepositions: *in* and *from*, like Horeb, and *to*; but especially *upon* (Exod. xix. 11, 18, 20; xxiv. 16), describing the descent of Jehovah, and the resting of the symbol of His presence upon that peak from which the law was given. This preposition *upon* is also connected with Sinai in Neh. ix. 13, the only passage

of the later books in which Sinai is mentioned, except Judges v. 5 and Ps. lxviii. 8, 17, passages intimately related to that already noticed in the Song of Moses. I have dwelt upon this matter of Sinai and Horeb, because it is one specimen (necessarily a full discussion) of the way in which alleged critical difficulties may become, by careful investigation, the evidence of a single writer intentionally altering his phraseology to suit his subject ; and yet, the intention is very slight, such as would be found only in a writer thoroughly familiar with the facts as well as the words.

“There is a *third* point on which Protestant scholars are agreed—namely, that more than one hand was engaged on the earlier books, that from Genesis to Numbers, we can trace at least two distinct streams of parallel narrative” (p. 23). I am sorry to be again unable to accept “the consensus of scholarship on this head.” It is not only on account of the very natural observation which he records, “that critics differ much among themselves in their attempts to dissect the constituent narratives out of the present complex structure of the books ;” though I look on their hopeless disagreements as a very much more serious stumbling-block than he does, in the way of submitting to the guidance of the critical faculty. It is not that I would attempt to silence the critics of the authorship of the Homeric poems : but it is impossible to draw any parallel between critical procedure about Homer, of whom we practically know nothing, and Moses, of whose history, mission, and legislation Professor Smith and I are quite agreed that we are abundantly well informed ; whilst I hold in addition, that his book of history and legislation was written down to be the rule of Israel’s guidance,

as a theocracy, and read to the assembled people every seventh year, in circumstances the most favourable for securing leisure and reverent attention. It is not that I deny that their process of vivisection has tortured the text into yielding some curious results, which are worth studying; but it is that these results do not bring me one whit nearer the desired result, belief in a varied authorship through successive ages. They do show different lines of thought appearing and reappearing, so that the critics group together the passages in which these thoughts predominate, and attribute them to different writers, as one might dissect a history of England, at the frightful expense of time and energy, and acumen, which have been expended on the Pentateuch, and might attribute the military and the civil history to different writers, with various interpolations by old admirals, and writers on social questions, and parliamentary orators, and political parsons. And instead of calling these imaginary writers 1, 2, 3, &c., we might give names to them, which would be a great deal more vivid, and more easily remembered, and might aid the pleasing illusion that these creations of our own fancy had once actually existed, like the innumerable individuals, nymphs, and fauns, &c., of Greek mythology. So there is no doubt that we might trace through Scripture the two great things which it principally teaches—namely, what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man; and if, after a prodigious outlay of labour, we made out a more theological and a more humanistic series of passages, with certain words and phrases which might be said to characterise them respectively (as some such words and phrases would certainly recur when the cognate ideas recurred and

must be expressed), I dare say as much could be said for more than one hand and for two streams of parallel narrative as at present. The alleged parallel narratives, beginning with the first and second chapters of Genesis, will seem to certain minds the proof of two authors, to others they will be no proof of this at all ; I avow that I belong to the latter class, and that in this particular instance the passage, Gen. i.-ii. 3, presents itself to me as the general introduction to the whole Pentateuch or Bible, the basis of all God's revelations to man ; while chap. ii. 4-25 is the history of the creation of man linked on to the account of his fall and the promise of redemption by many similarities in language and arrangement. Any other so-called parallel narratives that I have seen adduced seem to me equally far from being evidence of different authorship ; sometimes, as in the case of the two accounts of Esau's wives—an instance the more favourite on account of different names being given to them (Gen. xxvi. 34 ; xxviii. 9 ; and xxxvi. 2, 3)—a part of the critics themselves refer the whole to that "fundamental document," which it is now proposed to designate **Q.** The writer of it used to be very generally styled the Elohist, a barbarous term formed upon *Elohim*, the Hebrew name for God ; while the supplementer,* or the chief of them, was styled the Jehovahist, on account of his preference for that Divine name, which we pronounce Jehovah ; and a justification of the distinction was found in Exod. vi. 2, 3. For the hypothesis was something of this sort, that the Elohist had written a history of the

* I do not trouble my readers with the minor question, whether this writer was a supplementer or an independent historian, on which point critics have differed long and much.

patriarchs, in which Elohim was the name applied to God, because, in his opinion, the name Jehovah, as that of the covenant God of Israel, was unknown until it was revealed to Moses at the burning bush ; so that any passage earlier than Exod. vi. 2, in which the name Jehovah occurs, is an interpolation by another hand, that of the Jehovahist. If anything in criticism seems to me clearly established, it is that this is a hallucination ; that the name Jehovah was earlier in use ; that the writer never meant to say that the vocable Jehovah was then for the first time made known ; and that he gives direct proof to the contrary, as when in a thoroughly "Elohistic" passage (Gen. xvii. 1), it is written—"Jehovah appeared to Abram, and said unto him, I am the Almighty *God*; walk before me, and be thou perfect." When it is added, "But this criterion is only one of many others which are altogether unmistakable" (p. 25), I can only reply, with as much modesty as is compatible with firmness, that to my mind these others are as unsatisfactory or unfounded as this one ; that the sum of even a number of worthless criteria would still be of little worth ; and that, I suspect, their number is alluded to rather in a rhetorical way, than with cool logical accuracy.

It is, however, a speculative question, on which men have differed, and are likely to differ still, whether there is anything to indicate the work of more hands than one in the composition of the Pentateuch. Delitzsch, with whom, I suppose, that also Kurtz may be classed, thinks that there is a prophetic hand visible in those passages which are called Jehovahistic, and the hand of a priestly annalist in those which are called Elohistic ; he thinks that Deuteronomy was written

strictly by the hand of Moses, but that the laws in the middle books had been given only in an oral form by Moses, and were reduced to writing by the priests, one of whom, say Eleazar, was the Elohist of the critics ; while Joshua, or one of the elders on whom the spirit bestowed on Moses rested (Num. xi. 25), incorporated Deuteronomy with Eleazar's work, and gave us our present Pentateuch. Such a hypothesis does not commend itself to my mind ; it is to me the evidence of the strength of the present current of criticism, but not any evidence that it runs in a right direction. But I do not agree with Professor Smith's classification (p. 25), as if this left mere questions of detail between Delitzsch and the great body of recent critics. On the contrary, I think that Delitzsch is essentially opposed to them, for he holds, as I do, that the Pentateuch lies at the beginning or foundation of Israel's history—that it is the key to the history and the cause of it ; whereas they look on the Pentateuch as the outcome and result of that history. I grant willingly, as I have said before, that while the vast majority of the critics look on this result as a natural process, the conviction of Professor Smith and some others is, that the process was supernatural ; and in this all-important respect he is at one with me, and essentially opposed to the mass of the critics. But I wish the reader to observe, a man may hold that there are the hands of two writers in the Pentateuch, and yet hold that Moses is strictly the author. This opinion was suggested as a possibility or probability by Witsius, one of the noblest theologians of whom the Reformed Church can boast. He had to deal in the end of the seventeenth century with the first feeble assaults of criticism upon the Mosaic authorship

—assaults delivered under the influence of Hobbes' Deism and Spinoza's Pantheism ; which he repelled so vigorously that some of the assailants retracted their opinions, and the controversy ceased for nearly a hundred years. He suggested that Moses might have drawn upon records preserved among the repositories of the patriarchs. If any one says that Moses enlarged, adjusted, and continued a patriarchal history already written down, he differs from the commoner "traditional" opinion only in this, that the latter rather supposes the patriarchs had handed down the remembrance of God's dealings by word of mouth. In this case, Moses himself would be the supplementer or editor of the original narrative. If people like to go on conjecturing, occupying a field where there is plenty of room for all, because there are no known facts to hamper them, they may attribute the writing down of the laws in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers to as many priests or other assistants of Moses as they please, all being done under his direction, and with or without perceptible differences of style, according to the sharpness of the critic's eye, and the nature of the medium through which he views the object ; while he reserves Deuteronomy for the pen of Moses himself. And thus in endless ways the suggestion sketched by Witsius may be shaded off; and touched up, and more or less highly coloured, till it comes to be very much the hypothesis of Delitzsch or Kurtz.

INVESTIGATION INTO THE RELATION OF THE SUPPOSED COMPONENT PARTS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

Having given the name of **Q** to the supposed "document which originally formed a separate book, and which has been preserved almost entire, though pas-

sages from other documents or supplementary statements by a later hand, now come in to break its continuity" (p. 24), it only remains to use **D** for shortness to denote Deuteronomy, or, I suppose, rather the Deuteronomic law-book, and to add **S** (the first letter of the phrase "Sinaitic covenant") as the designation of the book which Moses wrote on occasion of making the covenant at Sinai, and called "the Book of the Covenant" (Exod. xxiv. 7), "generally held to embrace all the laws in Exod. xx.-xxiii." (p. 26). Much patient and ingenious labour is then expended on investigating the relation in which these stand to one another, the general result being that **S** is the original law, and that the other two are developments from it, which differ so that they cannot have proceeded from the same author, and apparently so that **D** stands nearer **S** than **Q** does. Many of these details present few features of interest, comparatively speaking, to those who reject his three assumptions with which I have been dealing, and who hold that, instead of Deuteronomy standing alone, it manifestly refers to a previous legislation, which it assumes to be known and recognised as authoritative, and which it does not repeat at length, but only enforces by exhortations, warnings, and promises, together with a few additions and adaptations, whilst it brings out the essence of the law, which pervades the individual statutes—namely, love (Matt. xxii. 34-40; Rom. xiii. 8-10). This principle had been already announced in its twofold form, of love to God and love to man (Exod. xx. 6; Lev. xix. 17, 18); but the fuller and more prominent statement of it belongs to the final address of Moses as the great prophet of the theocracy, opening up and enforcing the principles of the law, and connecting this love in

us with God's love to us. To one who holds the views I have expressed, there is very little meaning in pp. 25-27. If the assertion in p. 27—"Any one who has taken the trouble to compare the parallel laws in different parts of the Torah must have been struck by the want of references from later passages back to earlier ones"—means that there are no formal references such as one of our Acts of Parliament makes to earlier statutes for the purpose of amending, extending, or repealing them, I think I should have been struck only if such references did exist; if it means, as the next sentence contrasting the middle books with Deuteronomy possibly suggests, that there is more of this reference among the laws of the middle books than there is in Deuteronomy, which is therefore to stand alone, as is insisted on in p. 28, I cannot admit that the statement is correct. The variation of the technical terms in Deuteronomy from those in the middle books has been noticed already under his second assumption (p. 33). Besides the "cities of refuge," of which he spoke then, and the "year of release" (Deut. xv. 1-11), which is sufficiently plain in itself to need no explanation, and which eminently suits the character of the book as bringing out that love which is the fulfilling of the law, and which is seen in its being placed alongside of the law of setting servants free in the seventh year,*—he names one other, from which we may estimate the value of the "similar variations in legal expressions" which "might be multiplied almost without number." "The feast of Pentecost is called the feast of harvest in **S** (Exod. xxiii. 16), the day of first-fruits in **Q** (Num. xxviii. 26), and the feast of

* Observe, also, the principle of love brought out in the statement of this law (ver. 12-18) compared with Exod. xxi. 1-6.

weeks in Exod. xxxiv. 22 and Deut. xvi. 10" (p. 27). I suppose that the feast of weeks, seven times seven, is just Pentecost, the fiftieth day. The passage in Numbers is a list of the days of special offering ; and the reason is obvious why this day should there be named, not from its chronological relation to the Passover, but from the character of the offering that day, the first-fruits of the completed harvest ; as in the same list the common terms "day of atonement" and "feast of tabernacles" do not occur, though the days are spoken of particularly. In the somewhat analogous list of the holy convocations (Lev. xxiii. 15-21) this feast is described by both of the characteristic marks—the numbering of fifty days, and the presentation of the first-fruits ; yet neither the one name nor the other is actually given to it. In Exod. xxiii. 16 the expression is "the feast of harvest, the first-fruits of thy labours which thou hast sown in the field," both names being used ; and in Exod. xxxiv. 22, which, I suppose, is universally held to be most intimately connected with the preceding passage, it is "the feast of weeks, the first-fruits of wheat harvest"—that is, it has one of the two names used in Exod. xxiii. 16, which is the name in Num. xxviii. 26, and also it has the name used in Deut. xvi. 10. What could more convincingly show that it is a mistake to tear the book of Deuteronomy in pieces, and to force upon one part of it the character of a code, and then say, "There is no point which a lawgiver is naturally more attentive to than the use of the same expressions in the same sense throughout his writings?" *

* So in the teaching of the New Testament Church by Paul we have the Lord's Supper, the breaking of bread, the communion, and I might almost add the eucharist, as different names for the same ordinance.

Further, it is to be remembered that those with whom I agree deny that in “the light of scholarship” “the language of **Q** does show that consistency which one expects in a lawgiver, and so does the language of **D**” (pp. 27, 28), because we do not admit what he alleges to be a fact to be clearly kept before us, “that **Q** and **D** were originally self-contained works,” and that “an entirely independent line of inquiry has established the original separate existence of two parts of the Pentateuch,” and “these systematic differences occur between two documents which are otherwise known to have been originally distinct publications” (pp. 29, 30). No man does know—no man can prove this. I have explained some of our reasons for believing in the unity of authorship ; and our conviction is, that the critics proceed by reasoning in a vicious circle, inferring the existence of different writers from peculiarities of thought and diction, and then starting from the assumption that these different writers existed, and proceeding to notice their several peculiarities.

We also entirely object to such statements as his, that “it is quite certain, from the expressions used in Deuteronomy itself, that **D** was not meant as a mere supplement to a book already in people’s hands, but as a self-contained system of Divine instruction (see especially xvii. 18 ; xxvii. 26 ; xxviii. 1, 58 ; xxix. 29 ; xxx. 10). It contains God’s renewed covenant with Israel (xxix. 1), by which the people are to live, and by which they are to be judged. Accordingly, its ordinances must have been meant to be intelligible, and to be an adequate guide to the people without any other written law” (p. 28). It is possible for us to concede to Delitzsch, as a hypothesis, that the law referred to may as yet have been unwritten, if the notes were

in the hands of those who were immediately to proceed to reduce it to writing ; but in the strongest language we assert that Deuteronomy, not even as Professor Smith breaks it up, is no code of laws ; no self-contained system of instruction ; no intelligible and adequate guide by itself. Something has already been said by me (pp. 31, 32) when commenting on his statements in pp. 20, 21. I now add that there are supplementary laws relating to matters suitable on the eve of the conquest and settlement in Canaan. For instance, the laws relating to war (chap. xx. ; xxi. 10-14 ; xxiii. 9-14) ; the eating of the fruits of one another's fields and vineyards (xxiii. 24, 25) ; the prohibition of groves and images [better, an asherah or a pillar] in worship, however usual these might be found in Canaan (xvi. 21, 22) ; which of the outside races were admissible to the congregation (xxiii. 1-8) ; various regulations about marriage, modesty, and purity, and filial submission (xxi. 15-21 ; xxii. 13-21 ; xxiv. 1-5 ; xxv. 1-12) ; on letting the slave who had escaped dwell safely among them (xxiii. 15, 16) ; on moderating punishments (xxv. 1-3) ; not even allowing a malefactor's body to hang all night on the tree (xxi. 22, 23) ; and prohibiting the death of parents for their children, or children for their parents (xxiv. 16) ; protecting the land from the consequences of undiscovered murder (xxi. 1-9) ; and caring for the welfare of the ox that trod out the corn, xxv. 4. In several of these, perhaps in almost all, we can trace that law of love which I have already described as the characteristic of this last exhortation by the mediator of the covenant ; I mentioned this as visible in the comparison of the laws for the Sabbath year and for a servant, in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and the same may be seen in other cases, as

in the law of gleaning (Lev. xix. 9, 10, and Deut. xxiv. 19-22); and in the law of teaching children, and writing down at home the words of God (Exod. xiii. 8, 9, 16, and Deut. vi. 3-9; xi. 18-22). The references to other laws are nowhere in the way of quotations; but I appeal to the convictions of the mass of devout readers of the Word of God, and I ask them whether the book of Deuteronomy does not imply a continuous reference both to the history and to the laws of the earlier books. The variations in little details of history, by no means amounting to contradictions, are like the variations in the mode of expressing the laws which are repeated; they impress me with the belief that no one but the original historian and the law-giver himself would have ventured to make them. For an example of this, take the account in Exodus and that in Deuteronomy of the giving of the laws from Mount Sinai, and the form of the Ten Commandments. His reference to chap. xxix. 1 in proof that **D** contains God's renewed covenant with Israel, seems to me an improbable assumption, if it is meant that this is a signature or subscription at the end of the original book (as I understand that he inclines to think,—see at the foot of p. 21); I take it to be the title of the chapter at the head of which it stands in the English Bible. And the other texts he quotes determine nothing in favour of either the Pentateuch or Deuteronomy alone, as meant by the expression "this law."* I think the whole Penta-

* Perhaps some think a smaller book than the Pentateuch is implied in the command to the king to write "a copy of this law" (xvii. 18). But where is the hardship of the king writing this, when later Judaism required every Jew to do so? And if the English rendering is given up for that of the Septuagint

teuch is also implied in such language as chap. iv. 14 : “And the Lord commanded me at that time [the day of giving the law at Horeb, ver. 10] to teach you statutes and judgments, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go over to possess it.” See also chap. vi. 17. I do not know how any intelligent believer can satisfy himself with the opinion that Deuteronomy was the only written law contemplated for Israel by the author ; the incompleteness of it, the arbitrary character of the contents of the supposed code, strike me as they strike very many—indeed, I think all whose minds are not preoccupied by a hypothesis. Professor Smith immediately explains that “it does not, indeed, contain a system of ceremonial ordinances for the priests, because it is meant for the whole people, who did not require to carry in their memories details which it fell to the priests to execute.” But his subsequent argument about sacrifices (pp. 64-66) gives a prominence to sacrifices, in some respects I think exaggerated, such as makes the omission of legislation in regard to them incredible to me. And, in fact, there are two side-pieces of legislation on the subject, though few will think that these could ever be intended to be the whole (chap. xvi. 21 ; xvii. 1)—the prohibition of cer-

translators, “he shall write this Deuteronomy,” this very name implies all that I contend for at present, the unity of this book with the preceding books, one law first given and now repeated. The appeal might have been made more plausibly to xxvii. 3, 8, to write upon the stones “all the words of this law.” Even here it is fair enough to think of the whole Pentateuch, considering the importance of the occasion, and the multitude of scribes at Joshua’s command ; but it is also quite fair to restrict it by the preceding words (ver. 1), “Keep all the commandments which I command you *this day.*”

tain idolatrous things about the altar, and of the presentation of anything blemished ; and chap. xii., which begins and ends with warnings against keeping up idolatrous worship, and encloses between these warnings the law of the one place of worship. Now there might well be instructions as to details of the sacrifices which were given to the priests, and not to the people—and this seems to be the case with Lev. vi. 8—vii. 36 (in Heb. vi. 1—vii. 36), out of the whole rule for the ritual, chaps. i.—vii. ; but it is a very different matter to have no rules at all about the sacrifices, though burnt-offerings, sacrifices [of peace-offerings ?], heave-offerings, free-will-offerings, and burning of incense are all named, as also are the three great feasts, without a word of the services connected with them. So far from the absence of all ritual being natural in this book, if it was meant to be an adequate guide to the whole people, the outlines, at least, of ritual were the very thing to be placed before them, which would be no burden to their memories, while priests and prophets might have been left to unfold its meaning as the people should be able to bear it. “The law of leprosy, for example, is not repeated, but the people are simply told (xxiv. 8) to follow in this matter the instructions of the priest” (p. 28). I should rather say they are very specially warned, though, of course, no one would expect the details of that long law (Lev. xiii., xiv.) to be repeated in this dying exhortation, “Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do *according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you; as I commanded them*, so ye shall observe to do.” That law was given to the priests (Lev. xiii. 1), and they were to teach the people at every changing phase of the

disease ; and to this the reference in Deuteronomy is as express as it could have been made, unless something was to be introduced like the modern quotation, by chapter and verse. Nor are the people "simply told to follow the instructions of the priests ;" but the reference to that law receives additional emphasis when they are pointed to the cognate case in history, the plague of leprosy which struck Miriam, and the execution of the law in her case, as recorded in Num. xii. "So also difficult questions of judgment are reserved for decision by the priests (xvii. 8) ; but the plain duties of life are complete in the book, and where it fails the appeal is not to another written law-book, but to the priests in person" (p. 28). I do not understand this statement. In chap. xvii. 8-13, I read of the priests the Levites, certainly, but they are coupled with the judge that shall be in those days, who must have had as much to do with the matter as they ; I should think from his name that he was the person to decide, and that they were his assessors and advisers, as it was their business to "teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses" (Lev. x. 11), as it is also said here (ver. 11), "according to the sentence of the law (*Torah*) which they shall teach thee." And since ver. 12 speaks of a person not hearkening unto "the priest that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God, nor unto the judge," it looks like a plain reference to Num. xxvii. 18-21, where we read of Joshua being appointed over Israel as successor to Moses, and Eleazar the priest being associated with him to ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim before the Lord, which was a privilege of the head of the state exclusively, as we

read in the histories of Saul and David.* “The plain duties of common life,” exclusive of all sacrificial worship (excepting what has been spoken of in chap. xii., xvi.), exclusive, indeed, of all acts of worship, never surely could be the equivalent of a book containing “God’s covenant with Israel, by which the people are to live, and by which they are to be judged.” Nor, according to the notions that pervade the revelation in the Old Testament, could we expect entire silence as to the uncleanness of birth (Lev. xii.), and the uncleanness of death (Num. xix.), however little might be said of ritual. And though, in a good sense, Deuteronomy contains a complete body of law for Israel, since I have said it brings out very prominently the two great principles of love to God and love to man, I cannot admit that these plain duties of life are complete if we take this book without its predecessors, as we ordinarily reckon them.

Starting, then, with this fundamental difference between Professor Smith and myself, I am not likely to find any obstacles to my faith in the laws of priests and Levites and of tithes, or some other minor difficulties which he urges. *First*, about priests and Levites (from p. 29 onwards) my conception of the laws differs continually from his. The tribe of Levi, as a whole, were consecrated to Jehovah (Exod. xxxii. 26-29) in connection with, or on account of, their

* This overlooking of the civil authorities occurs also in his speaking of the copy of the law at the side of the ark, as if it was placed under the exclusive care of the priests, both at p. 25 and at p. 32; whereas the priests and the elders of Israel were conjoined in this charge (Deut. xxxi. 9). Granting him that the priests proper alone could be entrusted with the book lying in the Holy of Holies, they would be bound at all times to produce it to their co-trustees.

faithfulness on the occasion of the sin of the golden calf ; the passage is general and comprehensive, and particulars must be looked for in later laws. It is the same in Deut. x. 8, 9, which also refers to that historical occasion, only various particulars of their service are named as examples, for, by this time, these services had been familiar to the Israelites for forty years ; but there is no distribution of these duties among different classes or ranks in the holy tribe, only the existence of these ranks is alluded to as a fixed ordinance (ver. 8)—“There Aaron died, and there he was buried ; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest’s office in his stead.” And all through **D** the difference of rank is assumed, since we read often of the priests the Levites, and again of the Levites simply ; of the whole tribe of Levi among the other tribes (xxvii. 12), and of a priest and a Levite as distinguished from one another (xviii. 3, 6). The only question is, how deep this distinction of ranks cut into the constitution of the tribe ? In **Q** it was “a sharp line of distinction ” which reserved to the priests “to bless the people” and “everything of the altar and within the veil ” (p. 29) ; but, in a note, he himself candidly furnishes the refutation of his accompanying assertion that “the name of Levites is never applied to them [*i.e.*, the priests] but designates, exclusively, the Levites who are not priests ;” add Num. iii. 12, 13 ; xxvi. 57, and compare also “the sons of Levi ” in Exod. xxxii. 26, 28, and “Aaron the Levite ” in Exod. iv. 14, which is probably not assigned by him to **Q**. But the entire people of Israel are holy to Jehovah, as truly as the tribe of Levi ; nay, on occasion of making the covenant at Sinai, the promise to them is that they shall be a kingdom of priests as well as a holy nation ; and

individuals among them actually appear as priests in full exercise of their office (Exod. xix. 22, 24). We are nowhere informed whether these priests were cashiered from office, or were left to act under Aaron until they passed away in the course of nature; I venture no opinion beyond saying, that though no stranger was to come near to the priest's office (Num. xviii. 7), men already recognised as priests by Jehovah might plausibly allege that they were no strangers, for they had been already brought near. Every Israelite, however, was essentially a priest to Jehovah, though the Mosaic ritual interfered with the exercise of his functions, so that he must take the responsibility on himself if he broke this law in an emergency (as David broke a law of the priesthood in respect of the shew-bread, 1 Sam. xxi. 4-6; Matt. xii. 3, 4), or held that a miraculous appearance of Jehovah to him raised him above the ordinary rules, like Gideon and Samson's parents. And every Israelite always retained one priestly prerogative, that of killing the Passover and performing all the rites appointed for it; and, moreover, he had the power of approaching indefinitely near to the priesthood (always excepting the altar service) by taking on him the vow of the Nazarite. Once a powerful and well-concerted effort was made by Korah and his friends to place the whole Levites on one level, without acknowledgment of Aaron's family as the exclusive priests; but the history tells how disastrously this ended, and how the wrath of God on the offenders was seen and admitted by the whole congregation. Professor Smith accepts the history as heartily as I do. Remembering this point of agreement between us, I cannot discover how his critical results "explain one curious difference, which might at first

seem due to accident"—the omission of Korah's name in Deut. xi. 6; because, "it stands to reason that his example could not serve as a warning in Deuteronomy, which concedes altar privileges to any Levite" (pp. 34, 35). I should argue in the opposite direction, that the historic facts being indisputable, his critical results must be erroneous.*

But this created no wide breach between the Levites and the priests, so that I am not surprised at the sameness of the language applied to the priests in Numbers and to the priestly tribe in Deuteronomy, apart from the explanations which Mr. Curtiss offers. For instance, though it is said that the priests had the Levites given to them, and that they were made to stand before Aaron the priest and minister to him, as is noticed in p. 30; yet, of the whole Levites, non-priestly as well as priestly, it is said in the same context, "they shall be mine" (Num. iii. 12, 13, 45), as all ministering to Jehovah. The carrying of the ark was a physical impossibility to Aaron and his

* If I rightly understood an oral statement of his on this point, he defended his position by a different interpretation of the facts—namely, that Korah sought the priesthood not for the whole tribe of Levi, but for the whole congregation of Israel. If so, I cannot but differ from him, on account of the express language of Num. xvi. 5-11, 40; besides the revolt of the Levites who claimed to be priests, there was a movement professedly for the liberation and advancement of the whole congregation, but this was specially directed against Moses, as the other movement was against Aaron; and the civil and ecclesiastical malcontents joined hands. The passage in Deuteronomy speaks of the Divine administration and guidance, and names this rebellion of Dathan and Abiram with its punishment; but there was no reason to mention specially Korah's part in it, and the peculiar punishment that overtook him; and his punishment was less awful than theirs, for it did not involve his children.

two sons, or, I should say, probably even to them and their grandsons : so that when the priests in the wilderness bore the ark, it must have been by the help of the Levites.

He thinks it would be “a very remarkable change of language on the part of Moses since the time when he rebuked Korah and his Levites for ‘seeking the priesthood also,’” if “Deuteronomy uses the word *priest* in a looser sense than the earlier books, and applies the term to all Levites in virtue of the special consecration of the tribe” (p. 31). I do not know whether it is a phrase liable to misapprehension if we speak of a looser sense of the word *priest*; but what I hold is, that for the hortatory purpose of this book it was quite suitable to pass with little or no remark over the distinction of priests and Levites, of which no one could be ignorant, and which no one would question, since the fearful death of Korah and his friends; and that now the dying mediator’s object naturally was to enforce the “Levitical priesthood,” on which his whole institutions rested (Heb. vii. 11), in its general features, the body of Levites being inseparably attached to the special family of the priests, and distinguished from them only at one point, most important in its own way, but which did not here call for remark. He does make one change in his phraseology, to suit the altered circumstances of Deuteronomy. In the continuous legislation of the forty years he used the expressions, “Aaron,” “Aaron and his sons,” “the priests the sons of Aaron;” but now that Aaron was dead, the personal element was eliminated by the progress of time, and that the Levites were of tested loyalty in their adherence to the institutions of worship, he speaks of the “priests the Levites”—that is,

the Levitical priests. I have noticed already the comprehensive use of the word Levites from time to time in the earlier legislation. Even when the difference between the priests and the Levites is the special subject of discussion, the difference is confined within narrow limits; instead of being *separated*, it is emphatically said—"And thy brethren, also, of the tribe of Levi, the tribe of thy father, bring thou with thee, that they may be *joined* unto thee, and minister unto thee" (Num. xviii. 2); "And they shall be *joined* unto thee, and keep the charge of the tabernacle of the congregation for all the service of the tabernacle, and a stranger shall not come nigh unto you" (ver. 4). Professor Smith has no difficulty about including the high priest along with the other priests under one common name at p. 32; and he need have no greater difficulty, for the hortatory purposes of this book, in habitually identifying the priests with the entire tribe of Levi. In fact, the blessing on Levi (Deut. xxxiii. 8-11) places in the forefront of what is said of the tribe, the use of the Thummim and Urim, which was emphatically the privilege of the high priest alone. When the rebellion of Korah was over, the institutions of Moses in general, and particularly his administration and Aaron's priesthood, were guarded from future assaults by the budding of a rod, which represented the tribe of Levi, though it is interpreted to be "the rod of Aaron for the house of Levi" (Num. xvii. 1, 2, 8). Accordingly, this grouping of the whole tribe of Levi together in a priestly character appears in the latest of all the prophets, in whose time, surely, the most negative criticism will acknowledge that the distinction between priests and common Levites was fully established. "And now, O ye *priests*, this command-

ment is for you. . . . And ye shall know that I have sent this commandment unto you, that my covenant might be with *Levi*, saith the Lord of hosts. My covenant was with him of life and peace ; and I gave them to him for the fear wherewith he feared me, and was afraid before my name. The law of truth was in his mouth, and iniquity was not found in his lips : he walked with me in peace and equity, and did turn many away from iniquity. For the *priest's* lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth : for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. But ye are departed out of the way ; ye have caused many to stumble at the law ; ye have corrupted the covenant of *Levi*, saith the Lord of hosts " (Mal. ii. 1-8). And the same thing stands out plainly in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 5, 9, 11, 14)—" And verily they that are of the sons of *Levi*, who receive the office of the priesthood, have a commandment to take tithes of the people according to the law, that is, of their brethren, though they come out of the loins of Abraham. . . . And as I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, paid tithes in Abraham. . . . If therefore perfection were by the *Levitical priesthood* (for under it the people received the law), what further need was there that another priest should rise after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron ? . . . For it is evident that our Lord sprang out of Juda ; of which *tribe* Moses spake nothing concerning *priesthood*." And, indeed, the oneness not only of the whole tribe, but of the whole nation, in its priestly character, is assumed to be a well-understood truth in Hosea iv. 6—" My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge : because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will also reject thee, that thou shalt be no

priest to me : seeing thou hast forgotten the law of thy God, I will also forget thy children."

This principle of viewing the tribe of Levi as a whole, without distinguishing the minor difference of distribution into classes, would of itself turn aside the edge of much of the reasoning, without going into the details of Mr. Curtiss's able argument in his little volume, of which Professor Smith makes light ; but to go into this I should require more detailed discussion than my plan permits. I also reserve consideration of Deut. xviii. 1, which he mentions at p. 33, because he returns to it (pp. 34, 36) ; but I say in a sentence, that the same principle of reply defends me against his use of this text—"The priests the Levites, and all the tribe of Levi, shall have no part nor inheritance with Israel ; they shall eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and his inheritance." It is not that every individual Levite is or may be a priest, and shall or may eat the Lord's sacrifices (which the middle books assign to the priests) and his inheritance ; but they, being one body, have this privilege among them ; though the fuller information afforded elsewhere points out which individuals in this body have special duties at the altar, and special privileges connected with the offerings burnt upon the altar.

Secondly, in regard to the tithes, of which Professor Smith speaks from p. 35 onwards, I do not hesitate to admit, I assert that there are obscurities, which I do not profess to understand, much less to explain in a brief statement. The multitudinous Jewish writings on this subject are proof that learning and skill have found abundant opportunity for exercise on the laws relating to tithes and offer-

ings. After stating many details, he thus sums up (pp. 39, 40) :—

“ And now from these tedious particulars let us turn for a moment to consider how thoroughly consistent Deuteronomy is throughout, and how thoroughly clear and full its provisions appear to be when we take them by themselves. The Levites are a tribe set apart by God to the priestly office, and on this account receive no landed property. Those who are at the sanctuary in the discharge of their office are nourished by the altar dues. But in these revenues no Levite remote from the sanctuary can share. He who is not doing priest’s work has no official income. He belongs to the landless classes, and in an agricultural country is presumably poor. He has, therefore, a special claim on the kindness of the people in whose midst he sojourns, and has the first place among those whom the lawgiver makes the object of a systematic and divinely appointed charity. The observance of this charity is specially laid on the consciences of the people, but they are nowhere taught to pay the Levites, by way of tribute, the liberal allowance prescribed in Q, which would have raised them above the need of charity.”

Now I agree so far with him in p. 38, that I see no command in Deuteronomy for a new kind of sacred offering, but a regulation of previous usage. The practice of paying tithes can be traced far back among many nations ; and in the tithes given by Abraham to Melchizedek, and in the vow of Jacob to acknowledge a certain place as God’s house, and to give Him tithes of all that he should have, we see this practice existing among the patriarchs, and recorded in the Word of God with implied approbation. All that was needed was to regulate the practice so as to bring it into conformity with the institutions of Moses on kindred matters. For one thing, the land of Canaan was the Lord’s land, and it was given to the people only in a limited sense ; this was a principle guiding them in the law of the jubilee, for instance—“ The land shall

not be sold for ever : for the land is mine ; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 23). But when He chose one tribe, that of Levi, to be His own, He called them to services, partly at His sanctuary and partly throughout the country, on which account they were to be relieved from many of the ordinary cares of life ; they were to have no share in the land to be divided among the tribes, only in lieu of this they were to have certain cities to dwell in, and they were to receive the tenth in Israel for an inheritance (Num. xviii. 20-32 ; xxxv. 1-8).* This tenth, however, was very different from a tithe given to God according to the old practice ; it was a commutation of the rights which Levi had to the land as much as the other tribes. In Deuteronomy we read of a tithe brought to the place which the Lord should choose, along with their sacrifices and other offerings, and eaten there at the three sacred feasts, in which their children, their servants, and the Levites were to share (chap. xii. 6, 7, 11, 12, 17-19) ; while a modification of this law requires these to be eaten every third year within their gates (or their own townships, as Professor Smith paraphrases it), for the Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (chap. xiv. 22-29) ; and a declaration was to be made before the Lord that this law had been faithfully carried out (chap. xxvi. 12-15). The contention of the critics is that there are two inconsistent laws of tithing ; that the law in Numbers does not fit in with that in Deuteronomy, and would not have failed to be mentioned had the latter been a

* I need not dwell on details, such as a tithe of the Levitical tithe being given to the priests, and their right to sell and redeem their houses at all times (as the Israelites generally could not do), but accompanied by the prohibition of selling the suburban fields.

supplementary law. I have already stated that we entirely differ from this view of the supplementary legislation. I add that it is this second tithe which corresponds most nearly with the old patriarchal tithe, since the tithe in Numbers was the equivalent for the Levites having no share in the land, but this was an offering to God for joyful services at His house, in consuming which the givers of the tithe and the Levites were to rejoice together. This is undoubtedly the tradition of the Jewish expositors, and they call the Deuteronomic tithe the second tithe ; they even speak of the third tithe in that third year, though I am not satisfied that they meant a third tithe over and above the second, but a third tithe (as they classified it) in the year in which the second tithe was not eaten at the place of worship for all Israel. If Deuteronomy does not repeat the tithe law promulgated in Numbers, neither does it repeat the arrangements for giving no share of the land to Levi, on which that law rested ; it asserts the well-known fact that Levi had no part nor inheritance among the tribes settled on the land, but it gives no reason for their being landless. The Deuteronomic tithe could never have supported them ; applied as it was to so many purposes, the part which came to them would have left them to starve. Accordingly, Professor Smith confines its enjoyment to those of the Levites who were engaged at the sanctuary as priests — “As the Levite, who is not engaged in priestly work, and resident at the sanctuary, has no duties recognised in **D**, it is natural that he receives no emoluments” (p. 35). If he has no sacred duties as a Levite, how has he no land like the rest of the Israelites ? Or, if it is his own fault that he does not volunteer to be a priest, what would have been the working of the law had the

whole of the Levites volunteered and crowded to the house of God, and scrambled for this miserable pittance? But the lawgiver, it seems, “is not without thought for the Levites who are scattered through the land, and do not share these revenues. He provides, accordingly, that when the people go up to feast at the sanctuary, the Levite that is within their gates shall have a share in the festivity” (pp. 36, 37). But surely this, again, is starvation; and what is given to these Levites is just so much taken from the priestly Levites. Professor Smith, indeed, goes on to speak of an additional provision, the firstlings of the flock and herd (Deut. xiv. 23; xv. 19, 20); but what was eaten at these festive occasions in the place which the Lord chose could be no appreciable supply over the year for the members of a tribe scattered throughout Israel. The mention of it, however, gives occasion to notice the vanity of the efforts of “harmonisers”* to reconcile this feasting on the firstlings with the law in Num. xviii. 18, which gives them to the priests. I have not been able to feel the force of the objection to the explanation that they are given to the extent to which the peace-offerings were given—that is, in those portions called the wave-breast and heave-shoulder—since if they were wholly given to the priests, these words would be superfluous; or, perhaps, the idea would be countenanced that they were given like the trespass and sin offerings, which the priests’ daughters and servants might not eat (see Num. xviii. 9-11). Besides, some right of the offerers to share in them, as they did in the peace-offerings, seems plainly implied in the earliest law on the subject (Exod. xiii. 15)—“I sacri-

* Nor do I understand the contempt or pity for the harmonisers in p. 39.

*fice to the Lord all that openeth the matrix being males.” Also, if I overlooked that absence of sharpness and detail which Mr. Curtiss is blamed for attributing to Deuteronomy (p. 40), and forgot that priests and people are mingled in these statements in a way that would be impossible if **D** “professed to lay before the laity their whole ordinary obligations under the law” (p. 39)—I should not know how to account for nothing being said of the firstlings of the flocks and herds of the Levites. Finally, the more emphasis one lays on “the firstlings of the flock and herd, and the tithe of corn, wine, and oil,” going together as the supply for those festivities (p. 37), the more does he bring out the distinction between this vegetable tithe in Deuteronomy and the tithe of the middle books, which was of animals as well as of vegetable products (Lev. xxvii. 30-33).**

If the Levites had a first tithe to themselves, it may however be asked, would they be classed with the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, who were to be called in to share the festivities supplied by the second tithe? Yes; for (1.) though I think it an exaggeration to suppose them poverty-stricken, yet in almost any country, but especially in a thoroughly agricultural community, if a portion of the people are shut out from holding landed property, they are sure

* The like might be said of his distinction about Teruma (in the Authorised Version, “heave-offering”), p. 39, note. If in **D** it means not the tithe but the first-fruits (though I do not draw any inference from what appears only in Deut. xii. 6, 11, 17), whereas in **Q** it is the tithe (though it is often applied to other things), this goes to confirm the distinction between the first and the second tithes. Yet in Ezek. xx. 40 Teruma is named along with “the first-fruits of your oblations,” which does not favour the identification of the two things.

to lose position and influence, and to be comparatively ill off. (2.) They had no civil power to enforce the payment of the tithe ; the duty might be wholly neglected by the ungodly and careless, or it might be performed very irregularly and imperfectly by the avaricious and the self-indulgent classes. What evil this has brought on the Church of Christ is patent to all eyes. No wonder that the latest of the prophets looks back on the history of the people from the days of their fathers down to his own, and declares that they have robbed God in tithes and offerings, and that therefore as a nation they are cursed with a curse (Mal. iii. 7-9). The warnings, appeals, and encouragements of Deuteronomy are just the first teachings of systematic religious giving, to be carried on until Paul wrote his epistles ; but the lesson, because it is a moral lesson, requiring high spirituality, was hard to learn and to carry out. It is to me, however, a most improbable supposition that the later Jews should have burdened themselves with a second tithe, if this had not been the Divine law from the first ; and if any one thinks that hierarchical influence might conceivably have introduced it in the Jerusalem of Ezra, he will have new difficulties in believing that it spread among the Dispersion, who for generations had lived in exile among the heathen, like the Jews of Egypt, as is shown in the Septuagint version of Deut. xxvi. 12, and the Eastern Jews, as in Tobit i. 7. On the other hand, it is no new conjecture that the details of Joseph's tax of one-fifth of the produce imposed on the Egyptians is narrated partly that the Israelites might not think it hard to pay two-tenths for Him who was at once their God and their King ; especially as the first tithe was really a commutation of property, and the second was,

to a considerable extent, consumed by the very parties who brought it.

Something, indeed, is made of the Levitical cities in pp. 35, 36 ; and a “very precise sense” is attributed to the word rendered “sojourn,” though I should think its meaning very much the reverse of precise if I accepted as accurate the statement of its changes of meaning given in the note, pp. 19, 20. I adhere to the common view, that Moses appointed, and Joshua assigned, these cities and their suburbs for the use of the Levites, including the priests (Num. xxxv. 1-8 ; Josh. xxi). But I do not believe that all the cities assigned by Joshua actually came into the possession of the Israelites ; and, judging by the analogy of the tithes, I should not wonder if some of the cities assigned by Joshua were needlessly and unrighteously withheld from them. Neither do I understand that the entire city, all the houses in it, was given to the Levites, though a certain portion of suburban pasture-ground was given to them ; all that they had was a right to a sufficient number of houses for their occupation. Any one who admits the historical truth of Josh. xxi. must see that when ver. 4 assigns thirteen cities to the sons of Aaron, this might at first be on an average one city to one family, or somewhere thereabouts. And I believe that my account of the occupation of these cities is confirmed by the law of the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 33) : “And if a man purchase of the Levites, then the house that was sold, and the city of his possession, shall go out in the year of jubilee ; for the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the children of Israel.” Among other things, it is to be noted here that the word fairly enough rendered “purchase,” literally is “redeem ;” for the city belonged to the tribe

within whose territory it was situated, and might be largely or even mostly occupied by the men of that tribe. Levites, no doubt, had a special right to occupy such houses as they required, but if one of their houses was purchased from them, it was really redeemed and restored to the people from whom it had been temporarily alienated by an ecclesiastical servitude over it. In this way I am at a loss to understand the comment on Deut. xviii. 6 at p. 36—

“We find in xviii. 6 that the Levite who is not at the sanctuary is supposed to be sojourning in some city of Israel. The word which our translators render *sojourn* has a very precise sense; it means to live, not as a burgess, but as a stranger (*Gêr*), under the protection of some person or community. That the word can be used of Levites residing in their own cities is asserted by Keil without an iota of evidence, and is absolutely excluded by the words of the text, which speak of the Levite as sojourning in *any* Hebrew town.”

The Levites might be sojourners, perhaps, even in this precise sense, not burgesses, but strangers under the protection of the tribe to whom what was called their city belonged; so thoroughly so that Micah’s Levite (albeit apparently the grandson of Moses, as Professor Smith says, p. 21, note) is named “a young man out of Bethlehem-judah, *of the family of Judah*, who was a Levite” (Judges xvii. 7); and, in like manner, the Levite, Samuel’s father, is called an Ephrathite (1 Sam. i. 1)—that is, I suppose, an Ephraimite, because he lived in Mount Ephraim. Nor is there either contradiction of this view, or yet absurdity, as Professor Smith supposes, if we prefer, with Mr. Curtiss, after Aben Ezra, to understand the law (Deut. xviii. 6-8) to apply to the extreme case of a Levite who has reduced himself to the condition of a sojourner, technically so called, by selling his house and going to

live in lodgings elsewhere ; even such a one was to have his rights protected, and the purchase-money of his house reserved, when he went up to the place which the Lord should choose, to do service there.

And now I must look at Deut. xviii. 1-8. I have already (p. 60) noticed his comment (p. 33 on ver. 1), and it will be all the plainer now. The Levitical priests, and the whole tribe of Levi, having no part or inheritance with Israel, were to eat the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and His inheritance ; this last word including the first tithe (the commutation of their interest in the land) and various small perquisites. Besides this inheritance of the *Lord*, given directly by Him, there is added (ver. 3, 4) the priest's due from the *people*, about which I have no desire to avoid acknowledging that there is something not clearly known, of which I am willing to let Professor Smith make all that he does in pp. 40, 41. I shall have something yet to say about my ignorance of such matters, though I think he dismisses too summarily a question which the Jewish as well as the Christian authorities have long admitted to be very difficult, yet have tried to explain as in all probability somehow an indemnity, or equivalent, given to the priests by the people on the necessary cessation of a law meant only for the camp (Lev. xvii. 3), about killing animals for food at the door of the tabernacle. Finally, as the *whole tribe* of Levi had been named after the Levitical *priests* in ver. 1, so now, after the case of the *priests* (ver. 3-5), we have the case of *Levites* volunteering to minister at the tabernacle. The Levites, being vastly more numerous than the priests, must have done almost everything for the few priests at first, except what they were expressly forbidden to do ; and being so

identified with them in the statements of this popular book, it is no wonder that the language applied to their service is almost exactly the same in ver. 7 as that applied to the priests in ver. 5. The priests ministered to the Lord; so did the Levites (Num. iii. 31), though it is also said that they ministered to the priests (Num. xviii. 2), and even to the congregation (Num. xvi. 9); and the standing before the Lord is a common expression for service, applied to the whole people (Lev. ix. 5; Deut. iv. 10; Jer. vii. 10), and to themselves by the prophets Elijah and Elisha. I see no reason, then, for absolutely identifying the services of “the priest” (ver. 3) and “the Levite” (ver. 6, 7), though Professor Smith takes the identification as a matter of course (pp. 32, 34).

In regard to the line of argument from difficulties in the way of reconciling certain laws in Deuteronomy with certain others in the earlier books, I quote from what Professor Smith has said in his first “Answer to the Form of Libel” (pp. 35, 36):—

“ We find in different parts of the Pentateuch several laws on the same subject, which are not simply supplementary one to the other, but differ in such a way that those who affirm that all are really of Mosaic date, and designed to be in operation at one and the same time, confess that it is often impossible to determine, otherwise than hypothetically, how the scattered details are to be reconciled, and what is the practice actually enjoined by the law. We have here a problem which can only be solved by recognising some peculiar principle in the composition of the Pentateuch. Laws are meant to be obeyed, and to be obeyed they must be understood. It was not enough for the people to *believe* the laws to be consistent, unless they could actually make them consistent, and find them unambiguous in practice. Either, then, we must suppose an oral tradition descending from Moses as the real authority by which the apparent contradictions in the laws were resolved in practice, or we must seek an historical explanation depending on

the way in which the Pentateuch was put together. The former supposition places tradition above the written Word, and so the Biblical student is, perforce, thrown back on the latter. We cannot give up the Pentateuch as a book which, from its very origin, was a hopeless riddle, and, therefore, we must call in critical inquiry to help us to understand why one law-book contains precepts which not only appear inconsistent to us, but which in many cases must have been equally puzzling to the Hebrews themselves."

I look upon these difficulties as being, on the showing of the critics themselves, very few and minute ; not to be compared for a moment with the evidence for unity of authorship from the habitual character of the books. Further—(1.) In that first "Answer to the Form of Libel" (p. 56), Professor Smith admits it to be "conceivable that the last editor, who can hardly be placed much before the time of Ezra, may already have lost the knowledge that the Deuteronomic law was not actually written by Moses. He perhaps regarded all the laws as literally from Moses, and traces of this opinion may appear in his editorial work." If this be conceivable, the Jew at least can scarcely have seen any irreconcilability in these laws. (2.) If he or his fellow Israelites did think them irreconcilable, as a modern critic does, on what principle were they to regulate their obedience ? Were they, at all hazards, to stick to Moses, the original legislator, and the greatest messenger from God to Israel, whatever later authorities might teach ? or were they to consider the older law repealed by the newer one ? and if so, on what principle were they to settle the chronological order of these laws, since the critics themselves are in the most divided state of opinion, some placing the most of the laws in Leviticus at the very end of the series (the time of Ezekiel being the earliest possible), others looking on them as the oldest

part of the legislation in the middle books ? I pity the poor people who had this law to obey, if they were critics. (3.) It is a very natural supposition that some of these laws referred to matters easily understood at the time, which are dark to us, because the circumstances are now unknown, as they are unimportant, to us ; for instance, the instructions to Moses for the erection of the tabernacle ; as afterwards to David, for the erection of the temple. So, indeed, the ritual of the Mosaic institutions arose out of the ritual of patriarchal worship ; on that simpler and broader basis it pleased God to erect the complicated system under which He placed the Church of Israel. (4.) I do not like the language in which he expresses the supposition which he rejects ; but in substance I accept it. Protestants reject tradition as a co-ordinate authority with the written Word of God, because they hold that the written Word was completed in the earliest times of the Christian Church, and that nothing now is to be added to this written Word as authoritative from God to men ; but so long as the written Word was incomplete, they hold that there were apostolic traditions of equal authority with it, to which the apostle Paul himself refers in his epistles (1 Cor. xi. 2 ; 2 Thess. ii. 15 ; iii. 6). And they have never doubted that during the centuries in which a succession of inspired men rose up in the Jewish Church, authoritative instructions were asked and given in regard to difficult matters connected with the law. Professor Smith himself insists on this in his "Additional Answer" (p. 28) as quite a characteristic of Deuteronomy, that reference is made to the priests for authoritative instruction (chap. xxiv. 8 ; xvii. 8); only I have to object, as I have so often to do, to his way

of stating the matter : “ So, also, difficult questions of judgment are reserved for decision by the priests (xvii. 8) ; but the plain duties of life are complete in the book, and where it fails, the appeal is not to another law-book, but to the priests in person.” It is just these difficult questions in judgment, “ between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates ” (ver. 8), which were to be brought up before, not the priests alone, but them and “ the judge that shall be in those days ” (ver. 9, 12). And if any one think that this would not cover the case of ritual difficulties, we have the prohibition of wine to the priests on account of their duties : “ And that ye may put difference between holy and unholy, and between clean and unclean, and that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses ” (Lev. x. 10, 11). The habitual exercise of this function, I suppose, leads Hosea (iv. 4) to describe the hopeless state of wilful disobedience which prevailed in his day : “ Yet let no man strive, nor reprove another : for thy people are as they that strive with the priest.” Inquiries on the application of the law to the conduct of the people appear to be made to the priests in Haggai ii. 10-13 ; Zech. vii. 1-3. In Mal. ii. 7 the general principle is affirmed : “ The priest’s lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth.” And in Ezra ii. 61-63 the difficulty arose about admitting some to the rights of the priesthood whose lineage was not clearly made out, with, of course, the corresponding difficulty that they might otherwise be deprived of their rights and hindered in the discharge of their duties ; and, by a compromise,

the Tirshatha said unto them, that they should not eat of the most holy things till there stood up a priest with Urim and with Thummim, I think with a manifest reference to what Eleazar the high priest was to do for Moses' successor Joshua (Num. xxvii. 21).

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

Having settled to his own satisfaction the irreconcilability of **Q** and **D**, Professor Smith discusses the evidence from the history of Israel in Canaan as furnishing "evidence that during part of that history the law of **Q** was out of use, and current practice agreed with what is taken for granted in **D**" (p. 43). To those of us who believe that **Q** and **D** and their irreconcilability are all imaginary there is no object in dwelling upon this argument, unless there be something which, on our principles, it is important to notice.

For instance, as to priestly dues, it is an unauthorised interpretation and inference to say of the time of Jehoiada the high priest, and king Joash of Judah, "it is quite against the law of **Q** that a money payment was taken instead of the sin and trespass offering" (2 Kings xii. 16), p. 43; while his note there that "Deuteronomy does not mention sin and trespass offerings" would seem to prove that the ceremonial law at that time, recognising sin and trespass offerings, was that of Leviticus. I might add that, when Samuel's father brought three bullocks and one ephah of flour to the house of the Lord in Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 24), his action corresponded with the rule of Num. xv. 9, one-third of an ephah to a bullock. I do not think he can expect to build any argument that tithes were not paid, according to Numbers, from the threatening to Eli, that "every one that is left in thine house

shall come and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and shall say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices, that I may eat a piece of bread" (1 Sam. ii. 36). And I see nothing in the tithe paid in Hezekiah's time (1 Chron. xxxi.), which does not agree with the laws of the middle books and of Deuteronomy; though, perhaps, his document **Q** may exclude the law of Lev. xxvii; if so, this is merely an instance of the arbitrariness with which the limits of these imaginary documents are drawn.

About the residences of the Levites I have already spoken, and see little to notice in the statement in pp. 44, 45, further than to say that if to Professor Smith "it hardly appears that these cities were occupied according to the law of **Q**," I do not know anything in opposition to that law. I certainly could infer nothing from the vagabond and ill-doing Levite in the book of Judges (chap. xvii.) ; and I see nothing, one way or other, in the Levite sojourning on the side of Mount Ephraim (chap. xix. 1). "Abiathar's original city, the priestly city, *par excellence*, in the time of Saul, was Nob, which is not one of the forty-eight cities named in Joshua." The same might be said of the city to which the priests and the tabernacle afterwards moved—namely, Jerusalem ; but neither the one circumstance nor the other invalidates the historical truth of Josh. xxi. (which truth I shall believe that Professor Smith accepts till I know the contrary), that the cities of the priests and Levites were set apart by Joshua according to the law in Num. xxxv., and in so far as they were cities of refuge, also in Deut. xix. I am at a loss to know why Abiathar and Jeremiah might not possess fields

at Anathoth, and sell them too, if only these were not within the pasture-ground, 2000 cubits on each side of the city, without going against the Pentateuchal legislation ; perhaps, even within that limit, Jeremiah might sell ground to a cousin, if he was, like himself, a priest. Undoubtedly there are difficulties which we have not the means of solving, about the distribution of the non-priestly Levites, whose cities all lay outside of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, when Jeroboam's revolution cast them off ; but as we know that this was a strange destruction of the provision for them, it is a good evidence that this provision had been made in a period earlier than Jeroboam's time. Somehow the Levites would be provided for, no doubt ; and, according to my view of the Levites having merely the needed houses in the cities assigned to them, it is not unlikely that all along there might be some Levites in the priestly cities of Judah, and that more were accommodated there after that revolution.

But more important is the argument (pp. 45, 46), that there is no trace of distinction between priests and Levites generally :—

“ In the period of the Judges we have clear proof that the law of **Q** was not in force. Samuel, though not sprung from Aaron, was from his childhood a priest, even wearing the ephod, which was the instrument of the sacred lot, and is confined in **Q** to the high priest (*supra*, p. 33). So all the priests of Nob wore the ephod (1 Sam. xxii. 18), and even David, on a great occasion, wore this vestment, offered sacrifices as a priest before the Lord, and blessed the people in the name of Jehovah (2 Sam. vi. 14, 18). Moreover, the sons of David were priests, as the Hebrew of 2 Sam. viii. 18 unambiguously declares. These facts, be it observed, do not imply mere temporary deflection from the law of **Q** under the pressure of circumstances. They refer to the stated customs

of the chief family of priests and the court of the king after God's heart; and therefore they are unambiguous proof that the strict Levitical law had at that time no recognition."

I think this extract is of considerable value, because it brings out Professor Smith's idea of "clear proof," and "unambiguous proof," where I can see nothing of the kind; and thus it opens up the fact that the recent critics and the school to which I attach myself, take different views of the strength of probable evidence. The high priest did have an ephod made "of gold, of blue, and of purple, of scarlet, and fine twined linen with cunning work" (Exod. xxviii. 6). But it is rather too much to identify this with the "ephod of *linen*," which the whole of the priests, Samuel, and David wore, which wanted, we may say, everything that distinguished the high priest's gorgeous dress; and this without entering on the difficult question of the identity or difference of the words for "fine linen," *shēsh* in the high priest's ephod, &c., and "linen," *badh* in Samuel's and the others, as *badh* is also used in Exod. xxviii. 42, of the linen breeches worn both by Aaron and his sons.* It is a gratuitous assumption that David offered sacrifices as a priest (2 Sam. vi. 18). He offered sacrifices, but this may just as well mean that he offered them by the priests as the appointed agents. So it was understood by

* In his note, p. 33, to which he refers the reader, he gives a priestly character also to Samuel's mantle or coat (1 Sam. ii. 18, 19). It is possible that it bore a resemblance to the high priest's "robe of the ephod" (Exod. xxviii. 31), and was connected with his ephod, but this is not said, and is quite uncertain; certainly the same Hebrew word designates Jonathan's robe and Saul's (1 Sam. xviii. 4; xxiv. 4, 11); those of the king's daughters (2 Sam. xiii. 18); those of Job and his friends (Job i. 20; ii. 12); and those of the princes of the sea (Ezek. xxvi. 16).

the Chronicler, as the extremest of the critics allow, yet he employs the same phrase (1 Chron. xvi. 2; see also xxi. 24, 26; 2 Chron. viii. 12, 13), though he could have easily varied his expressions (as “commanded to offer,” 2 Chron. xxix. 27) if he had felt there was any risk of being misunderstood. So Solomon offered 1000 burnt-offerings (1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 6), and Hezekiah speaks of our fathers failing to offer sacrifices (2 Chron. xxix. 7). We read also of a female offering (Isa. lvii. 6, 7), and of the Israelites under Joshua (Josh. viii. 31), and of Balak and Balaam offering (Num. xxiii. 2). But, indeed, such language is unequivocally used in the law of Moses, in cases where it must mean that men offer by a priest, and no explanation is vouchsafed of a thing that every one may understand (Exod. xxx. 9; Lev. xvii. 8; Deut. xii. 13, 14). “Moreover, the sons of David were priests, as the Hebrew of 2 Sam. viii. 18 unambiguously declares.” It might have been proper to add, at least, a note that many sufficiently pronounced critics agree with those of the school of Hengstenberg in believing that it is impossible to think of priests here, or in the case of Ira the Jairite (2 Sam. xx. 26), and in that of Zabud (1 Kings iv. 5), where the authorised version follows the ancient ones in rendering the word “chief ruler” or “principal officer,” copying, indeed, 1 Chron. xviii. 17. For this there is the analogy of the English word “minister,” now restricted to the two senses of a servant of God or a servant of the king; and so Ira is styled “priest (*i.e.*, principal officer) to the king, and Zabud is styled “priest, the king’s friend.”

Samuel’s case, however, is especially interesting. Some critics have insisted that he was no Levite, in

spite of the genealogy in Chronicles, but an Ephraimite, on account of 1 Sam. i. 1, a passage to which I have already alluded (p. 68). Professor Smith, on the contrary, heartily accepts the historical fact, but lays emphasis upon his not being sprung from Aaron. But Samuel's position was one altogether unique, a second Moses, who, like him, was but a private Levite, and whose children remained private Levites; and as Moses had been the instrument of giving the law to Israel, Samuel appears as the instrument of its restoration. In such persons it is vain to look for obedience to the details of that law which the one introduced, and the other restored to life, in virtue of a Divine commission: so that all through the Pentateuch Moses appears capable of any priestly function, discharging it alongside of Aaron and his sons (Exod. xl.; Lev. ix), consecrating them to their office (Exod. xxix.; Lev. viii.; Num. xx. 23-28), and expressly admitted to privileges from which all others are excluded (Num. xii). Samuel's history points him out as occupying an analogous high position; dedicated as a Nazarite for life under peculiar circumstances, giving special weight to this quasi-priestly consecration; called by Jehovah in his childhood; commissioned to denounce the existing priesthood and to foretell its ruin; seeing the ark carried captive and the house of God laid desolate; and then acknowledged all along as the chosen mouthpiece of God to Israel, the instrument of working out national repentance and reformation, and the man who restored the interrupted national worship. Scripture, therefore, expressly accords him a position quite above that of any other servant of God in Israel after Moses and Aaron. "Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel

among them that call upon his name ; they called upon the Lord, and he answered them. He spake unto them in the cloudy pillar : they kept his testimonies, and the ordinance that he gave them. Thou answeredst them, O Lord our God : thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their inventions ” (Ps. xcix. 6-8). “ Then the Lord said unto me, Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind could not be toward this people : cast them out of my sight, and let them go forth ” (Jer. xv. 1). I know of only one other name in Scripture at all like Samuel’s in the way it is linked on to that of Moses ; it is Elijah’s, see Mal. iv. 4-6 ; and he was also a man outstanding in such a way as to be distinct from all other prophets, and to be a witness for that law of Moses in the kingdom of the ten tribes, where he would have been another Samuel, but that the nation had sunk too far. Of the reforming work of Samuel and Elijah I may have a little to say further on.

I am content to leave Professor Smith’s discussions of Eli’s house (pp. 46, 47) to his intelligent readers, without comment. I should think that few of them will see any probability in his assertions that Zadok “cannot have been a member of the house of Aaron ;” that Eli and his descendant Abiathar “were unquestionably sprung of Aaron through Eleazar and his son Phinehas ;” and that “in the time of the Chronicler, sons of Eleazar and Ithamar respectively would mean no more than the higher and lower guild of priests.”

I do not well know how to deal, within such a compass as I can allow myself, with the discussions of Ezek. xliv. 6-16, in pp. 47-50, the substance of which is, that all the Levites had hitherto been permitted to

act as priests, but that the prophet now announced the will of God that they should be excluded, as a punishment for their sins, and condemned to lower services, while the priesthood should be henceforth limited to the house of Zadok. I fear that I do not understand to what this limitation amounts: for since the expression *the sons of Zadok* “naturally means the whole guild of temple priests,” p. 50 (and not yet the higher as opposed to the lower guild of priests, as it might perhaps mean in Chronicles, according to the discussion in p. 47, to which we are referred), I should have inferred that the judicial sentence, “henceforth the priesthood is limited to the house of Zadok,” must be equivalent to saying, “henceforth the priesthood is limited to the whole guild of temple priests,” which I can scarcely suppose that Ezekiel needed eleven verses to say. Then there are various “singular” assertions, for which I should like a little more authority than I can find: as that these lower services to which the Levites were now to be restricted “in Ezekiel’s time were allowed to fall into the hands of foreigners;” for that the royal body-guard in David’s time consisted of Philistines, Cretans, and Carians, and that two out of these three at all events continued to act till towards the prophet’s time; that they had come to be the temple guard as well as the palace guard; that to these foreigners Ezekiel doubtless alludes; and that “their functions were in fact so nearly Levitical, that the Chronicler in his account of Jehoiada’s revolution calls them Levites” (p. 49).

With respect to Ezekiel’s temple (chap. xl.-xlviii.), I should wish to speak very cautiously. The peculiarities are great, both in respect of matters passed over which the laws of the Pentateuch and the accounts of

Solomon's temple have mentioned, and in respect of new legislation, not so much about the house itself as about the courts. But the enormous size of the house, the express abolition of any distinction between the holy and the most holy place, and the ignoring of the ark, and of the day of atonement, the disappearance of the high priest altogether, while restrictions laid by Moses on the high priest alone are now laid on the whole of the priests, the marked silence also in reference to the evening sacrifice and the feast of weeks or Pentecost, and the institution of a new service on the first and the seventh days of the first month ; these peculiarities, along with the new arrangements for the *prince* (not the king), and the division of the land in a way that revolutionises the old allotment by Moses and Joshua, while yet it manifestly alludes to it, forbid any adhesion to the hypothesis which I understand Professor Smith to favour, as he says of the priesthood, henceforth to be restricted to the sons of Zadok, "on our interpretation the command of God was fulfilled under the second temple" (p. 50). I cannot for a moment imagine that the scheme (Ezek. xl.-xlviii.) was a programme to be carried out under the second temple. I can imagine that it refers to some great revival of worship at the temple and an occupation of the land of Canaan by Christianised Israel in millennial times, though this is not my actual opinion ; but I have no doubt, with the mass of Christian interpreters, that it refers exclusively to blessings in the times of the Gospel, somehow connected with the old Jewish services, while my own inclination is to expect a metaphorical or spiritual fulfilment. Beyond this, I feel no certain conviction, and I have no theory of interpretation to favour ; I must wait for more light.

Believing in a certain dependence of Ezekiel on Jeremiah, and noticing in both prophets a connection between the royal and the priestly offices, it would not surprise me if Zadok—that is, righteous—were a symbolical name, associated indeed with the historical high priest who presided over the house of God when David and Solomon prepared for the temple and founded it, yet, also, associated with Jeremiah's prophecy of the Righteous Branch, Jer. xxiii. 5 ; even as I follow the mass of Christian interpreters in not restricting to Zadok and his descendants that faithful priest with the sure house, of whom Eli was told that he should walk before the Lord's Anointed for ever (1 Sam. ii. 35). I do not wonder, however, if any one speculating on the matter reckons that probably the line of the high priest Zadok kept up the reputation of their ancestor, and were promised such a pre-eminence as to warrant their being specially honoured by being named in these chapters of Ezekiel ; but there is nothing hinted in chap xliv. of their being the only priests. Indeed, as we read in Ezra ii. 36-39 of the return from exile of priests belonging to the second, the sixteenth, the fifth, and the third of the twenty-four classes into which David divided them — sixteen of Eleazar's house, and eight of Ithamar's (1 Chron. xxiv.), according to the ordinary supposition that Eleazar's house always drew two lots for Ithamar's one—the third class, that of Harim, at all events, would belong to Ithamar's, however many more there might be. The priests of the high places, again, which Josiah put down, might be partly descendants of Aaron, who had a right to be priests, but had done wrong in officiating at these places—and partly Levites who had usurped the priestly office, as we read of Micah the

Levite doing in Judges xvii. ; we cannot say. Yet Josiah's permission to them to eat the unleavened bread among their brethren (2 Kings xxiii. 8, 9) is no proof that he reckoned them all rightful priests ; but in his great reformation he was as tender towards what we call vested interests as he could possibly be, and copying the merciful law which permitted a share in "the bread of his God" to the priest whose bodily defects shut him out from service at the altar (Lev. xxi. 16-24), since God spared the lives of these sinners in times of general ignorance or backsliding, he mercifully made this provision for their living. Whether there be any connexion between these priests of the high places, deposed yet fed by Josiah, and the Levites in Ezek. xliv. 13, who were not to draw near to do the office of a priest to the Lord, I shall not pretend to say. Ezekiel says nothing of the feeding mentioned in Kings, and the book of Kings says nothing of their being made keepers of the charge of the house spoken of in Ezek. ver. 14. But both in respect of those Levites who went astray, and those sons of Zadok that kept the charge of the sanctuary, Ezekiel gives the date, "when Israel went astray from me," or "went astray, which went astray away from me after their idols ;" and this may go back as far as the time when Solomon built his high places in Jerusalem, or when Jeroboam turned the Levites off, unless indeed they became priests in his high places ; and from that time onward they may have had sore temptations to be unfaithful. It is a delightful field, in which the mind of the speculative theologian may roam, because he is not encumbered with facts ; almost the only thing recorded, however, is to the honour of the Levites, that in Hezekiah's reformation the Levites gave all

the help they lawfully could to the priests, “for the Levites were more upright in heart to sanctify themselves than the priests” (2 Chron. xxix. 34).

DIFFERENCE OF THE DATE OF **D** AND **S.**

“The Deuteronomic code is represented in chaps. v. 1 *seq.*, vi. 1 *seq.*, and in the subscription xxix. 1, as a renewal of the covenant made with the people at Horeb, and a repetition of the commandments then laid upon them.

“Now the part of the Pentateuch which contains the original Sinaitic Covenant is, as we have already seen, the document **S** embracing Exod. xx.-xxiii.; and when we speak of **D** as a repetition of the law, we must remember that it does not profess to repeat any other law than that of **S**, to which the people were solemnly pledged at Sinai. Between **S** and **D** a very intimate relation subsists” (p. 54).

On this topic, as on the last, my position leads me to say comparatively little. I have already said that I look on Deut. xxix. 1 as the title of the covenant in the plains of Moab, recorded in that chapter and the next. The resemblance to **S**—that is, to Exod. xx.-xxiii.—is indeed very considerable, but it cannot be on the ground on which he puts it, if I am right; indeed others, with as much reason as he has for pronouncing **D** a development and expansion of **S**, have traced in the topics of Deuteronomy an expansion of the Ten Commandments. In both views, we may allow that there is considerable truth; and for reasons already given, I do not hesitate, in opposition to what he says in p. 55, to answer with a decided affirmative the question, whether the language and the matter of the two books is consistent with the idea that both are Mosaic, written within forty years. Of course **D** is an expansion of **S** where they are parallel, because it

is many times as long. The examples of changes, to which he refers, have been already discussed, and I hope they are seen to be of no value for his argument. The law of seduction admits of viewing the act both as a crime and as a civil injury, for which damages are to be obtained, and the prominence given to the one view or the other furnishes no evidence of the date of the law; the latter view is that which the English law long took, and for ought I know still takes.

But “the great central difference between **S** and **D**” is that to which he gives his strength, from p. 57 onward; Exod. xx. 24 being held to sanction indefinitely numerous altars for worship, whereas Deut. xii. sanctions only one. In order to concentrate attention on this, I shall not dwell on minor things to which I object; such as that simplicity was the principle which required an altar of earth or unhewn stones (p. 57), whereas the law itself says that human work upon the altar polluted it; or, that the altar of burnt-offering is supposed by us to have superseded that altar of earth or stones (p. 58), whereas we think them identical, as in the next page he seems to grant may have been the case; or that in Deut. xii. 15, 21, “the permission to kill animals for other than sacrificial purposes appears to be new (p. 63, repeated pp. 64, 72), as if Noah had not received this liberty on coming out of the ark, of which the patriarchs made use. This last point is connected with his belief in a sacrifice, wherever and whenever flesh was eaten.

In many points I believe that I agree with him, or that our differences would be much less than might be imagined on account of his partly taking his position among the critics who are compelled to make the laws look as different as possible so as to arrive at some-

thing like a contradiction. But the case, as I understand it, is simply this—

The use of altars among the patriarchs is recorded from the time that Noah came out of the ark. And the normal state of matters comes out in Abraham's history. “And Abram passed through the land unto the place of Sichem, unto the plain of Moreh. And the Canaanite was then in the land. And *the Lord appeared unto Abram*, and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land: *and there builded he an altar unto the Lord, who appeared unto him.* And he removed from thence unto a mountain: . . . *and there he builded an altar unto the Lord, and called upon the name of the Lord*” (Gen. xii. 6-8). A Divine appearance was held to mark out a spot where he ought to build an altar, as in two other passages properly referred to by Professor Smith (Gen. xxvi. 24, 25; xxxv. 7); and to such a place he might return very naturally (Gen. xiii. 4); nevertheless, he did not think himself restricted to a place where such a manifestation had been granted to him, but built an altar and called upon the name of the Lord in other places where he pitched his tent, as again Gen. xiii. 18; xxxiii. 20. Such an altar Moses built in connection with the apparently miraculous victory over Amalek and the revelation of God's will there given (Exod. xvii. 15). But when Israel entered into covenant with the Lord at Sinai, and was warned against heathenish practices, breaches of the first and second commandments,—a general rule was laid down restricting the place where an altar might be erected (Exod. xx. 24)—“An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen: *in all places*

where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee." An altar was not to be set up by them whenever they pleased, but only where He recorded His name; I need not discuss the precise force of this expression, but it would certainly include any place where a manifestation occurred such as God's appearing to the patriarchs, or to Israel at Mount Sinai. Further explanations of this general law might be given, and were given; but I know of no authority for saying that it was ever repealed under the Old Testament economy; and under the influence of the one sacrifice for sins for ever when Christ died upon the cross, it continues in substance our warrant for acceptable worship everywhere (John iv. 19-26; 1 Cor. i. 2; 1 Tim. ii. 3-8), as even Jewish prophets so far could announce (Mal. i. 10, 11). I thoroughly agree with Professor Smith in his instances of Gideon's altar at Ophrah (Judges vi. 24, 26), and David's in the time of the great pestilence (2 Sam. xxiv. 18), at places where the angel of the Lord appeared to them.*

The question might then be raised, was a place where he had recorded his name and where an altar was accordingly built, a place of acceptable sacrifice only at the time, or did it remain a holy place for all time coming? The latter was the view which one might take, following the example of the patriarchs, who loved and clung to places like Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, and Beersheba; but the parallel is inexact

* I do not feel able to say whether Saul's altar after his supernatural victory (1 Sam. xiv. 35), to which he refers, was for sacrifice, or merely for memorial like the altar Ed (Josh. xxii. 26, 27). The same uncertainty, perhaps, exists with reference to the *first* of the two altars in the same place which Gideon built. But this is an unessential matter.

and insufficient, since the patriarchs had been placed under no restriction, whereas Israel undoubtedly were restricted, and the difficulty was to settle how far this restriction operated. One circumstance would throw light upon their course of duty, namely this : if God were pleased to record His name continuously anywhere, this would certainly mark out such a place for a continuing altar. And very soon He did set up a sanctuary in Israel, on purpose that He might dwell (Hebrew, *shakhan*) among them (Exod. xxv. 8 ; xxix. 45, 46) ; and His dwelling there was represented by the pillar of cloud and fire resting habitually over it (Exod. xl. 35 ; Num. ix. 15-22), as it had rested temporarily on Mount Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 16). This symbol of His presence received from the later Jews the name *Shekhīnah*, on account of its dwelling so ; and the house of God received as one of its commonest names a derivative from the same verb, *mishkan*, the dwelling-place, or habitation, or tabernacle, for in our Authorised Version it is thus variously rendered. And this cloud moved forward to guide the congregation in their journeyings, and dwelt (Auth. Version "rested") in the spot to which they were to come for encampment (Num. x. 12-28), carrying the ark and the tabernacle with them ; hence, as these existed for the sake of the congregation, and moved along with them, and dwelt (Auth. Version "remained") among them (Lev. xvi. 16), God bade them "not defile their camps (or camp) in the midst whereof I dwell" (Num. v. 3—see Deut. xxiii. 14). Wherever the ark and the tabernacle were along with the congregation of the Lord, there might be said to be a place where He recorded His name ; and the continuance of this recording was manifest so long as the pillar of cloud and fire continued.

In this way the sacrificial system at the new sanctuary is set up in the book of Leviticus.

This brings me to the great law in Lev. xvii. on the place of sacrificing. In the camp-life during the journey through the wilderness there would be brought out many of the advantages and the disadvantages, physical and moral, social and religious, with which we are familiar in the life of large cities, as contrasted with the life of a scattered rural population. The people had offered sacrifices in the open fields (ver. 5), which certainly was not a place where the Lord had recorded His name ; and this evil was aggravated greatly when these sacrifices were offered “unto devils after whom they had gone a whoring ” (ver. 7). Hence this law was laid down, that oxen, lambs, and goats, which were the beasts used for sacrifices, were not to be killed in the camp, or out of it, unless they were brought as an offering to the door of the tabernacle, and offered as peace-offerings, when the blood would be sprinkled on the altar of the Lord, and the fat would be burned upon the altar ; for such was part of the ordinary rite in offering peace-offerings (Lev. iii. 17 ; vii. 22-27). He writes (p. 62) :—

“ Here, it is argued, we have a limitation of sacrifice to a single altar in the time of Moses, and therefore a refutation of the view which makes **S** license a plurality of sanctuaries. But in its form of words the law is designed for the period of the wandering. If limited to that period alone, it is by no means inconsistent with our interpretation of **S** ; for in the wilderness the people would have access to no altar which **S** acknowledges as legitimate, with the one exception of that which stood before the tabernacle. It appears, however, that the law is designed to be permanent, for we read at ver. 7 that ‘this shall be a statute to them for ever in their generations.’ Now common-sense excludes the idea that Moses could mean that after the people were scattered through Canaan every animal designed for food must be brought up to the

tabernacle. The law, if it is really Mosaic, can in its application to Canaan have only one sense—viz., that as all animals in the wilderness had to be presented at the tabernacle, so in Canaan they must be presented at some legitimate sanctuary. And this provision is intelligible and practicable only under the law of **S**, which allows altars in all parts of the land, and assumes them to be so numerous that it is always practicable to sacrifice the firstlings eight days after birth."

With the most of this statement I have no controversy, always reserving the point for further investigation, how far the plurality of sanctuaries permitted in **S** was contemporaneous or successive: undoubtedly Exod. xx. 24 admits of more sanctuaries than one, if God recorded His name in more places than one; the only question is, whether He permitted more than one at once, which Professor Smith unhesitatingly answers in the affirmative at the end of this extract. Here in the wilderness they had one place where God continuously recorded His name, the place where His ark and tabernacle were with His people; and Professor Smith seems to agree with me that this was the one legitimate place in the wilderness—that is to say, that a place where God had formerly recorded His name by making the people encamp under the guidance of His ark and tabernacle, ceased to be a legitimate place when He had come to record His name in a new place by a new encampment. The point where we differ is as to the application of the words in ver. 7—"This shall be a statute for ever unto them in their generations." His view of the lawfulness of "altars in all parts of the land" leads him to make this application of the temporary law for permanent use, that in Canaan the animals must be presented at some one of many legitimate sanctuaries; whereas I, who have seen no evidence of these many legitimate altars,

think the permanent parts of the law were—first, its object, that sacrifices to devils must be summarily interdicted and put down; and secondly, its lesson in connection with all legitimate sacrifices, that the blood and the fat must be given to the Lord, and so strictly, that in no case must blood or fat be eaten by the people, as is expounded and enforced in vers. 10-16; the whole law being cast into such a mould as to give prominence to the great idea of a single place of worship for Israel.*

I see no force in what he says (pp. 60, 61) :—

“ Meantime, and before we turn to the corresponding legislation in **D**, let us observe that the principle of plurality of altars is tacitly assumed in other parts of **S**. The clearest passage is Exod. xxii. 30, where it is provided that the firstlings of oxen and sheep shall be given to God—*i.e.*, offered in sacrifice, on the eighth day from their birth. This could not have been done if sacrifice was legitimate only at one sanctuary; and, in fact, Deuteronomy, which abolishes the local altars, changes the law and appoints only that the firstlings be eaten *year by year* in the sanctuary, that no work must be done with the firstling of a bullock, and that a firstling sheep must not be shorn (Deut. xv. 19 *seq.*)”

If Exod. xxii. 30 be the clearest passage, it is a mere assumption that the giving of the firstling of the oxen and the sheep on the eighth day implied that they were to be offered that day; if it did, I should pity the large breeder, who would have had nothing

* I agree with him (pp. 63, 64), that fat seems to be permanently forbidden, though only blood is mentioned expressly in the prohibition in Deut. xii. But it is only a probability by inference; and something can be said for the other view, that with the cessation of the law in Lev. xvii. which made every killed animal a sacrifice of peace-offerings, if it might lawfully be sacrificed, the consequent prohibition of fat also ceased. The question is, however, of no importance to our argument.

else to do, even if he had had an altar within ten miles of him. I take the meaning to be, that from the eighth day and onward it was capable of being offered in sacrifice, after being seven days with its dam ; and so the law is exactly equivalent to Lev. xxii. 27. And I am perplexed when he goes on to say : “Another indication of the plurality of sanctuaries appears in the law of asylum (Exod. xxi. 12-14), where the principle that the right of asylum does not extend to wilful murderers is expressed by saying that such criminals must be taken *from the altar* to die. In other words, the altar is the asylum,” &c. Murderers have tried in many countries to find a sanctuary at God’s altar, and though God authorised no such asylums, yet in Israel we find one attempt, that of Joab, which was dealt with according to this law (1 Kings ii. 28-34) ; compare Adonijah flying to the altar, when deserving to die for treason, and being spared (1 Kings i. 50-53). But wholly different from the altar, which was to be no asylum for the murderer, was the city of refuge for the manslayer, pointed to in the law (Exod. xxi. 13)—“And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand ; then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee.”

The original and general law of the altar (Exod. xx. 24), “wherever God might record His name,” having received some light from the erection of the tabernacle and its permanent altar in connection with the ark, and from the temporary law in Lev. xvii., that during their camp-life they were to acknowledge no other altar but this, and to honour it by not killing ox, sheep, or goat for food without bringing it to this altar as a sacrifice of peace-offerings—it remains to look at Deut. xii., in which the modification is introduced

to meet the exigencies of the change from camp-life in the wilderness to settled life in Canaan. This law, on the one hand, is the repeal of that other law, so far as it required all oxen, &c., used for food to be brought to the sanctuary and treated as peace-offerings; now they might kill and eat oxen, sheep, and goats as freely as they had always eaten venison, only avoiding the eating of blood, which was to be poured upon the earth as water (ver. 15, 16, 20-25); on the other hand, it is the stringent enforcement of a substitute for the influence with which that Levitical law had drawn all the men in the camp to the altar before the tabernacle, as the people were required still to bring to this altar, at the place which the Lord should choose, out of all their tribes, all their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices (though these latter no longer included all the oxen, &c., which they killed and ate), together with those other offerings which would fall to be given to God by the people when once established in their own land, tithes, heave-offerings, vows, free-will-offerings, and firstlings, and to keep their feasts there (ver. 5-7, 17, 18, 26, 27). The laxity which was tolerated in various respects while they were in the wilderness (ver. 8, 9) must give place to strict obedience; and very special weight is placed upon obedience to this law of the one sanctuary for the nation—"When ye go over Jordan, and dwell in the land which the Lord your God giveth you to inherit, and when he giveth you rest from all your enemies round about, so that ye dwell in safety" (ver. 10, 11). And they were cautioned—"Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest, but in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes" (ver. 13, 14). This really need be no more re-

striction than the law in Exod. xx. 24, now that, as we have seen, there was in connection with the ark and tabernacle a place where He continuously recorded His name, the place of His *Shekhinah*, where He dwelt and manifested His presence. To this place He had, from the first legislation, commanded every male to come at the three yearly feasts, and not appear before Him empty, and to bring the first-fruits into the house of the Lord their God (Exod. xxiii. 14-19), repeated after the sin of the golden calf had been forgiven (Exod. xxxiv. 18-26); and in this repetition there had been included the promise—"Neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord thy God thrice in the year" (ver. 24); and with the idea in it Deut. xii. 10 agrees. The principal difference in Deuteronomy from the earlier laws is its greater fulness, reiteration, and hortatory character, as usual; and next to this is the fact that the ark and tabernacle will come to rest in "the place which the Lord shall choose *to cause his name to dwell there*" (ver. 11); repeated, xiv. 23; xvi. 2, 6, 11; xxvi. 2—of which expression we have seen the beginnings in earlier laws, as we see the completion in regard to Shiloh, Josh. xviii. 1 compared with Jer. vii. 12; and in regard to Jerusalem, Ps. lxviii. 16-18; Joel iii. 21; Isa. viii. 18, compared with 1 Chron. xxii. 1, 2; 1 Kings viii. 12, 13; Ps. lxxviii. 67-69. And the mutual connection of every one of these laws in Exod. xx., xxiii., xxxiv., Lev. xvii., and Deut. xii., is all the stronger because this appointment by the Lord of the place where He records His name, or causes it to dwell, or the like, is made to stand out in strong contrast to idolatry, and to the dangers to which the people were exposed of falling into it,

especially by copying the ways of the nations whose sacred places they were strictly charged to destroy.*

It will be plain from what I have now said that I differ very widely indeed from the following extract (p. 63), and why I do so :—

“Thus, on the traditional view of **D**, all sacrifices at other altars would be illegitimate from the days of Joshua downwards. From this date onward the laws of **S** and of Lev. xvii. would be a mere dead letter ; though the former is meaningless unless it refers to Canaan, and the latter is expressly given as a perpetual statute. We are here face to face with a plain contradiction between law and law, which must either be solved by historical criticism or by finding some other exegesis of the laws which, as we have interpreted them, are at variance with one another.”

I hold the so-called law of **S** to be the permanent ruling statute, and that of Lev. xvii. to be an application of it in the wilderness, which was modified in Deut. xii. for the people in common in a way universally allowed to be necessary. By this law, the place where God was known to record His name constantly and habitually was at the national sanctuary. If He recorded His name elsewhere, an altar might be built there to worship Him. But (1.) this would in no way interfere with the law in Deuteronomy which had reference to the national sanctuary, its feasts, and the sacrifices and gifts to be brought thither, and nowhere else. (2.) It still furnishes no authority for regarding that as the place of a permanent altar ; an emergency called it into existence—namely, the special

* In Lev. xvii. 6 the blood is to be sprinkled upon “the altar of the Lord,” an expression not met with elsewhere in the Pentateuch, so far as I have noticed, till we come to this law in Deuteronomy, which I have explained as referring to it and modifying it (ver. 27) ; then it occurs in xvi. 21 ; xxvi. 4 ; xxvii. 6, and but rarely elsewhere.

manifestation of the Lord's name ; and when that passed away, the reason for an altar being there may reasonably be supposed to have also ceased, especially in view of the fact that there was now a permanent altar. The reasoning in the paragraph pp. 63, 64, so far as it opposes this statement of mine, I think I have already met. At least I fail to follow the argument in the two following sentences (p. 64) :—

“ Again, though Deut. xii., in giving the permission to kill beasts for food without going to the sanctuary, implies that previous custom was to sacrifice every animal killed for food, it is plain that the law of **D** is not the formal abrogation of so much of Lev. xvii. as was meant only for the wilderness. The people to whom **D** was addressed were not in the practice of bringing all their victims to the tabernacle. On the contrary, we learn from Deut. xii. 8 that every man did just as he pleased, and this is not put as matter of blame, for the lawgiver identifies himself with current practice by using the pronoun *we*.”

It is of little practical importance whether we call Deut. xii. “ the formal abrogation of so much of Lev. xvii. as was meant only for the wilderness,” or use other words to express the fact that it modified it as I have indicated. And the argument from Moses lovingly identifying himself with his people in their wilfulness and carelessness, cannot be used for any precise determination of the respects in which they had gone astray ; only we know that all the men who had left Egypt twenty years old were now dead (Num. xxvi. 64, 65 ; Deut. ii. 13-16), and that those who “ were born in the wilderness, by the way as they came forth out of Egypt,” had not been circumcised (Josh. v. 4-7), so that in all probability there was very little sacrificing kept up, and much uncertainty what was best to be done in their anomalous position.

The difference between Professor Smith and myself

will thus come to be very much this: that as yet I have seen no evidence for the proposition that Exod. xx. 24 contemplated a plurality of sanctuaries contemporaneously, such as he thinks clear and plain in the following paragraph (p. 61):—

“In general, then, it appears that **S** contemplates a plurality of sanctuaries within the land of Canaan, and that not by way of temporary concession, but as a fixed principle. The principle is not inconsistent with the institution of a special altar with special priests for national, as distinguished from local worship. Perhaps, indeed, the institution of such a central sanctuary is already contemplated in what is said of the three pilgrimage feasts (Exod. xxiii. 17; compare chap. xxxiv. 24), and in the command to bring the first-fruits into the ‘House of Jehovah’ (*Ibid.*, ver. 19). But it is clearly not contemplated that the central sanctuary shall supersede the local altars which God has hallowed by a revelation of Himself, and at which He is ready to meet with His people, and bless them without the mediation of a special priesthood. This view of the meaning of the law in **S** is so plainly the natural one that the objections taken to it are not drawn from exegetical considerations, but solely from other parts of the Pentateuch with which it appears to be inconsistent; and particularly from the law of **D** on the one hand, and from Lev. xvii. on the other.”

An altar might be erected anywhere, if God recorded His name there, and He did manifest Himself at times by miraculous appearances; or as the ark and tabernacle existed for the congregation, and not the congregation for them, there might be times in which the ark was brought forth from its ordinary resting-place to journey and go out to war with the Lord’s host, as it had done in the times of the wanderings through the wilderness, and the sense of need and the expectation of supernatural help were to be interpreted as a proof that He was now recording His name there. Only it was to be recollect that, with a permanent place where He had chosen to make His name to dwell, the

presumption was against any other place till the evidence was clear in its favour ; and the responsibility was serious if any one once took on himself to affirm that in any instance the evidence was clear. And still further, the inference must be carefully restricted within the limits that the evidence warranted ; and, as I have said, I have seen nothing to prove that such a place, once a sanctuary, remained a sanctuary in all time coming, except so far as ignorance, superstition, and heathenish tendencies led the people to do this. Professor Smith holds with me that these local high places were the sources of demoralisation and apostacy in Israel, and that they were swept away by Divine command (pp. 75-81) ; only he mixes up various speculations which give vividness and beauty to his description ; and, far more important, he thinks that the people were guided to this in the providence of God, as the result of which we have the prohibition of them embodied in a late addition to the Divine laws, whereas I follow the opinion which has ever obtained in the synagogue and the Church, and which the words of the book undoubtedly suggest to every one who has not other reasons for thinking this incredible, that Moses was directed to leave all this in his last words to the people, by which they ought to have been guided from the first.

His instances from history (pp. 64-69) do not affect my case so far as I have observed ; they only affect a way of stating the case which I have repudiated.*

* I ought, in fairness, to say that I have not taken up his arguments from priestly altars with steps and lay altars without them (pp. 59, 60), and from all killing animals for food being a sacrifice, and no approach to God without sacrifice (pp. 41, 65, 66), owing to the length of my remarks. I do not think them of the essence of the discussion.

There are, however, one or two passing observations which I may offer. The cases of Samuel and David are thus stated (pp. 67, 68) :—

“ After the battle of Ebenezer, and the capture of the ark, the sanctuary of Shiloh appears to have been destroyed, and during the long period of oppression by the Philistines the worship of Jehovah was grievously interrupted (1 Sam. vii. 2, 3). But the reformation under Samuel again presents a proof that it was the law of **S** and not of **D** that was looked to, even by prophets, as the rule of the theocracy. The work of reformation began at Mizpah—not Mizpah in Gilead, but perhaps the same Mizpah which already appears as a sanctuary in Judges xx. Here, and not before the ark at Kirjath-jearim, the people appear before the Lord, and Samuel offers sacrifice (1 Sam. vii. 9). After the rout of the Philistines, when the central district of the land was brought back to a settled state under Samuel’s rule, he judged Israel at four centres—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and his own city of Ramah. All these places were in his time sanctuaries as well as seats of civil rule, for indeed under a theocracy the two ideas were hardly separable (Bethel, 1 Sam. x. 3 ; Mizpah, x. 17 ; Gilgal, xi. 15, xiii. 9 ; Ramah, ix. 12). Moreover, at least three of them were old sanctuaries under the law of **S**. Bethel and Mizpah we know already ; Gilgal was the resting-place of the ark after the miraculous passage of Jordan, and was then marked as a holy place by the erection of twelve stones, exactly as in the case of the covenant altar (Exod. xxiv. 4). The history of Ramah is not so clear, but its very name seems to mark it as an old sanctuary. And finally, when Samuel made his sons judges in the far south, he placed them in another old patriarchal sanctuary, Beersheba (1 Sam. viii. 2). The whole lines of Samuel’s reformation are strictly modelled on the law of **S** ; but he makes no attempt whatever to realise the provisions of **D**. But perhaps this was only because the land was still unsettled ? Well, in the reign of David this difficulty was removed. The ark was brought up to Jerusalem, and a new central sanctuary was established, with Divine sanction, at the centre of government. But we still hear nothing of the law of **D**. On the contrary, we receive fresh confirmation of the law of **S**, which grants permanent consecration to all places of ancient sanctity. Absalom opened his revolt at the Abrahamic sanctuary of Hebron. He did so because he could have his father’s consent

to go there on pretext of discharging a vow, and so could gather his fellow-conspirators without suspicion to a sacrificial feast" (2 Sam. xv. 7, 12).

As is correctly said, the national sanctuary at Shiloh was destroyed, and the law of Deut. xii. came to be in abeyance through the providence of God, almost as much as at the Babylonish captivity, until Jerusalem was chosen in place of Shiloh, towards the end of David's reign, according to passages formerly noticed, and the temple was built in the reign of Solomon. Sacrifices and national public worship may probably have very much ceased, not only during the seven months the ark was captive among the Philistines, but also during the twenty years that it lay in obscurity at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. vi. 1; vii. 2); and perhaps it was neglected very greatly during the reign of Saul (1 Chron. xiii. 3), though we find the empty tabernacle and some priestly services at Nob and Gibeon. But we know nothing of the reasons for placing it there; and Samuel had no instructions, for the Lord had not yet made known His choice of Zion. It was, therefore, impossible to act on the law in Deut. xii., unless in some very uncertain and imperfect manner; and, of course, Samuel was thrown back on the law in Exod. xx. 24, and had to consider how to apply it in the disorganised condition of the Church. I shall not guess whether he had a special revelation, or whether sanctified wisdom led him to think it best to rekindle spiritual life in Israel at a variety of points where the patriarchs had called on the Lord. But as soon as David succeeded to the untheocratic king Saul, and had made the necessary arrangements for bringing his kingdom into a state of civil order, he did take steps to carry forward the spiritual reformation by com-

pleting the ecclesiastical reorganisation. I think that somehow, perhaps by revelations to himself directly, perhaps by intimations from the prophets at his court or his faithful high priest with the Urim, he must have been led (earlier than the final and most exact intimation after the great plague, 1 Chron. xxii. 1, 2) to think that Jerusalem was to be the ecclesiastical, as well as the civil, capital ; but if so, he proceeded very cautiously. His aim and duty was to establish Jerusalem as the place which the Lord had at length chosen to place His name there, and to concentrate in it those points of spiritual light which Samuel had kindled at several altars ; but matters were not ripe, in God's providence, for gathering all to this centre, and he could advance no further than to bring down the number of places of worship to two—Gibeon, where the empty tabernacle stood ; and Zion, to which he had brought up the neglected ark. It was as if one wished to reduce a shapeless mass to the form of a circle with its centre, and succeeded so far as to make an ellipse of it with two foci. And in this transitional arrangement he was greatly helped by the unprecedented circumstances that the troubles and convulsions through which the people had passed left them in the situation of having two high priests—namely, his faithful follower in all his sufferings, Abiathar of the house of Ithamar, and Zadok, of the original high-priestly house of Eleazar—“So he left there before the ark of the covenant of the Lord Asaph and his brethren, to minister before the ark continually, . . . and Zadok the priest, and his brethren the priests, before the tabernacle of the Lord in the high place that was at Gibeon, to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord,” &c. (1 Chron. xvi. 37-42). The providence of

God, on which he waited, guided the course of events forward.* Abiathar's complicity in Adonijah's treason led to his deposition and the loss of the high priesthood to Eli's line (1 Kings ii. 26, 27), and left Zadok the only rightful occupant of the office. This was soon followed by the building of the temple, and the establishment anew of a single place where the Lord caused His name to dwell, and to which the people were to bring all their sacrifices, &c. ; though, no doubt, so long as the temple was unbuilt the law of Deut. xii. could not be fully carried out, and Solomon "went to Gibeon to sacrifice there, for that was the great high place" (1 Kings iii. 2-4), "and received God's gracious answer in a most notable revelation," as Professor Smith truly says.

What a happy future lay within the reach of Israel from that day forward! Yet before Solomon's reign was over he had clouded the prospect almost hopelessly by building high places right over against the temple he had built for Jehovah, "for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon. And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods" (1 Kings xi. 7, 8). These stood confronting and insulting the worship of the God of Israel until Josiah's reformation,

* No doubt, he had many difficulties to contend with, as the Psalms abound with references to a heathen party in Israel ; much more must times of ignorance and disorder have created serious difficulties in the way of carrying the people onward in the course of reformation. This makes Absalom's vow at Hebron no trouble to me ; and, indeed, besides the permissibility of these irregularities in a period of transition, we are to recollect that David's own great sin had terribly weakened his hands in the work of controlling and reforming his people and his family.

a single generation before the Babylonish captivity. “The high places that were before Jerusalem, which were on the right hand of the mount of corruption, which Solomon the king of Israel had builded for Ashtoreth the abomination of the Sidonians, and for Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon, did the king defile. And he brake in pieces the images,* and cut down the groves [rather, the Asherim], and filled their places with the bones of men” (2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14). It has been naturally enough supposed that this was the Bamah, or high place, of which Ezekiel speaks (chap. xx. 29) in his account of the daring and persistent provocations of the people, for which they were about to be cast forth from the land promised to their fathers. But however that may be, it is evident that these high places dedicated to heathen deities were in daring opposition, not to **D** alone, but to **S**, and to precepts occurring all through the four last books of the Pentateuch. Now if they were in full operation, from Solomon’s reign till Josiah’s, close to Jerusalem, under the eyes of the kings and other rulers, and priests, and prophets, and of the whole people, it is proof positive how the national conscience was drugged or debauched; and it is idle to base any inference about **D** being unknown upon the fact that “it is explicitly recorded that all the last kings, up to the time of Hezekiah, however zealous they showed themselves in the suppression of idolatry,

* Rather, pillars. I have not space to discuss the paragraph (pp. 71, 72) as to the use of them in lawful worship till the supposed late composition of **D**. I think his argument fanciful; and, I dare say, he will admit that it is of only secondary importance at the utmost.

tolerated the worship of Jehovah at local sanctuaries” (p. 68). Nor do I know anything to prevent our understanding by the high places mentioned in the texts he quotes here (1 Kings xv. 14 ; xxii. 43 ; 2 Kings xii. 3 ; xiv. 4 ; xv. 4, 35), not local sanctuaries for the worship of Jehovah, but these high places built by Solomon which persistently held their ground to the end.

But it is alleged (p. 69) that—

“In the Northern Kingdom the case is still clearer. The revolt of Jeroboam was accompanied by religious declension, inasmuch as the king departed from the law of **S** in setting up images to counteract the attractions of the temple on Zion. But the prophets who countenanced his revolt did not contemplate the cessation of all national worship in the northern kingdom. Ahijah does not rebuke the king for worshipping at northern sanctuaries, but only for idolatry (1 Kings xiv. 9). And this was also the standpoint of Elijah, the greatest of the northern prophets. In his campaign against the worship of the Phoenician Baal, Elijah appears as the defender and restorer of the altars of Jehovah, which had been destroyed by Ahab in his attempt to introduce a national service of the Tyrian deity. The scene upon Carmel was a victorious assertion of the Sinaitic law of worship, even following the analogy of Exodus xxiv. in the use of twelve stones according to the number of the Hebrew tribes (1 Kings xviii. 30, 31). And in the wilderness the prophet’s complaint was that the children of Israel had “forsaken God’s covenant and cast down his altars”—the altar, that is, of the northern kingdom, built under the covenant legislation of Sinai, but every one of them a breach of covenant under the law of **D** (1 Kings xix. 10).”

Surely there is some misapprehension here. Ahijah’s threatening does not mention the whole of Jeroboam’s sins ; yet under idolatry are to be included sins against the second commandment as well as against the first, and such would be Jeroboam’s setting up other places of stated public worship to rival the city

which the Lord had chosen to make His name dwell there. Another of Jeroboam's sins was changing holy times as well as holy places, appointing one of the great feasts in the eighth month, "in the month which he had devised of his own heart," to rival the feast in the seventh month at Jerusalem (the seventh month being fixed in Leviticus and Numbers, but not specified in Deuteronomy), 1 Kings xii. 32, 33 ; and another of his sins was in reference to holy persons, he "made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi" (ver. 31), an act that would be pronounced sinful by Professor Smith as well as by me. But none of these things are mentioned specifically as expressed in the preaching of the great prophets of the northern kingdom. The truth is, that as the spiritual darkness deepened among the ten tribes, the Spirit of God put forth more marvellous efforts as He strove with His people before giving them up ; and at the time of the ruin of the priestly services, a missionary effort was inaugurated by the prophets on a scale of grandeur to which there is nothing comparable in the prophetic workings among the people of the better-constituted kingdom of Judah. I have compared Elijah in important respects to Moses and Samuel, on account of his mission at a time when Israel seemed on the point of falling away by a total apostacy, substituting the worship of Baal for that of Jehovah ; but even when success had crowned the efforts of his successor, and a new dynasty came to the throne which swept away this foreign superstition, we read the melancholy statement that "Jehu took no heed to walk in the law of the Lord God of Israel with all his heart; for he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam, which made Israel to sin" (2 Kings x. 31). "The

altars of the Lord " in the northern kingdom, of whose casting down Elijah speaks (1 Kings xviii. 30 ; xix. 10), might occupy a position analogous to those in Samuel's days, interesting and important when the place which the Lord had chosen was daringly set aside, even though they represented a very imperfect state of obedience and worship. Indeed, I am not sure that Elijah spoke of casting down a material altar at all, but of the people casting off regard for the true worship of Jehovah ; or if he spoke of material altars, it may well be that Ahab and Jezebel defaced and destroyed places the memory of which was dear to pious worshippers, though they did not approve of sacrifices at them.

I cannot admit the force of his argument from certain " minor details of worship " in pp. 70, 71 :—

" The law of **S**, constructed on the lines of the old patriarchal religion, seems to contemplate something of the nature of a family priesthood, in which the head of a Hebrew household brought his gifts to the altar without waiting for the great pilgrimage feasts (*supra*, pp. 60, 61). In **D**, on the contrary, all sacrificial worship is strictly in the hands of the Levite priests. Now, in this respect also the history agrees with **S**. The cases of Manoah and Gideon will, no doubt, be objected to as exceptional, though there is nothing in the history to mark them as such, and though it seems strange theology to suppose that God will make exceptions to His own covenant ordinances. But we find a family sacrifice observed by David's clan at Bethlehem (1 Sam. xx. 29). And we have seen that David himself did sacrifice (2 Sam. vi. 17), and that his sons are called priests (*supra*, p. 45). Moreover, though Samuel rebukes Saul for his sacrifice at Gilgal (1 Sam. xiii. 8 seq.), the offence is disobedience, and not interference with priestly prerogative, as is clear from 1 Sam. xiv. 33-35. Finally, Elijah's sacrifice on Carmel is in this, as in all other points, exactly conformed to the law of **S**."

I see no strange theology in supposing that God will make exceptions to His own covenant ordinances, where

the exception has to do with mere ritual, and a miraculous appearance of God, and a peculiar call (such as to Gideon and to the parents of Samson, in times of utter ecclesiastical disorder) led to the sacrifices in question ; in a case of far smaller emergency I find our Lord justifying David when he ate the shewbread, which was not lawful for any but the priests to eat. I have already denied that David sacrificed, and that his sons were priests in the only sense which is to the point. Of David's going to the yearly feast at Bethlehem (1 Sam. xx. 6, 29) I have to say that, at the utmost, it proves, what we have seen already, that in Samuel's time there was no place which the Lord had chosen to make His name dwell there, and the effect of this was a disastrous breaking up of the unity of the religion of Israel. But we know nothing about this feast, what priests were at it, or perhaps Samuel himself (compare 1 Sam. ix. 12, 13), especially if it was a secret family service ever since he offered a sacrifice there, and anointed David to be king (chap. xvi. 1-13). I take the contrary view of Saul's conduct (1 Sam. xiii. 8 *seq.*) to that given in the extract. I think he was blamed for arrogating priestly functions ; but if any one thinks otherwise, he is at liberty to hold that Saul sacrificed by means of a priest, as I said of David.

Only I have no object in maintaining that the law was always carried out. People often know a law, and acknowledge it to be a law, and for some reason disregard it. It has been a common sin in the Christian Church, from the apostles' days down to this hour, to *Judaise*, by going back on the obsolete rules for the Church in Jewish times ; yet among the Judaisers there has often been much real religion ; and the law of sacrifice, even in its elementary form in Exod. xx.

24, curtailed liberties that had been enjoyed in patriarchal times. It may well be, if I may coin so clumsy a word, that there were those in the Jewish Church who *patriarchalised*—good and holy men, who went back to the old ways of their forefathers before the times of Moses.

Two striking cases of a law known, yet disobeyed systematically, I shall simply mention. The second commandment plainly forbids the worshipping of God by images. Yet by far the largest portion of the professing Christian Church, for much the largest part of the time since the Church was founded, have used images in the worship of God. Sometimes this disobedience has been checked by an unfortunate arrangement of the commandments which united the second to the first ; and sometimes one step more has been taken, and this double commandment has been abbreviated on the plea of expediency or convenience, or the like, and the obnoxious prohibition of images has been wholly kept out of men's sight. Again, polygamy and divorce were very early corruptions of the original law of marriage. Our Lord said of divorce, that Moses made a certain allowance for the hardness of the people's heart, yet he added that from the beginning it was not so ; but of polygamy it is nowhere said that God sanctioned it, or even tolerated it. Nevertheless, the best of men in Old Testament times practised, or excused it, or said nothing against it. If more puzzling things could be presented to us about the breach of the laws in Deuteronomy than any that I have ever seen, these two cases of the law of marriage and the law against images would keep me from finding in this circumstance any proof that the law did not exist.

I am content to leave the crucial case of the altar
Ed to any one who reads Josh. xxii. and Professor
Smith's comments on it. I think the case speaks
for itself as to the altar before the tabernacle
being the only lawful altar for Israel in ordinary cir-
cumstances, or as a permanent arrangement. I think
the same inference is to be drawn from Gideon's
ephod, put by him in his own city, "and all Israel
went thither a whoring after it : which thing became
a snare unto Gideon and to his house" (Judges viii.
27), quite apart from their going a whoring after
Baalim when he was dead (ver. 33, 34). It may not
be easy to prove that no private subsidiary altars
could be tolerated, provided they did not come into
rivalship with the central or national place of worship :
but it is difficult to see how they could do otherwise
than rival it, as those at Dan and Bethel were meant
by Jeroboam to rival Jerusalem, and I believe it is
impossible to find any support in Scripture for such
contrivances. There is the more room for those who
choose to speculate on these matters, because Scrip-
ture really gives extremely little information on the
subject of the ritual observances of the Israelites,
even the most important of them ; and in this, I
suppose, it stands out in contrast to all professedly
authoritative books of other religions. The one portion
of Scripture which may be called exceptional in this
respect is Chronicles, a book which, according to the
common belief of the Synagogue and the Church,
gathered up the permanent lessons of the theocracy
on its spiritual and ecclesiastical side, when its politi-
cal importance was gone ; and the authority or the
accuracy of this book is persistently impugned by the
most of the critics. Professor Smith has certainly no

sympathy with them in this ; yet, unfortunately, his references to Chronicles at p. 33 note, pp. 46-7, 49, 87, throw a sort of haziness around the statements of the book, so that I should not know how to convince him by any of its testimonies in favour of the early existence of the Pentateuch, and of the lawful sacrifices only at the temple and by the hands of the priests of Aaron's family. Finally, on his principles I do not see how a local sanctuary should not have been set up by David, for instance, in the places to which he was driven out by Saul's persecutions, or in the country east of Jordan when he had to flee from Absalom.

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS.

I have protracted this discussion to much greater length than I had wished ; but I did not see how to compress what I had to say within narrower limits, without showing want of respect for Professor Smith and his arguments if I dealt with them at all. Far from having the least desire to do so, I cherish the highest regard for him, and admire his great ability and his extensive learning. I fear I may at times have misunderstood his reasoning, and, in consequence, may have done injustice to him : if so, I am sincerely sorry. I can only say I have endeavoured to be thoroughly fair to him ; so desirous of this have I been, that perhaps I have to apologise to my readers for following his order of topics, &c., rather than taking a course of my own, which might, perhaps, have been more interesting or more effective.

I conclude with directing my readers to another kind of critical evidence for determining the date of

Deuteronomy, though I must leave the working out of it to themselves. If we do not allow it to be the composition of Moses, what other time can be suggested that will not land us in much greater difficulties than have ever been imagined against the traditional view ? Take, for instance, the age after Hezekiah's reign, to which Professor Smith inclines ; or that of Josiah, which is probably more common, and ask—

1. How the system of laws uniformly takes for granted that Israel is one Church and one people, without any trace of the fearful schism, political and religious, which took place on the death of Solomon, and without any provision for the new circumstances of the Church and nation which then emerged ?

2. How is there so much in it about the Canaanites, most keenly urging their extermination, the utter destruction of all traces of their worship, and the avoidance of all marriage connexions with them ? Surely this was inapplicable to the case of the feeble remnant left in the age of the kings, who had moreover apparently been received into the Church of Israel as converts. And what was the meaning of saying at that late date, “Thou shalt not be afraid of them. . . . The Lord thy God will put out those nations before thee by little and little : thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beasts of the field increase upon thee” (Deut. vii. 18, 22) ?

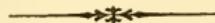
3. How do other laws fit into such a time ? Such are the laws of the kingdom (chap. xvii. 14-20), so unlike anything that would be given for the first time in an age subsequent to Solomon, in spite of what Professor Smith says in explanation of it (p. 82 note), as if it were any difficulty to suppose that Samuel was acquainted with it ; and the laws providing for the

case of the land becoming too large for carrying out old arrangements (chaps. xii. 20; xiv. 24; xix. 8) at the very time when the Ten Tribes had been carried captive.

4. How is there an entire absence in Deuteronomy, as in the other books of the Pentateuch, of any reference to temples or equivalent buildings, such as are most frequently mentioned in the later history ? "High places" are named only twice in Deuteronomy, neither time in the sense of places of worship ; thrice in Numbers, two of the cases being in the history of Baalim ; and again only once in Leviticus. And in none of these cases is there any evidence of a temple : there was a place of worship, but scarcely anything that could be called a building.

5. How is there no mention of the great and more distant heathen powers that exercised so commanding an influence over Israel and Judah as their history advanced ? Except Egypt, the land of bondage, from which Moses had brought them out, Deuteronomy speaks only of lands like Edom, and Moab, and Ammon, the petty countries immediately bordering on Canaan.

6. In Deut. xxiii. 7, 8, a friendly feeling for Edom is exhibited : he is "thy brother," and his offspring were to be admitted into the congregation of the Lord on the most favourable conditions ; whereas, in the Psalms and the prophets, Edom invariably appears among the bitterest enemies of Israel, often as the leader of the hostile combination, or as the very type of the whole of them, in accordance with the embittered relations between Edom and Moab from the days of David onwards, but not earlier.



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