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I.

THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD REGARDING
THE SABBATH AND ITS BEARING ON
CHRISTIAN WORK.

ON several occasions during our Lord's ministry, the Sabbath came into special notice, and the record of His instructions on the subject, forms an important part of the Gospel history. Of thirty-three miracles, of which we have a detailed account, no less than seven were performed on that day, while another is supposed by many to be referred to in one of His discourses (John vii. 21-23), and probably there were many others, not specifically mentioned. Those specially recorded are, the healing of the impotent man at Bethesda, on the second Passover of His ministry (John v. 9); of the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum, at the commencement of His Galilean ministry (Mark i. 23-26; Luke iv. 33-36); of Simon's wife's mother, the same afternoon (Matt. viii. 14, 15; Mark i. 29-31; Luke iv. 38, 39); of the man with the withered hand (Matt. xii. 9-13; Mark iii. 1-5; Luke vi. 6-11); of the man born blind, who sat begging at Jerusalem (John ix. 14); of the woman with the spirit of infirmity (Luke xiii. 11-14); and of the man who had the dropsy, at a feast given by one of the chief Pharisees (Luke xiv. 1-4).

The number of these cases, as well as the whole circumstances connected with them, indicate that our Lord had important designs to serve by this procedure. To appreciate this, we must notice that all these cures were unsolicited. The people made no application to Him on the Sabbath. We read that on the evening of the same

IV.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE PENTATEUCH.

EARLY in 1881 the editors of this REVIEW agreed that it was best to have a series of articles on Biblical Criticism and Inspiration. It was thought that the great attention given to these topics in the Old World, the prolonged conflict in Scotland over the "Robertson Smith case," the large number of publications presenting these subjects in crude and dangerous forms, and the increasing attention given to them in the religious journals and at ministerial gatherings, rendered such a series of articles indispensable to a theological REVIEW that proposed to discuss the living topics of the time. The series was opened by the managing editors. In April, 1881, Prof. A. A. Hodge associated with him Prof. B. B. Warfield in the first article on *Inspiration*. This was followed in July, 1881, by an article on *The Right, Duty, and Limits of Biblical Criticism*, by myself. In these articles the managing editors of this REVIEW agreed upon the limits within which the discussion should be conducted :

"While they admit freely that the traditional belief as to the dates and origin of the several books may be brought in question without involving any doubt as to their inspiration, yet confidently affirm that any theories of the origin or authorship of any book of either Testament which ascribes to them a purely naturalistic genesis, or dates or authors inconsistent with either their own natural claims or the assertions of other Scripture, are plainly inconsistent with the doctrine of Inspiration taught by the Church" (PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, ii., pp. 244, 551).

Within these limits the various theories of recent Biblical Criticism have been discussed as follows : *Prof. W. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch*, by Prof. W. Henry Green, in Jan., 1882 ; *The Critical Theories of Julius Wellhausen*, by Prof. Henry P. Smith, in April, 1882 ; *Delitzsch on the Origin and Composition of the Pentateuch*, by Prof. S. Ives Curtis, in July, 1882 ; *The Logical Methods of Professor Kuenen*, by Prof. Willis J. Beecher, in October, 1882. These articles have considered the problems of Higher Criticism from various points of view, and have made each in turn valuable contributions to the subject.

The discussion might be continued still further, but it is deemed best to carry out the original plan and bring the series to a conclusion by articles from the Exegetical and Dogmatic side of the question. Leaving the latter to my co-managing editor, Prof. Francis L. Patton, I propose in this article to undertake the former, not without a deep sense of the gravity of the issues involved and my own inadequacy to perform the task in accordance with the ideal, but impelled by the necessities of the case to discharge to the best of my ability the task assigned me.

The current critical theories, which have been presented in detail in the previous articles, are the resultants of forces at work in the Church since the Reformation. These forces have advanced steadily and constantly. In each successive epoch scholars have investigated afresh the sacred records and brought forth treasures new as well as old. Various theories have been proposed from time to time to account for the new facts that have been brought to light. Biblical science has shared the fortune of the entire circle of the sciences. The theories have been modified or discarded under the influence of additional investigations and the discovery of new facts for which they could not account. The facts have remained in every case as a permanent acquisition of Biblical Criticism, and these facts have gradually accumulated in mass and importance until they now command the services of a large body of enthusiastic investigators. They have gained the ear of the literary world and enlist the interest of all intelligent persons. The questions of Biblical Criticism have arisen to a position among the great issues of our time.

We have shown in our former article on *The Right, Duty, and Limits of Biblical Criticism* that the Reformation was a great *critical* revival; that evangelical Biblical Criticism was based on the *formal* principle of Protestantism, the divine authority of the Scriptures over against Ecclesiastical Tradition; that the voice of God Himself, speaking to His people through His Word, is the great *evangelical critical test*; that the Reformers applied this test to the traditional theory of the Canon and eliminated the Apocryphal books therefrom; that they applied it to the received versions, and, rejecting the inspiration and authority of the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, resorted to the original Greek and Hebrew texts; that they applied it to the Masoretic traditional pointing of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, rejecting it as uninspired, resorted to the divine original unpointed text; that they applied it to the traditional manifold sense and allegorical method of interpretation, and, rejecting these, followed the plain grammatical sense, interpreting difficult and obscure passages by the mind of the Spirit in passages that are plain and undisputed.

We also described the second critical revival under the lead of Capellus and Walton, and their conflict with the Protestant scholastics who had reacted from the critical principles of the Reformation into a reliance upon Rabbinical tradition. We showed that the Westminster divines still held the position of the Reformers, and were not in accord with the scholastics. We then called attention to the beginnings of the third critical revival toward the close of the 18th century in the investigations of the poetic and literary features of the Old Testament by Bishop Lowth in England and the poet Herder in Germany, and of the structure of Genesis by the Roman Catholic physician Astruc. The first critical revival had been mainly devoted to the canon of Scripture, its authority and interpretation. The second critical revival had been chiefly with regard to the original texts and versions. The third critical revival now gave attention to the investigation of the sacred Scriptures as *Literature*.

Little attention had been given to such topics in the sixteenth century. How the Reformers would have met these questions we may infer from their freedom with regard to traditional views in the few cases in which they expressed themselves. Luther denied the Apocalypse to John and Ecclesiastes to Solomon, and said, What matters it if Moses should not himself have written the Pentateuch? * Calvin denied the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews and doubted the Petrine authorship of 2d Peter. He taught that Ezra or some one else edited the Psalter and made the first Psalm an introduction to the Collection, not hesitating to oppose the traditional view that David was the author of the entire Psalter. He also regarded Ezra as the author of the prophecy of Malachi—Malachi being his surname. He furthermore constructed, after the model of a harmony of the Gospels, a harmony of the Pentateuchal legislation about the Ten Commandments as a centre, holding that all the rest of the commandments were mere "appendages, which add not the smallest completeness to the Law." †

* See Diestel, *Gesch. des Alten Test. in der christlichen Kirche*, 1869, p. 250, sq.

† "Therefore, God protests that He never enjoined anything with respect to sacrifices; and He pronounces all external rites but vain and trifling if the very least value be assigned to them apart from the Ten Commandments. Whence we more certainly arrive at the conclusion to which I have adverted, viz. : that they are not, to speak correctly, of the substance of the law, nor avail of themselves in the worship of God, nor are required by the Lawgiver himself as necessary, or even as useful, unless they sink into this inferior position. In fine, they are appendages which add not the smallest completeness to the Law, but whose object is to retain the pious in the spiritual worship of God, which consists of Faith and Repentance, of Praises whereby their gratitude is proclaimed, and even of the endurance of the cross" (*Preface to Harmony of the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch*).

Zwingli, Ecolampadius, and other Reformers took similar positions. These questions of authority and date troubled the Reformers but little; they had to battle against the Vulgate for the original text and popular versions, and for a simple grammatical exegesis over against traditional authority and the manifold sense. Hence it is that on these literary questions the symbols of the Reformation take no position whatever, except to lay stress upon the sublimity of the style, the unity and harmony of Scripture, and the internal evidence of its inspiration and authority. Calvin sets the example in this particular in his Institutes, and is followed by Thomas Cartwright, Archbishop Usher, and the authors of the Westminster standards. The last symbolical word on this subject is the best of all, in our Confession of Faith, i. 5 :

“We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem for the Holy Scripture” [External evidence]; “and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God,) the full discovery it makes of the only way of man’s salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the word of God” [The internal evidence in the field of Biblical Criticism]; “yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is, from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the word in our hearts” [The *fides divina*.]

The Westminster standards are here in entire accord with the other Reformed Confessions and the faith of the Reformation. They express a devout admiration and profound reverence for the holy majestic character and style of the divine Word, but do not define the human authors and dates of the various writings. As Prof. A. F. Mitchell of St. Andrew’s well states :

“Any one who will take the trouble to compare their list of the canonical books with that given in the Belgian Confession or the Irish articles, may satisfy himself that they held with Dr. Jameson that the authority of these books does not depend on the fact whether this prophet or that wrote a particular book or parts of a book, whether a certain portion was derived from the Elohist or the Jehovist, whether Moses wrote the close of Deuteronomy, Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes, or Paul of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but in the fact that a prophet, an inspired man, wrote them, and that they bear the stamp and impress of a divine origin.”

And Matthew Poole, the great Presbyterian critic of the 17th century, quotes with approval the following from Melchior Canus :

“It is not much material to the Catholick Faith that any book was written by this or that author, so long as the Spirit of God is believed to be the author of it; which Gregory delivers and explains: For it matters not with what pen the King writes his letter, if it be true that he writ it” (“*Blow at the Root*,” 4th ed., 1671, p. 228).

Andrew Rivetus, one of the chief Reformed divines of the Continent, in his *Prolog.* to his *Com.* on the Psalms, after discussing the various views of authorship, says :

"Id tantum pro certo habendum, sive David, sive Moses, sive quis alius Psalmos condiderit, ipsi quasi calami fuerunt, sed spiritus sanctus per eos scripsit: at non necesse sit laborare de calamo, cum de vero scriptore constet."

In his *Isagoge seu Introductio generalis ad scripturam sacram*, 1627, he enters into no discussion of these literary questions. This omission makes it clear that these questions did not concern the men of his times. Until the close of the 17th century, those who, in the brief preliminary words to their Commentaries on the various books of Scripture, took the trouble to mention the authors and dates of writings, either followed the traditional views without criticism or deviated from them in entire unconsciousness of giving offence to the orthodox faith. This faith was firmly fixed on the *divine* author of Scripture, and they felt little concern for the *human* authors employed. One looks in vain in the Commentaries of this period for a critical discussion of Literary Questions.*

The Literary questions opened by Lowth, Herder, and Astruc were essentially *new* questions. The revived attention to Classical and Oriental History and Literature carried with it a fresh study of Hebrew History and Literature. The battle of the books waged between Bentley and Boyle, which was decided in the inter-

* As specimens we will present the following from the *Assembly's Annotations*. (1). *Francis Taylor on Job*: "Though most excellent and glorious things be contained in it, yet they seem to partake the same portion with their subject; being (as his prosperity was) clouded often with much darkness and obscurity, and that not only in those things which are of lesse moment and edification (viz.: the Time and Place and Penman, etc.), but in points of higher doctrine and concernment. The Book is observed to be a sort of holy poem, but yet not a Fable; and, though we cannot expressly conclude when or by whom it was written, though our maps cannot show us what Uz was, or where situate, yet cannot this Scripture of Job be rejected until Atheisme grow as desperate as his wife was, and resolve with her to curse God and dye." The Traditional view that Moses wrote Job is simply abandoned and the authorship left unknown. (2). *Preface to the Psalms*: "The author of this book (the immediate and secondary, we mean, besides the original and general of all true Scripture, the Holy Ghost . . .), though named in some other places of Scripture David, as Luke xx. 42, and elsewhere, is not here in the title of the book expressed. The truth is, they are not all David's Psalms, some having been made before and some long after him, as shall be shown in due place." The Traditional view as to the Davidic authorship of the Psalter is abandoned without hesitation or apology. (3). *Preface to the Proverbs*: "That Solomon is the author of this book of Proverbs in general is generally acknowledged; but the author, as David of the Psalms, not because all made by him, but because either the maker of a good part, or collector and approver of the rest. It is not to be doubted but that many of these Proverbs and sentences were known and used long before Solomon. . . . Of them that were collected by others as Solomon's, but long since his death, from chap. xxv.-xxx., and then of those that bear Agur's name, xxx., and Lemuel's, xxxi. . . . If not all Solomon's, then, but partly his and partly collected by him and partly by others at several times, no wonder if diverse things, with little or no alteration, be often repeated."

Joseph Mede, William Bridge, Henry Hammond, Kidder, and others denied the integrity of Zechariah, and, on the ground of Matthew xxvii. 9, ascribed the last six chapters to Jeremiah.

ests of literary criticism by the masterpiece of Bentley on the epistles of Phalaris and Fables of Æsop, 1699, was the prelude of a struggle over all the literary monuments of antiquity, in which the spurious was to be separated from the genuine. It was indispensable that the whole Greek and Latin and Hebrew Literatures should pass through the fires of this Literary and Historical Criticism, which soon received the name of *Higher Criticism*. As Eichhorn says :

“Already long ago scholars have sought to determine the age of anonymous Greek and Roman writings now from their contents, and then since these are often insufficient for an investigation of this kind, from their language. They have also by the same means separated from ancient works pieces of later origin, which, by accidental circumstances, have become mingled with the ancient pieces. And not until the writings of the Old Testament have been subjected to the same test can any one assert with confidence that the sections of a book all belong in reality to the author, whose name is prefixed” (“*Einleit.*” iii., p. 67).

THE TRADITIONAL THEORIES.

The traditional views of the Old Testament Literature, as fixed in the Talmud and stated in the Christian Fathers, came down as a body of lore to be investigated and tested by the principles of this *Higher Literary and Historical Criticism*. There were four ways of meeting the issue: (1) By attacking the traditional theories with the weapons of the Higher Criticism and testing them at all points, dealing with the Scriptures as with all other writings of antiquity. (2) By defending the traditional theories as the established faith of the Church on the ground of the authority of Tradition, as Buxtorf and Owen had defended the inspiration of the Hebrew vowel points against Capellus and Walton. (3) By ignoring these questions as matters of scholarship and not of faith, and resting on the divine authority of the writings themselves. In point of fact, these three methods were pursued, and three parties ranged themselves in line to meet the issues; the Deistic or Rationalistic, the Traditional or Scholastic, the Pietistic or Mystical, and the battle of the ages between these tendencies was renewed on this line. There was a 4th and better way which few pursued. As we have shown in our article on *Biblical Theology* (PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, iii., p. 505):

“The Evangelical spirit combines what is true and of advantage in all these tendencies of human nature.” “It unites the devotional with the legal and moral habits and attitudes. It strives to unite in the Church the various types of human experience, in order to complete manhood.”

This evangelical spirit would apply the critical test of the Reformation and combine the three methods thus: (1) Inquire what the Scriptures teach about themselves, and separate this *divine* authority from all other authority; (2) apply the principles of the *Higher*

Criticism to decide questions not decided by divine authority; (3) use *Tradition*, in order to determine as far as possible questions not settled by the previous methods.

We propose to give a Critical Study of the History of the Higher Criticism, and discuss the problems raised by the more recent theories, from this *evangelical* point of view. In order to present the subject in its historical order, we must first state the Traditional views as they came down to the critics at the close of the 17th century. The orthodox Rabbinical theory of the Old Testament Literature is contained in the Tract Babhabathra of the Talmud. The Mishna apart from the Gemara, gives it as follows: *

“Our Rabbins have taught: the classification of the Prophets: Joshua and Judges, Samuel and Kings, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, Isaiah and the twelve (minor Prophets). . . . The classification of the Hagiographa: Ruth and the Psalter, and Job and Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs and Lamentations, Daniel and the roll of Esther, Ezra and Chronicles. . . . And who wrote them? Moses wrote his book, the chapter of Balaam, and Job; Joshua wrote his book and the eight verses of the Law; † Samuel wrote his book and Judges and Ruth; David wrote the Psalter with the aid of ten ancients; with the aid of the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Korah; Jeremiah wrote his book, the book of Kings and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes; the men of the great synagogue wrote Ezekiel and the twelve (minor Prophets), Daniel and the roll of Esther; Ezra wrote his book and the genealogy of Chronicles until his own time.” †

Thus the Mishna assigns writers to all the Biblical books. But Wogue (p. 19) makes it very clear that כתיב in this passage does not mean *compose* of authorship, but *commit to writing*, whether by the author himself or others. Thus he explains the writing of Isaiah, Proverbs, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes by Hezekiah and his company; and of Ezekiel, the minor prophets and the roll of Esther, by the men of the great synagogue. If this be true in these cases we cannot be sure that it is not true in the other cases also. This statement of the Mishna is enlarged upon by the Gemara. The Talmud elsewhere contains other conflicting statements, which cannot, however, claim the antiquity or authority of the passage cited above. Josephus says:

* The Mishna was compiled by the Rabbi Judah toward the close of the second century, A.D., and completed by his disciples by the middle of the third century. See Wogue *Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique*, 1881, p. 183 sq., Schürer *Lehrb. d. N. T. Zeitgeschichte*, 1874 p. 37 sq.

† The ordinary Jewish view is that Moses also wrote the last eight verses by divine dictation. This is expressed elsewhere in the Talmud. See Wogue, *Histoire de la Bible*, 1881, p. 21, sq. *Bababathra*, 15a; Josephus, *Antiquities*, iv. 8, 48; Philo, *Life of Moses*, iii., § 39.

‡ For a full exposition of this statement see Wogue *Histoire de la Bible et de l'Exégèse Biblique Paris*, 1881.

"We have not myriads of books among us disagreeing and contradicting one another, but only twenty-two, comprising the history of all past time, justly worthy of belief. And five of them are those of Moses, which comprise the law and the tradition of the generation of mankind, until his death. This time extends to a little less than three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians after Xerxes, the prophets after Moses composed that which transpired in their times in thirteen books. The other four books present hymns to God and rules of life for men" (*Contra Apion. i., § 8*).

"And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters" (*Antiq. vii. 12*).

Josephus' views as to Hebrew Literature vary somewhat from the Mishna. He strives to exalt the Hebrew Scriptures in every way as to style, antiquity, and variety above the Classic Literature of Greece. We do not hesitate to reject his views of the number and arrangement of the books in the Canon, or his statements as to the metres of Hebrew Poetry; we certainly cannot accept his authority as final in questions of authorship. He gives us a variant tradition from that contained in the Mishna.

A still more ancient and higher authority in some respects than the Mishna, or Josephus, is the Apocalypse of Ezra xiv. 19-46, from the first Christian century, printed among the Apocryphal books in the English Bible, and preserved in five versions, and used not unfrequently by the Fathers as if it were inspired Scripture. This tradition represents that the law and all the holy books were burned at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and lost; that Ezra under divine inspiration restored them all, and also composed seventy others to be delivered to the wise as the esoteric wisdom for the interpretation of the twenty-four.*

This view of the restoration of the Old Testament writings by Ezra was advocated by some of the fathers. Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromata*, i. 22, says:

"Since the Scriptures perished in the captivity of Nebuchadnezzar, Esdras the Levite, the priest, in the time of Artaxerxes, king of the Persians, having become inspired, in the exercise of prophecy restored again the whole of the ancient Scriptures."

* Ezra saith: "For thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Ghost unto me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning which were written in thy law, that men may find thy path, etc. . . . Come hither (saith God), and I shall light a candle of understanding in thine heart which shall not be put out, till the things be performed which thou shalt begin to write. And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish, and some things shalt thou show secretly to the wise. . . . The first that thou hast written publish openly, that the worthy and the unworthy may read it; but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people, for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom and the stream of knowledge" (xiv. 19-46).

So also, Tertullian, *de cultu foeminarum*, c. 3; Chrysostom, *Hom. viii., in Epist. Hebræos* (Migne's edition, xvii., p. 74), the *De mirabilibus sacrae scripturae*, II., 33 (printed with Augustine's works, but not genuine), the heretical Clementine *Homilies*, iii. c. 47. Another common opinion of the Fathers is represented by Irenæus, *adv. Hæreses*, iii. 21, 2:

"During the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, the Scriptures had been corrupted, and when, after seventy years, the Jews had returned to their own land, then in the time of Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, [God] inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to recast all the words of former prophets, and to re-establish with the people the Mosaic legislation."

So, also, Theodoret, *Praef. in Psalmos*; Basil, *Epist. ad Chilouem* (Migne's edition, IV., p. 358). [See Simon, *Hist. Crit. de Vieux Test.*, Amsterd. 1685, and Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraph.* Hamburg, 1722, p. 1722, p. 1156, sq.] Jerome, *adv. Helvidius*, says with reference to this tradition: "Whether you wish to say that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, or that Ezra restored it, is indifferent to me." Bellarmin, *de verbo Dei*, is of the opinion that the books of the Jews were not entirely lost, but that Ezra corrected those that had become corrupted, and improved the copies he restored.

Jerome in the fourth century relied largely upon Jewish Rabbinical authority, and gave his great influence toward bringing the fluctuating traditions in the Church into more accordance with the Rabbinical traditions, but he could not entirely succeed. He held that the orphan Psalms belonged as a rule to the previous ones, and in general followed the Rabbins in associating the sacred writings with the familiar names, Moses, Daniel, Solomon, Jeremiah, Ezra, and so on. There is, however, no consensus of the Fathers on these topics.

Junilius, in the midst of the sixth century, author of the first extant Introduction, *Institutio regularis Divinae Legis*, a reproduction of a lost work of his instructor, Paul of Nisibis, of the Antiochian school of Exegesis, presents a view which may be regarded as representing very largely the Oriental and Western Churches. He divides the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments into 17 Histories, 17 Prophecies, 2 Proverbial and 17 Doctrinal Writings. Under authorship, he makes the wise discrimination between those having their authors indicated in their titles and introductions, and those whose authorship rested purely on tradition, in the latter including the Pentateuch and Joshua. *

* "*Scriptores divinatorum librorum qua ratione cognoscimus? Tribus modis: aut ex titulis et proemiis ut propheticos libros et apostoli epistolas, aut ex titulis tantum ut evangelistas, aut ex traditione veterum ut Moses traditur scripsisse quinque primos libros historiae,*

This position of Junilius is the true Evangelical position. It puts the authorship of the Pentateuch on the same level as the authorship of the other historical books of the Old Testament. This work of Junilius held its own as an authority in the Western Church until the Reformation. It would be difficult to define a consensus of the Fathers in regard to the authorship of the historical books of the Old Testament. The variant traditions, unfixed and fluctuating, came down to the men of the eighteenth century to be tested by the *Scriptures*, and by the principles of the Higher Criticism, and they found no *Consensus patrum* and no *orthodox symbolical doctrines* in their way.

THE EVIDENCE FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

It is claimed, however, that Jesus and His apostles have determined these questions for us, and that their divine authority relieves us of any obligation to investigate further, as their testimony is final. This does not seem to have been the view of Junilius or the Fathers. So far as we can ascertain, this argument was first urged in opposition to Peyrerius by Maresius,* and pressed by Heidegger, the Swiss scholastic who sided with Buxtorf and Owen against Capellus and Walton. But the argument having been advanced by these divines, and fortified by the Lutheran scholastic Carpzov, and maintained by Hengstenberg, Keil, and Horne, and by a large number of scholars who lean on these authorities, it is necessary for us to test it. Clericus went too far when he said that Jesus Christ and His apostles did not come into the world to preach Criticism to the Jews.† The response of Hermann Witsius, that Jesus came to teach the truth, and could not be imposed upon by common ignorance, or be induced to favor vulgar errors, is just. ‡

cum non dicat hoc titulus nec ipse referat 'dixit dominus ad me,' sed quasi de alio 'dixit dominus ad Moysen.' Similiter et Jesu Nave liber ab eo quo nuncupatur traditur scriptus, et primum regum librum Samuel scripsisse perhibetur. Sciendum præterea quod quorundam librorum penitus ignorantur auctores ut Judicum et Ruth et Regum iii. ultimi et cetera similia, quod ideo credendum est divinitus dispensatum, ut alii quoque divini libri non auctorum merito, sed sancti spiritus gratia tantum culmen auctoritatis obtinuisse noscantur" § viii. 2, see Kihn *Theodor von Mopsuestia und Junilius Africanus als Exegeten* pp. 319-330.

* Maresius *Refutatio Fabulæ Prædamite*, 1656; Heidegger *Exercit. Biblicæ* 1700. *Dissert.* ix., p. 250 sq.

† In *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique*, p. 126, Amst. 1685, Clericus says: "Jesu Christ et ses Apôtres n'étant pas venus au monde, pour enseigner la Critique au Juifs, il ne faut pas s'étonner, s'ils parlent selon l'opinion commune."

‡ "Enim vero non fuere Christus et Apostoli Critices doctores, quales se haberi postulant, qui hodie sibi regnum litterarum in quavis vindicant scientia; fuerunt tamen doctores veritatis, neque passi sunt sibi per communem ignorantiam aut procerum

The authority of Jesus Christ to all who know Him to be their divine Saviour outweighs all other authority whatever. A Christian man must follow His teachings in all things as the guide into all truth. Only second to the authority of Jesus Christ is that of the apostles. What then do Jesus and His apostles teach as to the authorship of the Pentateuch? If they used the language of the day in speaking of the law of Moses and books of Moses, it does not follow that they adopted any of the various views of authorship that went with these terms in the Mishna, or in Josephus, or in the apocalypse of Ezra, for we are not to interpret their words on this or on any other subject by Josephus, or the Mishna, or the apocalypse of Ezra, or any such external authorities, but only by the plain grammatical and contextual sense of their words themselves. From the various New Testament passages we present the following summary of what is taught on this subject :

(1). Jesus speaks of the Law of Moses (John vii. 23) and the book of Moses (Mark xii. 26). The evangelist uses Moses for the Pentateuch (Luke xxiv. 27). So the apostles refer to the law of Moses (Acts xxviii. 23), and use Moses for the Pentateuch (Acts xv. 21 ; 2 Cor. iii. 15). These are all cases of *naming* books cited. They have as their parallel David as the name of the Psalter in Heb. iv. 7 ; Acts iv. 25 ; Samuel, also of the books of Samuel, Acts iii. 24. The traditional view that David was the author of the entire Psalter, does not require us to believe it or to interpret Heb. iv. 7 as teaching it.* David is here the name of the Psalter, as Joshua, Samuel, Kings, etc., are names of those books, without necessarily implying authorship in any case. It is certainly *reasonable* to interpret Moses in these passages in the same way as the name of the work containing his legislation and history, in which he is the central figure.

(2). Jesus represents Moses as a lawgiver, giving the Ten Commandments (Mark vii. 10), the law of the lepers' offering (Mark i. 44, etc.), the law of divorce (Matt. xix. 7), the law in general (John vii. 19). The Epistle to the Hebrews represents Moses as giving the law of priest-

astum imponi. Non certe in mundum venere ut vulgares errores foverunt, suaque auctoritate munirent, nec per Judaeos solum sed et populos unice, a se pendentes longe lateque spargerent." *Misc. Sacra*, i. 117.

* The reference in Heb. iv. 7, is to Psalm xcv., and in Acts iv. 25 to Psalm ii., neither of which is ascribed to David in the Hebrew Scriptures, and they cannot be by David from internal evidence. The reference in Acts iii. 24 is to the prophecy of Nathan, contained in 2 Samuel vii. On the basis of these passages it was once contended as earnestly that David was the author of the Book of Psalms as it is now contended on the basis of similar passages that Moses is the author of the whole Pentateuch.

hood (Heb. vii. 14), and a lawgiver whose law when issued at the time could not be disobeyed with impunity (Heb. x. 28). These passages all represent Moses to be the *lawgiver* that he appears to be in the narratives of the Pentateuch, but do not, by any means, imply the *authorship* of those narratives that contain these laws, any more than the reference in 1 Cor. ix. 14, to the command of Christ in Luke x. 7, and the institution of the Lord's Supper by Jesus (1 Cor. xi. 23 *sq.*), imply that Jesus was the author of the gospels containing His words.

(3). Jesus represents Moses as a prophet who wrote of Him (John v. 46, 47); so Philip (John i. 45); Peter (Acts iii. 22-24); Stephen (Acts vii. 37); Paul (Acts xxvi. 22), and in Rom. x. 5, 19 the apostle refers to the address in Deut. xxx. and the song Deut xxxii. These passages maintain that certain *prophecies* came from Moses, but do not maintain that the Pentateuch, as a whole, or the narratives in which these prophecies occur, were written by Moses.

(4). Certain historical events narrated in the Pentateuch in which Moses takes the lead, are mentioned (in Heb. viii. 5, ix. 19, xii. 21, etc.), but these simply teach the *historical* character of the transactions, not the exclusive Mosaic authorship of the writings containing these historical incidents.

(5). In the passage, Acts iii. 22, "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you, etc. . . . Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days," it is necessary to interpret Samuel of the book of Samuel, and think of the prophecy of Nathan; and if this be so, is it not most natural to interpret Moses here as also referring to the book of Deuteronomy rather than the person of Moses? If that be true in this case, it may also be true of other cases classed under (2) and (3). Samuel cannot, it is now generally admitted, be regarded as the *author* of the books that bear his name; why, then, are we forced to conclude from these passages that Moses is the sole author of the books that bear his name?

Thus we see that the words of our Saviour and His apostles do not settle the question of the Mosaic authorship of the whole Pentateuch. With Junilius and the ancient Church, we must hold that his authorship of the whole Pentateuch rests simply on tradition. The New Testament proves the *historical* character of the narratives of the Pentateuch, the fact that Moses was the great *lawgiver and prophet*, the *fundamental* position of the Mosaic legislation to the Old Testament, and above all, the *divine authority* of the Pentateuch; and those who antagonize *these things* come in collision with Jesus and the apostles; but the Mosaic *authorship* of the whole Pentateuch, so far as the New

Testament is concerned, is not decided for us. Any theory of its composition that recognizes Mosaic authorship of the chief parts of it, and the essential features of its legislation as Mosaic, is in accord with the New Testament.

PRELIMINARY CRITICAL MOVEMENTS.

We have shown that the chief questions of Biblical Criticism with reference to the Pentateuch are not decided for us by the ecclesiastical authority of creeds or the consensus of tradition, or by the divine authority of our Saviour and His apostles. We have stated how far, in our judgment, their testimony leads us. We are now prepared to trace the history of the critical study of the sacred Scriptures in the effort to determine these questions from other sources of evidence than those already considered, and especially from the Old Testament Scriptures. All great movements of human thought have their preliminary and initial stages, and are preceded by spasmodic efforts. And the enemies of the true faith are not unfrequently the Providential agents for calling the Church to a fresh investigation of the sacred oracles.

Thus the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch was questioned by Carlstadt in *de Scriptor. Canon.*, 1521, § 85, who left the author undetermined. The Roman Catholic scholar, Marius,* and the British philosopher Hobbes† distinguished between Mosaic originals and our present Pentateuch, but the R. C. priest Peyrerius, in his *Syst. Theo. Præd.*, 1660, liv. cap. 1, and especially Spinoza in his *Tract., Theo. Polit.*, 1670, c. 8, first arranged the objections to Mosaic authorship in formidable array, the latter reviving the doubts of Aben Ezra,‡ as follows:

* Com. on Joshua, 1574, Praef. (p. 2) ad. Cap. x. 13, especially ad xix. 47, "Quare certum est illud quod in hujus commentarii initio supra praefatione et c. x. atque alibi dicebam neque Mosis libros sic ut nunc habentur ab illo esse compositos: sed ab Ezdra aut alio quopiam divino viro qui pro vestutis et exoletis locorum vocabulis nova, quibus rerum gestarum memoria posset optime et percipi et conservari, reposuerit" (*Crit. Sacr.* ii., p. 1892, Lond., 1660).

† *Leviathan*, 1651; part III. c. xxxiii. "And first for the Pentateuch, it is not argument enough that they were written by Moses, because they are called the five books of Moses; no more than these titles, the Book of Joshua, the Book of Judges, the Book of Ruth, and the Book of Kings, are arguments sufficient to prove that they were written by Joshua, by the Judges, by Ruth, and by the Kings. For in titles of books the subject is marked as often as the writer. . . . Though Moses did not compile these books entirely, and in the form we have them, yet he wrote all that which he is there said to have written."

‡ A writer in the *British Quarterly*, 1372 (p. 78), says: "It is therefore evident that Spinoza is perfectly wrong when he, on the one hand, declares that Ibn Ezra denied the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, and that the Bishop of Ely is equally incorrect, when he, on the other hand, remarks that all Jewish antiquity believed

- (1). עבר הירדן Deut. i. 1, proves that the author was in Palestine.*
- (2). The whole law was to be written on one altar, (Deut. xxvii. 2 sq. comp. Jos. viii. 30), which could not be the case with the five books.†
- (3). Deut. xxxi. 9, "And Moses wrote this law." Moses could not have thus expressed himself.‡
- (4). Gen. xii. 6, "The Canaanite was then in the land," implies a time when this was not the case.∥
- (5). Gen. xxii. 14, Mt. Moriah is called the Mount of God, which could not be until after the erection of the temple.§
- (6). Deut. iii. 11, That the bed of Og was preserved in Rabbath Ammon, is in the manner of speaking of things long past.∥
- (7). Deut. iii. 14, "unto this day," also implies an event long past.∥
- (8). Moses is spoken of in the third person, and in flattering terms. Num. i. 1, ii. 2, v. 1, etc.: "God spake unto Moses face to face," Ex. xxxiii. 11, "Moses was the meekest of men," Num. xii. 3; also Num. xxxi. 14, Deut. xxxiii. 1, xxxi. 1, 19, whereas in Deut. generally Moses speaks in the first person, ii. 1, 17, etc.‡
- (9). The statement, Deut. xxxiv. 10, "There arose not a prophet since in Israel like Moses."¶
- (10). Gen. xiv. 14, mentions Dan, which was not thus named until long after the death of Joshua (Judges xviii. 29).∥
- (11). Ex. xvi. 35, The children of Israel ate manna forty years, until they came to the land of Canaan (Josh. v. 12).∥

in it in its present form. Men like Isaac Isachi in the ninth, like Ibn Ezra in the twelfth century, and like Joseph Tob-Elem in the fourteenth century, who occupied as distinguished a position, and exercised as great an influence over the cultivated minds in the synagogue as any prelates in Europe have exercised in the Church, most emphatically disbelieved that the Pentateuch, as a whole, was written by Moses. They believed that the legal enactments alone proceeded from this great and divine lawgiver, but that the historical portions were more or less added at various times by different inspired writers." See also Maier in *Studien & Kritiken*, 1832, p. 634.

* עבר הירדן is held to be a technical geographical term=Perea; but this is extremely doubtful when we compare Deut. i. 7 with iii. 20, 25. At all events, the translation, "on this side Jordan," is incorrect, and it is most natural to regard the title as by another hand than Moses, under the circumstances.

† Dr. Green thinks that only the legislative discourse of Deut. xii.-xxvi. was written upon the altar. This does not seem difficult so far as space is concerned, and is a reasonable explanation. (See *PRESB. REVIEW*, iii., p. 113).

‡ Some of these examples of Moses speaking in the third person may be accounted for after the analogy of the classic historians as a variation of style, but still the laudatory references are unusual and not easy to justify.

§ This objection rests upon a mistaken exegesis. The passage implies the use of the divine name יהוה but not the temple

∥ Nos. 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, might be explained as editorial notes.

¶ This, with the immediate context, is generally acknowledged to be by a later hand.

(12). Gen. xxxvi. 31, The list of kings reigning in Edom before a king reigned over the children of Israel, implies the time of the Hebrew monarchy.

For these reasons Spinoza concludes that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, and that the historical books from Gen. to 2 Kings constitute one great historical work, a conglomerate of many different originals by one editor, probably Ezra, who does not succeed in a reconciliation of differences, and a complete and harmonious arrangement.

These objections of Peyrerius and Spinoza are of an external character. Some of them have been satisfactorily explained and their force dulled; others have been admitted as implying the work of later editors. They certainly do not support the pretentious and ill-adjusted *theory* of Spinoza. The reference to the analogy of the composition of the other historical books that Spinoza makes is more forcible, but he did not work it out sufficiently to make it convincing in the support of his theory.*

Soon after Spinoza, Richard Simon, a Roman Catholic, published his *Histoire Critique de Vieux Testament*, 1678. He first began to apply *historical* criticism in a systematic manner to the study of the books of the Old Testament. He represented the historical books as made up of the ancient writings of the prophets, who were public scribes, and wrote down the history in official documents on the spot, from the time of Moses onward, so that the Pentateuch in its present shape is not by Moses. Simon distinguished in the Pentateuch between that which was written by Moses, *e. g.*, the commands and ordinances; and that written by the prophetic scribes, the greater part of the history. As the books of Kings and Chronicles were made up by abridgments and summaries of the ancient acts preserved in the archives of the nation, so was the Pentateuch (p. 17, *sq.*) The later prophets edited the works of the earlier prophets and added explanatory statements. Simon presents as evidences that Moses did not write the Pentateuch: (1). The double account of the deluge. (2). The lack of order in the arrangement of the narratives and laws. (3). The diversity of the style. It is evident that the Roman Catholic

* Peyrerius uses (1), (6), and (7), and gives others, as follows: Num. xxi. 14, the citation of the book of the wars of Jehovah; Deut. ii. 12, "as Israel did in the land of his possession which Jehovah gave him"; Deut. ii. 5 comp. with 1 Chron. xviii., "not so much as a foot breadth"; Deut. x. 8, the separation of the tribe of Levi at Jotbath as inconsistent with the separation before the death of Aaron, according to Leviticus and Numbers; the inconsistency of Ex. xviii. 2 *sq.* and iv. 20 *sq.* with reference to the wife and children of Moses. On p. 198, he says: "Hae causae me movent, quare libros quinque illos, non Mosis archetypos, sed excerptos et exscriptos ab alio credam."

scholar goes deeper into the subject than the Pantheist Spinoza has gone. He presents another class of evidences. These three lines were not sufficiently worked by Simon. He fell into the easy temptation of expending his strength on the elaboration and justification of his theory. The facts he discovered have proved of permanent value, and have been worked as a rich mine by later scholars, but his theory was at once attacked and destroyed. The Arminian Clericus, in an anonymous work, *Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique*, Amst., 1685, assailed Simon for his abuse of Protestant writers, but really went to greater lengths than Simon. He distinguishes in the Pentateuch three classes of facts, those before Moses, those during his time, and those subsequent to his death (p. 107), and represents the Pentateuch in its present form as composed by the priest sent from Babylon to instruct the inhabitants of Samaria in the religion of the land, 2 Kings xvii. (p. 129). Afterward he gave up this wild theory and took the more tenable ground* of interpolations by a later editor. Anton Van Dale, *de origine et progressu idol.*, 1696 (p. 71), and *epist. ad Morin.* (p. 686), distinguishes between the Mosaic code and the Pentateuch, which latter Ezra composed from other writings, historical and prophetic, inserting the Mosaic code as a whole in his work. This is also essentially the view of Semler, *Apparatus ad Liberalem Vet. Test. Interp.*, 1773 (p. 67).

These various writers brought to light a most valuable collection of facts that demanded the attention of Biblical scholars of all creeds and phases of thought. They all made the mistake of proposing untenable theories of various kinds to account for the facts, instead of working upon the facts and rising from them by induction and generalization to permanent results. Some of them, like Spinoza and Hobbes, were animated by a spirit more or less hostile to the evangelical faith. Others, like Carlstadt and Clericus, were heterodox in other matters. The most important investigations were those of the Roman Catholics Madius and Simon, as subsequently Astruc and others. These authors, in a Church noted for its adherence to tradition, felt that they were free on this question of the authorship of the Pentateuch, there being no consensus of the Fathers against them.

Over against these critical attacks on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, we note the scholastic defence of it by Huet, a Jesuit, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, 1679, iv., cap. xiv.; Heidegger

* *Com. on Genesis, introd. de Scriptore Pent.*, § II. Simon replied to Clericus in *Réponse au Livre intitulé Sentimens*, etc. Par Le Preur de Bolleville, Rotterdam, 1686.

Exercitationes Biblicæ, 1700, Dissert. ix. ; Carpzov *Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Bib. Vet. Test.*, Edit. 2, Lipsæ, 1731.* These scholastic divines, instead of seeking to account for the facts brought to light by the critics, proceeded to defend the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch and to explain away these facts. Thus, Huet is unwilling to admit that Moses did not write the account of his own death. Heidegger argues that the whole Pentateuch was found by Hilkiah in the temple in the time of Josiah, that Christ and His apostles ascribe the Pentateuch to Moses as author, and follows the Rabbinical tradition, rejecting the traditions prevalent with the Christian fathers. He admits that the last twelve verses of Deuteronomy were added by Joshua or some one else, but explains Gen. xxii. 14 as a prophecy of the temple or of seeing Christ in the flesh, and the kings of Edom prior to kings in Israel, Gen. xxxvi. 31, as a line of kings prior to Moses as king. He meets the argument from diversity of style by the remark that the Holy Spirit might inspire the same author to use a variety of styles.† He meets the argument from defective arrangement by representing it as a charge against the Holy Spirit.‡

So Carpzov calls in the spirit of prophecy to account for the kings of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 31), and the account of the continuation of the manna until the conquest (Ex. xvi. 35). Such special pleading and arbitrary conjectures were as hurtful from the scholastic side as were the hasty and ill-adjusted theories from the other.

There were, however, in those times, other divines who looked the facts in the face and took a better way. Thus Witsius, in his *Misc. Sacra*, p. 104, 1692, admits *four* interpolations, after carefully considering the objections that were urged to the Mosaic authorship (p. 130), and is followed by Dr. Graves, in his *Lectures on the Four Last Books of the Pentateuch*, 1807, 4th Edit., 1831, p. 439 *sq.*, who admits six additions by a later hand, and also by Adam Clarke in his *Holy Bible*, 1810–26, who, in general, admits additions by Ezra.

Prideaux, in his *Old and New Testaments connected* 1716–18, Part I., Book V. (3), represents Ezra as editing the Pentateuch and making

* See also Du Pin *Dissert. prelim. Bib. des auteurs eccl.*, Paris, 1688. Maresius, *præf. Apol. pro authentia script.*, pp. 23–36, in his *Refutatio Fabulæ Præadamitica* Gronigæ, 1656, meets the various arguments of Peyrierius.

† “In Spiritus s. quietiam calamus dirigentis arbitrio fuit, verba et verborum ordinem suggere, prout ipsi, visuum est. Sicut diversos Scriptores diversi modo ita inspiravit, ut diverso stylo uterentur: ita eundem Scriptorem quo minus diversi modo inspiraret, nihil vetabat equidem,” p. 269.

‡ Nam spiritus prophetiæ et infallibilitatis si in uno, veluti scriba, revisore peccare, aberrare potest, poterit etiam in altero, puta in Mose,” p. 270.

additions in a number of places—illustrating, connecting, and completing the narratives.*

Vitringa, also, in his *Observ. Sacra*, c. Iṽ., 2, 1722, gave a more careful consideration to the facts, and taught that Moses collected, digested, and embellished the documents of the patriarchs and supplied their deficiencies. This, he argues, does not destroy the authority of the book, for Moses was aided by the Holy Spirit. So Luke prepared his history of the Gospel from the narratives of others and annotations of eye-witnesses, and these are of no less authority than the narratives of Matthew and John. The aid of the Holy Spirit was given to them, whether they composed as eye-witnesses or digested the narratives of others.

This view of Vitringa was advocated by Calmet, *Com. Litterale*, 1722, tom. 1, p. xiii., and Bishop Gleig, in his Introduction to Stackhouse's History of the Bible, corrected and improved 1817, Vol. I., p. xx., and others. Prideaux, Calmet, Vitringa, and Gleig represent the true evangelical position, and present the best solution that was possible in view of the facts then adduced. They laid the foundations for Evangelical Criticism in the great revival of *Higher Criticism*, which was about to begin and run a long and successful course. We will divide the history of this movement of Higher Criticism into three stadia.

STADIUM I.—THE LITERARY HIGHER CRITICISM.

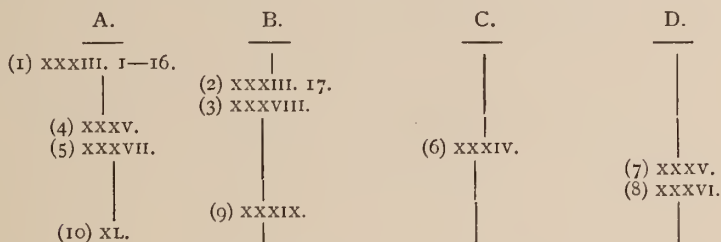
About the same time several Roman Catholic divines, as well as Vitringa, took ground independently in favor of the theory of the use of written documents by Moses in the composition of Genesis. So Abbé Fleury,† and Abbé Laurent François;‡ but it was chiefly Astruc, a

* "The third thing which Ezra did about the holy Scriptures in his edition of them was, that he added in several places throughout the books of this edition what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit by which they were at first wrote. Of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which, giving an account of the death and burial of Moses, and of the succession of Joshua after him, it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of the rest of that book. It seems most probable that it was added by Ezra at this time. And such we may also reckon the several interpolations which occur in many places of the holy Scriptures." He refers especially to Gen. xii. 6; xiv. 14; xxii. 14; xxxvi. 3; Ex. xvi. 35; Deut. ii. 12; iii. 11, 14; and concludes: "Of which interpolations undoubtedly Ezra was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and Simon the Just of all the rest which were added afterward, for they all seemed to refer to those latter times. But these additions do not detract anything from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest."

† *Moeurs des Israélites*, p. 6, Bruxelles, 1701. This was translated into English and enlarged by Adam Clarke. 3d edition, 1809.

‡ *Preuves de la Religion de Jesus Christ, contra les Spinistes et les Distes*, 1751, I. 2, c. 3, art. 7. "Il est plus que vrai-semblable que dans la lignée, ou s'est conservée la connoissance de Dieu on conservit aussi par écrit, des mémoires des anciens temps; car les hommes n'ont jamais été sans ce soin."

R. C. physician, who in 1753* made it evident that Genesis was composed of several documents. He presented to the learned world, with some hesitation and timidity, his discovery that the use of the divine names, **אלהים** and **יהוה**, divided the book of Genesis into two great memoirs and nine lesser ones, as follows: vii. 20–23; xiv., xix. 29–38; xxii. 20–24; xxv. 12–18; xxvi. 34–35; xxviii. 6–9; xxxiv., xxxv. 28—xxxvi. The advantages of this discovery are admirably presented: (1) It explains the singularity of the use of these two divine names. (2) It explains the repetitions of the same subject by distributing these among the memoirs. (3) It excuses Moses from negligence in composition by the supposition that he arranged these memoirs in four different columns as Origen did the versions in his Hexapla and as Harmonists arrange the four Gospels, thus:



This was a real discovery, which after a hundred years of debate has at last won the consent of the vast majority of Biblical scholars. His analysis is in some respects too mechanical, and, in not a few instances, is defective and needed rectification, but as a whole it has been maintained. He relies also too much upon the different use of the divine names, and too little upon variations in style, language, and narrative. The attention of German scholars was called to this discovery by Jerusalem.† Eichhorn was independently led to the same conclusion.‡ But still more important than the work of Astruc was that of Bishop Lowth,§ who first distinguished the principles of parallelism in Hebrew Poetry, and made it possible to study the Old Testament as literature, discriminating poetry from prose, and showing that the greater part of prophecy is poetical. His work on Hebrew Poetry was issued in Germany by Michaelis, and his translation of Isaiah by Koppe. Lowth did not himself realize the importance of this discovery for the

* In his *Conjectures sur les Memoires originaux dont il paroît que Moÿse s'est servi pour le livre de la Genèse.*

† In his *Briefe über d. Mosaischen Schriften*, 1762, 3te Aufl., 1783, p. 104, sq.

‡ *Urgeschichte* in the *Repertorium*, T. iv., 1779, especially T. v., 1779.

§ In *De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, 1753, and 1779 in *Prelim. Diss. and Translation of the Prophecies of Isaiah.*

Literary Criticism of the Scriptures, but thought that it would prove of great service to *Textual Criticism* in the suggesting of emendations of the text in accordance with the parallelism of members.

The Poet Herder* first caught the Oriental spirit and life and brought to the attention of the learned the varied literary beauties of the Old Testament.†

But these writers were all preparatory to the monumental work of J. G. Eichhorn, who in 1780 published his *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.*‡

Eichhorn combined in one the results of Simon and Astruc, Lowth and Herder, embracing the various elements in an organic method which he called the *Higher Criticism*.§

In the Preface to his 2d Edition, 1787, he says :

"I am obliged to give the most pains to a hitherto entirely unworked field, the investigation of the internal condition of the particular writings of the Old Testament by help of the Higher Criticism (a new name to no Humanist). Let any one think what they will of these efforts, my own consciousness tells me, that they are the result of very careful investigation, although no one can be less wrapt up in them than I their author. The powers of one man hardly suffice to complete such investigations so entirely at once. They demand a healthful and ever-cheerful spirit, and how long can any one maintain it in such toilsome investigations? They demand the keenest insight into the internal condition of every book; and who will not be dulled after a while?"

He begins his investigation of the books of Moses with the wise statement :

"Whether early or late? That can be learned only from the writings themselves. And if they are not by their own contents or other internal characteristic traces put down into a later century than they ascribe to themselves or Tradition assigns them,

* In 1780 he published his *Briefe über das Studium der Theologie*, and in 1782 his *Geist der Heb. Poesie*.

† Herder in his 1st *Brief* says: "Richard Simon is the Father of the Criticism of the Old and New Testaments in recent times."—"A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, as it ought it to be, we have not yet." 1780. In 2d Auf. 1785. It is said on the margin, "We have it now in Eichhorn's valuable *Einleit. ins Alt. Test.*, 1780-83."

‡ As Bertheau remarks in Herzog's *Real Ency.*, iv. 115: "In Eichhorn's writings the apologetic interest is everywhere manifest, to explain, as he expresses it, the Bible according to the ideas and methods of thought of the ancient world, and to defend it against the scorn of the enemies of the Bible. He recognized the exact problem of his times clearer than most of his cotemporaries; he worked with unwearied diligence over the whole field of Biblical Literature with his own independent powers; he paved the way to difficult investigations; he undertook many enterprises with good success, and conducted not a few of them to safe results. With Herder in common he has the credit of having awakened in wide circles love to the Bible, and especially the Old Testament writings, and excited enthusiasm carefully to investigate them."

§ In his third edition, 1803, Eichhorn refers to those who preceded him, thus: "I also have set about this investigation, but in order not to allow my point of view to be deranged by anything, without choosing Astruc for my guide or conductor. And here is the bare result of it which is not meant to outshine by pointing out that wherein Clericus and Simon may have been too hasty, and Fleury and Le François failed, and Astruc, Jerusalem and Ilgen erred."

then a critical investigator must not presume to doubt their own testimony—else he is a contemptible Raisonneur, a doubter in the camp, and no longer an historical investigator. According to this plan I shall test the most ancient Hebrew writings, not troubling myself what the result of this investigation may be. And if therewith learning, shrewdness, and other qualifications which I desire for this work should fail me, yet, certainly no one will find lacking love of the truth and strict investigation."

These are the principles and methods of a true and manly scholar, the father of Higher Criticism. It is a sad reflection that they have been so greatly and generally ignored on the Scholastic and Rationalistic sides.

Eichhorn separates the Elohist and Jehovistic documents in Genesis with great pains and wonderful success, recognizing besides as separate documents ii. 4—iii. 24; xiv.; xxxiii. 18—xxxiv. 31; xxxvi.; xlix. 1—27. This analysis of Eichhorn has been the basis of all critical investigation since his day, and notwithstanding the subsequent distinction of a second Elohist and Redactor, the results of Eichhorn have been maintained.*

The great advantages of this analysis are admirably stated by Eichhorn (ii., p. 329):

"For this discovery of the internal condition of the first books of Moses, party spirit will perhaps for a pair of decennials snort at the Higher Criticism instead of rewarding it with the full thanks that are due it, for (1) the credibility of the book gains by such a use of more ancient documents. (2) The harmony of the two narratives at the same time with their slight deviations proves their independence and mutual reliability. (3) Interpreters will be relieved of difficulty by this Higher Criticism which separates document from document. (4) Finally the gain of Criticism is also great. If the Higher Criticism has now for the first distinguished author from author, and in general characterized each according to his own ways, diction, favorite expressions, and other peculiarities, then her lower sister who busies herself only with words, and spies out false readings, has rules and principles by which she must test particular readings."†

* Thus Prof. Henry P. Smith, in his article in this REVIEW, p. 375, in showing the present consensus of the critics, says: "If we find, however, that the recognized leaders, though far apart on the question of the 'order of production' of different documents, are substantially agreed as to what makes up each document, we ought to recognize that the unanimity *here* is so much the stronger on account of the diversity *there*. An examination shows that in the first thirty chapters of Genesis the following passages are *unanimously* accepted by Hupfeld, Nöldeke, Dillmann, Wellhausen, and Kayser, as making up one of the documents called by Dillmann A; by Wellhausen Q; to wit: i. 1—ii. 3; v. 1—28, 30—32; vi. 9—22; viii. 1—4, 13—19; ix. 1—17, 23, 29; xi. 10—26, 32; xii. 4, 5; xiii. 6, 11, 12; xvi. 3, 15, 16; xvii. 1—27; xix. 2; xxi. 2—5; xxiii. 1—20; xxv. 7—11, 17, 20, 26; xxvi. 34, 35; xxviii. 1—9 (I have disregarded fractions of a verse)." Now it shows the keenness and accuracy of Eichhorn as well as the *invincible* strength of the evidence that in his first effort, his *Elohist* embraces all of the passages given above except the detached verses, xii. 4, 5; xiii. 6, 11, 12; xvi. 3, 15, 16; xxv. 26.

† See also *Urgeschichte in Repertorium*, 1779, v., p. 187.

We cannot help calling attention to the fine literary sense of Eichhorn as manifest in the following extract: "Read it (Genesis) as two historical works of antiquity, and breathe thereby the atmosphere of its age and country. Forget then the century in which thou livest and the knowledge it affords thee; and if thou canst not do this, dream not that thou wilt be able to enjoy the book in the spirit of its origin."

Eichhorn regards Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers as having grown from the collection of particular writings which were connected by historical narratives by the collector: Exodus and Leviticus composed at Mt. Sinai; Numbers in the land of Moab. Moses is the author of Deuteronomy, except the last chapter. Deuteronomy is characterized as the law-book for the people, and the legislation of the other books as the priests' code. Remarking that the Pentateuch only claims Moses as the author of particular sections, and that the middle books are not cited in the Old Testament under the name of Moses, he explains it from the fact that they constituted the priests' code over against Deuteronomy, the people's book. This important distinction of Eichhorn is also a valuable discovery for Higher Criticism. Long neglected, it has in recent times come into play, as we shall see further on in this article (p. 112). Eichhorn also admits many glosses by a late hand, but in general abides by the authorship in the Mosaic period, and chiefly by Moses himself. Eichhorn carried his methods of Higher Criticism into the entire Old Testament with the hand of a master, and laid the foundation of views that have been maintained ever since with increasing determination. But we do not find that in all cases he grasped the truth. He was a man, and sometimes chased shadows, and framed, in some cases visionary theories both in relation to the Old and New Testament, like others who have preceded him and followed him. He could not transcend the limits of his age, and adapt himself to future discoveries. The labors of a large number of scholars, and the work of a century and more were still needed, as Eichhorn modestly anticipated.

Eichhorn's Higher Criticism swept the field in Germany in his day, meeting but feeble opposition. Even J. D. Michaelis, one of the chief scholars of Germany, "the pillar of supernaturalism," who sought to modify some of the positions of Eichhorn,* although he was willing to accept the analysis of Astruc and Eichhorn with certain modifications (p. 267), met with little favor. He died, leaving his work incomplete.† As J. G. Gabler, the father of Biblical Theology, says in his Introduction to his edition of Eichhorn's *Urgeschichte*, 1790: The analysis of the two documents by Astruc, Jerusalem, and especially Eichhorn,

* *Einleit. in d. göttlichen Schriften d. Alt. Bundes*, 1787.

† Michaelis denies that Ex. i.-ii. can belong to the Elohist. "I supposed that what Moses wrote of himself he took from no books" (p. 269); and claims that Genesis i., the account of the Creation, must have been given to Moses by inspiration directly from God (p. 269). He objects to the artificial analysis of Astruc, but claims that when אלהים and יהוה are used throughout entire chapters, a difference of style is evident (p. 277). He recognizes that Moses must have used written as well as traditional and monumental sources.

is so masterly, and the combination of the various documents in one by Moses has been made so evident that, "in our day it can be regarded as settled and presupposed without fear of any important opposition."*

These discussions produced little impression upon Great Britain. The conflict with Deism had forced the majority of her divines into a false position. If they had maintained the *fides divina* and the critical position of the Reformers and Westminster divines, they would not have hesitated to look the facts in the face, and strive to account for them; they would not have committed the grave mistakes by which Biblical learning was almost paralyzed in Great Britain for half a century. Eager for the defence of Traditional views, they, for the most part, fell back again on Jewish Rabbinical authority and external evidence, contending with painful anxiety for authors and dates, and so antagonized Higher Criticism itself as Deistic Criticism and Rationalistic Criticism, not discriminating between those who were attacking the Scriptures in order to destroy them, and those who were *searching* the Scriptures, in order to defend them.

It is true that the Humanist and the purely literary interest prevailed in Eichhorn and his school; they failed to apply the *fides divina*, but this was lacking to the scholastics also, and so unhappily Traditional dogmatism and Rationalistic criticism combined to crush Evangelical criticism. Thus Bishop Marsh, in 1792, in a brief address at Cambridge on *The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses*, 4to, pp. 16, takes the position:

"The Pentateuch contains a system of ceremonial and moral laws which, unless we reject the authority of *all* history, were observed by the Israelites from the time of their departure out of Egypt till their dispersion at the taking of Jerusalem. These laws, therefore, are as ancient as the conquest of Palestine. It is also an undeniable historical fact that the Jews in every age believed their ancestors had received them from the hands of Moses, and that these laws were the basis of their political and religious in-

* Soon after Eichhorn, Ilgen, in 1793, in his *Urkunden der Jerusalem. Tempel*, undertook a still more searching analysis of Genesis, and discovered a second Elohist document. This was ignored for the time, but subsequently was found to be of considerable importance (Eichhorn, *Allg. Bibliothek*, 1798; *Allgemein. Literaturzeitung*, Jena, 1798; Gabler, *Theo. Journal*, 1798).

G. L. Bauer, in 1794, issued his *Entwurf einer Einleit.* 3d Edit. *Entwurf ein. hist.-krit. Einleit.*, 1806, and followed Eichhorn in his analysis, but held that the Pentateuch was composed in the time of David (p. 323). Rosenmüller, in his *Scholia*, 1795, i., p. 17-12, also followed Eichhorn, but subsequently, in Edition iii., 1821, changed his view, influenced chiefly by J. G. Hasse, in his *Entdeckungen im Felde der ältesten Erd-u.-menschengeschichte*, and the overdoing of the analysis by Ilgen. Jahn *Int. ad. Vet. Foed.* 1793, pp. 209-224, also followed Eichhorn in part.

Fulda, in Paulus, *Repert.* iii., p. 180, distinguishes between laws, codes, and Pentateuch, and puts the code first, in the time of David, the present Pentateuch in the Restoration. Ottmar (Nachtigal) *über d. allmähliche Bildung, etc.*, in Henke's *Magazine*, ii., 433, iv. 1-36 (p. 30), makes Jeremiah the last collector and arranger of the Pentateuch.

stitutions as long as they continued to be a people. We are therefore reduced to this dilemma, to acknowledge either that these laws were actually delivered by Moses, or that a whole nation, during fifteen hundred years, groaned under the weight of an imposture, without once detecting or even suspecting the fraud" (p. 7).

This statement is, in part, quoted and approved by Horne, in his Introduction (vol. ii. 19, 1st edit., 1818). But it is a weak position; indeed, the chief fault of the traditional theory, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show (see p. 122 *sq.*). The evidence of the Scriptures is all to the effect that these laws were *not* observed, and any argument for the composition of the Pentateuch that rests upon their observance "from the time of the departure out of Egypt till their dispersement," is an insecure argument. Bishop Marsh acknowledges a few alterations in the Pentateuch, "a circumstance at which we ought not to be surprised, when we reflect on the many thousands of transcripts that have been made from it in the course of three thousand years" (p. 16).* T. Hartwell Horne, in 1818, issued his *Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*, which passed through many editions, 4th, 1823; 10th, 1856, and has been highly esteemed for its many excellent qualities by several generations of students. Without dwelling upon these, we are compelled to call attention to certain invalid arguments which have been hurtful to the cause Horne had so much at heart. He passes lightly over the views of Eichhorn, simply remarking:

"On the Continent the hypothesis of Calmet was adopted by M. Astruc, who fancied that he discovered traces of *twelve* different ancient documents from which the earlier chapters of Exodus as well as the entire book of Genesis are compiled. These, however, were reduced by Eichhorn to two in number, which he affirms may be distinguished by the appellations of Elohim and Jehovah, given to the Almighty. The hypothesis of Eichhorn is adopted by Rosenmüller (from whom it was borrowed by the late Dr. Geddes), and is partially acceded to by Jahn. To this hypothesis there is but one objection, and we apprehend that it is a fatal one, namely, the *total silence* of Moses as to any documents consulted by him. . . . Should the reader, however, be disposed to adopt the hypothesis of Calmet without the refinements of Eichhorn and his followers, this will not, in the smallest degree, detract from the divine authority of the book of Genesis" (vol. ii., p. 31, first edition).

We would also call attention to the following argument:

"Moreover, that the Pentateuch was extant in the time of David, is evident from the very numerous allusions made in his psalms to its contents; but it could not have been drawn up by him, since the law contained in the Pentateuch forbids many practices of which David was guilty" (4th edit., vol. i., p. 54).

* Faber, in his *Hebræ Mosaicæ*, 1801, 2d edit., 1818, says: "At any one epoch during the whole existence of the Hebrew Polity, it would have been just as impossible to introduce a new and spurious Pentateuch, as it would be now impossible to introduce a new and spurious Bible. In each case the reason is the very same, the *general publicity of the book.*" An unknown reader of the copy we have examined, writes on the margin: "2 Chron. xxxiv. 14." The general publicity of the Pentateuch from the conquest to the exile is against strong evidences to the contrary, as we shall see hereafter (p. 102).

Little did he anticipate how soon the arguments from *silence* and from *violation* of law upon which he relies, would be turned against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and prove the most difficult to answer. Little did he and Bishop Marsh imagine that their main argument, *the observance of the law from the conquest till the exile*, would prove the special weakness of the traditional theory (see p. 122).

Horne refers above to the Roman Catholic divine, Dr. Alex. Geddes, as holding the view of Eichhorn; but in fact he differs radically from Eichhorn and his school, and is the real father of a variant theory of the composition of the Pentateuch, which has been called the fragmentary hypothesis. Thus Dr. Geddes says :*

"It has been well observed by Michaelis that all external testimony here is of little avail; it is from intrinsic evidence only that we must derive our proofs. Now, from intrinsic evidence, three things, to me, seem indubitable: (1) The Pentateuch in its present form was not written by Moses. (2) It was written in the land of Chanaan, and most probably at Jerusalem. (3) It could not be written before the reign of David, nor after that of Hezekiah. The long pacific reign of Solomon (the Augustan age of Judea) is the period to which I would refer it; yet I confess there are some marks of a posterior date, or at least of posterior interpolation. But although I am inclined to believe that the Pentateuch was reduced into its present form in the reign of Solomon, I am fully persuaded that it was compiled from ancient documents, some of which were coeval with Moses, and some even anterior to Moses. Whether all these were written records or many of them only oral traditions, it would be rash to determine." Also p. xxi. : "To the Pentateuch I have joined the book of Joshua, both because I conceive it to have been compiled by the same author, and because it is a necessary appendix to the history contained in the former books."

The fragmentary hypothesis of Geddes was introduced into Germany by Vater.† Vater's view is that the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua are composed of a great number of separate fragments of different authors, loosely joined by a collector (iii., p. 504). He puts the greater part of Deuteronomy at least as early as the Davidic age, but the composition of our Pentateuch toward the time of the exile (iii., p. 680). Calling attention to the discrepancies in the codes of legislation and the non-observance of them in the history of Israel he makes the important statement (iii., p. 652):

"Still in later times we find the most important laws of the Mosaic constitution either unknown or at least unobserved, so that the conclusion may be drawn therefrom that either the Pentateuch was not there, or at least not yet in its present extent the book of religion that was regarded as generally obligatory, which it must have been if it had been esteemed as such from the times of Moses."

* *The Holy Bible; or, The Books Accounted Sacred by Jews and Christians, etc., faithfully translated*, etc. London, 1792, vol. i., p. xviii.

† *Commentar über den Pentateuch mit Einleitungen zu den einzelnen Abschnitten, der eingeschalteten von Dr. Alexander Geddes's merkwürdigeren kritischen und exegetischen Anmerkungen, etc.* Halle, 1805.

Vater takes the first alternative of the non-existence of the books. His other alternative was not sufficiently considered by himself or by others, probably for the reason that it involved the erroneous assumption of the last clause. The fragmentary hypothesis was also advocated by A. T. Hartmann,* Von Böhlen,† and others. It was a radical and destructive theory, that called forth the determined opposition of all earnest men, and it was soon overthrown.

Comparing this fragmentary hypothesis of Geddes and others with the documentary hypothesis of Eichhorn's school and the Rabbinical view as advocated by Marsh and Horne, we remark that the documentary hypothesis of the school of Eichhorn, notwithstanding serious defects, is in the midst of two extremes and gives the best solution of the facts that had been discovered in those times. The documentary hypothesis found representation in Great Britain and America in Taylor's edition of Calmet's Dictionary of the Holy Bible, edition of 1832, and in the American edition by Edward Robinson in 1835. Taylor's statement, as revised by Robinson, is the following :

"It may be admitted, for instance, (1) that the Book of Genesis contains various repetitions or double narratives of the same early events ; (2) that these duplicate narratives, when closely compared, present characteristic differences of style ; (3) that these differences are too considerable and too distinct to admit of any other explanation than that of different originals, taken into association."

STADIUM II.—THE GENETIC HIGHER CRITICISM.†

This stadium is characterized by the effort to determine the *genesis* of the various documents constituting the Pentateuch. De Wette is the man who chiefly determines it.

Reviewing the previous stadium Merx properly remarks‡ that both the fragmentary and documentary hypotheses

—"have this in common that they seek to attain their aim chiefly by the way of Literary Criticism and neglect or use only as a subsidiary help, the realistic, antiquarian and historical criticism of the contents of the Pentateuch. This element De Wette chiefly brought into the scientific investigation in his *Kritik der israelitischen Geschichte*, Halle, 1807."

At first hovering between the documentary hypothesis of Eichhorn and the fragmentary hypothesis of Geddes, recognizing the

* *Hist. krit. Forschungen*, 1831.

† *Die Genesis hist. krit. erläut.* 1835.

‡ For an excellent account of the criticism of this stadium see the valuable articles of Prof. F. A. Gast, D.D., on Pentateuch Criticism, in the April and July Numbers, 1882, of the *Reformed Quarterly Review* ; also *Nachwort*, by Merx in 2d Aufl. of Tuch's *Genesis*, 1871, p. lxxviii. sq., etc.

‡ P. lxxxii. of 2d Aufl. of Tuch's *Com. über Genesis*, Halle, 1871.

features of truth and of error in them both, De Wette at last rises above them and presses for the *unity* of the Pentateuch in its present form as the *plan* of one mind. He first stated that Deuteronomy is an independent part of the Pentateuch, composed in the age of Josiah.* He subsequently adopted into his system the improvements suggested by other Biblical scholars who followed in his footsteps.† In 1824 Bleek‡ adopted the view of Geddes and Vater, that the death of Moses was not the proper close of the history begun in Genesis, but that it aimed at the occupation of the Holy Land, and that the Book of Joshua therefore belonged with the Pentateuch, so that these should rather be considered as a Hexateuch.

Bleek was the first to give shape to what has been called the *supplementary* hypothesis. He made the Elohist original and fundamental, the Jahvist the supplementer. Bleek also advanced in his position by subsequent investigations of himself and others. His final statement is presented in his posthumous Lectures on Introduction, 1860.§

In 1823 Ewald|| also insisted upon the *unity* of Genesis over against the fragmentary hypothesis, and in 1831,¶ showed that the Elohist and Jahvistic documents extended through the *entire Pentateuch*. Soon after, the same was found to be the case with Joshua, and the unity of the Hexateuch in the midst of the diversity of documents was made manifest.

Over against these critical investigations the Rabbinical view was advocated by Ranke,** who sharply and successfully attacked the fragmentary hypothesis, but did not squarely meet the position of the school of De Wette.

Hengstenberg†† made war upon the distinction of documents and sought to efface the differences by his theory of an intentional change of the divine names in accordance with their essential meaning and the circumstances of the case. Kurtz also‡‡ took a similar position, which, however, he subsequently abandoned.§§ Drechsler||

* 1805, *Dissert. zur Deut.*; 1806-7, *Beitr. zur Einleit.*; 1817, *Lehb. d. hist. krit. Einleitung*. 2d edition, trans. by Theo. Parker, Boston, 1843.

† 6th Auf. *Einleit.*, 1844. 7th, 1852.

‡ Rosenm., *Bib. Exeget. Repert. I.*

§ The 2d edition was translated into English by G. H. Venables, 1865.

|| *Composition der Genesis*, 1823.

¶ *Stud. und Krit.* in a review of Stähelin on Genesis, 602 sq.

** *Untersuchungen*, 1834-40.

†† *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament*: Bd. ii.-iii., *Die Authentik des Pentateuchs*, 1836-39.

‡‡ *Beiträge*, 1844, and *Einheit Genesis*, 1846.

§§ *Gesch. d. Alt. Bundes*, 1848, 3d Ed. 1864.

|| *Unwissenschaft. d. Kritik*, 1837.

also sharply attacked the methods of the Higher Criticism. But the ablest work on the scholastic side was produced by Hävernîck.* Hävernîck sturdily maintained the Rabbinical view after Carpzov and Heidegger, and declined to make concessions as to variety of documents in the Pentateuch. This revival of Rabbinical views was very strong, and powerful efforts were put forth to overcome the advancing critics, but in vain, for it died away essentially with these distinguished champions. Kurtz soon went over to an intermediate position. Keil, in 1854, took up the work of Hävernîck, but without any appreciable effect upon the discussion so far as Germany is concerned. Hermann Strack says:† “Keil is now about the only prominent Old Testament scholar who holds to the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch.” However, in Great Britain and America the influence of Keil has been very great, and his views may be regarded as still the dominant ones.

A more careful analysis of Genesis was undertaken by Tuch,‡ and this was extended by Stähelin to the entire Pentateuch.§

Hupfeld|| took up the analysis of Genesis, and, unaware of the work of Ilgen, came independently to essentially the same results, only that in his exceedingly careful discrimination of the various documents he made it clear that there were Elohist, 2d Elohist, Jahvist, and Redactor; the Redactor, differing from the other three, in that he is distinguished for the conscientiousness with which he reproduces the ancient documents, word for word, and the skill with which he combines them in the unity and order that characterize his work. This was a very great gain to Higher Criticism.

Knobel¶ analyzed the Hexateuch and made the Elohist the fundamental writing and found two other documents used by the Jahvistic supplementer, and combined with it.

Ewald** gave a new turn to the question by what has been called the *crystallization* hypothesis, taking the Elohist document as the Book of Origins. This took up into itself three older writings in part: the book of the wars of Jehovah, a biography of Moses, the book of the Covenants, having the design to trace the history from the creation of the world until the erection of the temple of Solo-

* *Hist. krit. Einleit.*, 1836. (2te Aufl. by Keil, 1854).

† *Hand. Theo. Wissen.*, 1882, I.

‡ *Com. ü. Genesis*, 1838.

§ *Krit. Unters. in Genesis*, 1830. *Krit. Unters.*, 1843. *Spezielle Einleit.*, 1862.

|| *Quellen Genesis*, 1853.

¶ *Com. Gen.*, 1852, (2te Aufl., 1860). *Exod. und Levit.*, 1857. *Krit. des Pent. und Josh.*, 1861.

** *Ges. des Volkes Israel*, 1843-52. 3 Bde 3te Ausg. 7 Bde., 1864-68, Bde., I., p. 94 f.

mon. It was composed in the first third of the reign of Solomon. The second Elohist is the third narrator in the age of Elijah and Joel. The Jahvist is the fourth narrator in the eighth century. The Redactor is the fifth narrator, who worked up the entire Hexateuch except Lev. xxvi. 3-45, Deut. i. 1-xxii. 47, xxxiv. 11-12, and xxxiii., which were three separate writings subsequently united with it. The Deuteronomist wrote his work in the second half of the reign of Manasseh. The last work upon the Pentateuch was done by the author of Deut. xxxiii: shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem. Thus our Pentateuch, in the course of centuries, gradually crystallized into its present form.*

It became more and more evident that the problem was to determine the work of the Redactor. E. Böhmert† followed Hupfeld and sought to define more exactly the Redactor's part. Nöldeke‡ examined the Elohist with the utmost exactness and represented it as a systematic work by itself, to a very large extent preserved in the Pentateuch. He held that it was written by a priest at Jerusalem in the ninth or tenth century B.C. Other materials were used by the Jehovist, especially the work of the second Elohist, from about the same time as the first Elohist. The Redactor, about 800 B.C., united the two together. In the reign of Josiah, the Deuteronomist added his book and worked over Joshua and gave the Pentateuch its present form.

Schrader§ introduces the more recent investigations into the scheme of De Wette, and combines the documentary and supplementary hypotheses as follows: There are two chief documents: the Annalistic (Elohist) and Theocratic (2d Elohist), composed the former in the earlier part of the reign of David, the author a priest who used earlier written sources; the latter soon after the division of the kingdom in the northern realm, 975-950 B.C., also using ancient documents. The third prophetic narrator (Jehovist) combined the two, freely appropriating and rejecting and enlarging by numerous additions, making a complete and harmonious work, in the reign of Jeroboam II., 825-800 B.C., in the northern kingdom. The Deuteronomist in the prophetic spirit composed the law of Moses contained in Deuteronomy, and became the final *redactor* of the Pentateuch in its

* We cannot pause to give the reasons of Ewald for his positions and criticise them. We may remark that his positions are carefully taken and justified by plausible evidences. We will consider the most important of them in our criticism of the theories of this stadium as a whole.

† *Liber Genesis Pent.*, 1860-62.

‡ *Alltest. Lit.*, 1868, *Untersuch.*, 1869.

§ 8th edition of De Wette's *Einleit.*, 1869.

present form, immediately before the reform of Josiah, 622 B.C., being a man closely associated with the prophet Jeremiah.*

The supplementary hypothesis passed over into England through Dr. Samuel Davidson.†

Dr. Perowne also adopted it in a mediating way;‡ Dean Stanley unreservedly,§ and others in various forms. Delitzsch, Kurtz, and Kleinert, in Germany, also strove to mediate. Delitzsch|| held that the legislation of Ex., Lev., and Numbers was Mosaic legislation, but the codification of the various laws was made by a man like Eleazar, in the Holy Land after the conquest, who became the author of the Elohist document. Joshua, or one of the elders, supplemented this work as the Jehovist taking Moses' Book of Deuteronomy and incorporating it with the rest.

Kurtz¶ abandons his previous defence of the traditional theory and takes the ground that the two streams of history in the Pentateuch must be distinguished. He agrees with Delitzsch in the main, save that he puts the codification of the various laws of the middle books by a man like Eleazar in the land of Moab.

Kleinert** maintains that the codification of the Deuteronomic law

* Schrader briefly and clearly sums up the various characteristic differences in the documents: (1) a thoroughgoing difference of language; (2) a striking difference in style; (3) difference in religious conceptions; (4) discrepancy in historical statements; (5) difference of plan and method of narration.

† *Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1862. Davidson places the Elohist, a Levite in Judah, in the time of Saul; and the 2d Elohist in the time of Elisha 880 B.C.; the Jehovist in the reign of Uzzah. These three were combined by a Redactor, "with considerable independence, adding occasionally a connecting link, omitting what seemed to stand in the way of the connection, abridging in different modes, and transposing pieces according to his own view" (p. 51). The date of the completion of the Pentateuch coincides with the composition of Deuteronomy in the reign of Manasseh, whose author is also responsible for the present form of Joshua (pp. 131 and 421).

‡ "So far then the direct evidence from the Pentateuch itself is not sufficient to establish the Mosaic authorship of every portion of the five books. Certain parts of Ex., Lev., and Numbers and the whole of Deut. to the end of chap. xxx., is all that is expressly said to have been written by Moses." "There is, therefore, it seems, good ground for concluding that, besides some smaller independent documents, traces may be discovered of two original historical works which form the basis of the Book of Genesis and of the earlier chapters of Exodus. Of these there can be no doubt that the Elohist is the earlier." "On carefully weighing all the evidence hitherto adduced, we can hardly question without a literary scepticism which would be most unreasonable, that the Pentateuch is, to a very large extent, as early as the time of Moses, though it may have undergone many later revisions and corrections, the last of these being certainly as late as the time of Ezra. But as regards any direct and unimpeachable testimony to the composition of the whole work by Moses, we have it not."—*Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, article, *Pentateuch*, 1863.

§ *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*. Part II., p. 648. N. Y., 1869.

|| *Com. on Genesis*, 1852. 3d edit., 1860. 4th edit., 1872.

¶ *Ges. des Alten Bundes*, 1855, Bd. iii., p. 554.

** *Deuteronomium und Der Deuteronomiker*, 1872.

took place in the time of Samuel (p. 153), and that it was set in its historical rim with the other discourses and songs by Samuel, the great reformer (p. 242). The redaction of our Pentateuch is placed in the time of Hezekiah (p. 247). Lange in his *Commentary on Genesis*, American 4th edition, 1870, p. 98, *Com. on Exodus and Leviticus*, 1876, p. 10, also takes a mediating position.

In a critical examination of the Supplementary and Crystallization hypotheses we must distinguish between these theories and the facts upon which they are grounded. We should not allow ourselves to be influenced by the circumstance that the majority of the scholars who have been engaged in these researches have been Rationalistic or semi-Rationalistic in their religious opinions; and that they have employed the methods and styles peculiar to the German scholarship of our century. Whatever may have been the motives and influences that led to these investigations, the questions we have to determine are: (1) what are the facts of the case? and (2) do the theories account for the facts?

(1) Looking at the *facts* of the case we note that the careful analysis of the Hexateuch by so large a number of the ablest Biblical scholars of the age has brought about general agreement as to the following points. (a) An Elohist writing extending through the Hexateuch. (b) A Jehovistic writing. (c) A second Elohist in close connection with the Jehovist. (d) The Deuteronomic writing. (e) They have been combined in their present unity by one or more Redactors. Notwithstanding their combination by the redactor, they still show, when carefully examined and compared, characteristic differences in the use of the divine names, in language, style, in religious, doctrinal, and moral conceptions, in various interpretations of the same historical persons and events, and in their plans and methods of composition, differences which are no less striking than those that characterize the four Gospels. There is difference among critics as to the interrelation of these original writings, in that some suppose that the 2d Elohist was used by the Jehovist, others by the Redactor of the Elohist and Jehovist. Some regard the Jehovist as the Redactor of all but Deut., others the Deuteronomist as the Redactor of the whole. The skilful analysis of Dr. Dillmann (still incomplete),* seems to show that the Elohist, 2d Elohist and Jehovist, are three independent documents used by the Redactor who sometimes combines A (Elohist) and B (2d Elohist), then A and C (Jehovist), B and C, and at times A, B and C. It seems to be disproved that the

* Knobel's *Genesis*, 3d Edit., 1875; 4th Edit., 1882; *Exodus and Levit.*, 2d Edit., 1880.

Jehovist was the Redactor of all but Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy is rather a fourth independent writing with reference to the other three. The relation of the Redactor to Deuteronomy is still not clearly determined. If it should be proved that this writing was simply incorporated with the other three by a Redactor independent of them all, there would result a most remarkable correspondence with the four Gospels, differing from them in the fact that the four sections of the Pentateuch have been consolidated by a later inspired Redactor into one book, having remarkable unity and harmony as well as variety, presenting similar phenomena in some respects to those presented when our four Gospels are consolidated by skilful hands. This interrelation of the four writings and their combination by a redactor is independent in itself of any theory or theories as to the *order* or the *time* of their genesis. There is nothing in this variation of documents as such to require that they should be successive and separated by wide intervals, or that would prevent their being very nearly contemporaneous. There is nothing in this distinction of documents as such that forces us to abandon the Mosaic age as to the time of their origin (see pp. 105, 116).

(2) The fault of the supplementary and the crystallization hypotheses is in their attempts to determine the *order* and fix the *time* of the genesis, or production of those various documents that constitute our Pentateuch, and spread them over the various periods of the history of Israel. The evidences on which these theories are built are exceedingly precarious. The pivot of the whole is the theory of De Wette, that Deuteronomy was composed shortly before the reform of Josiah. This theory is based on the statements of 2 Kings xxii. 3 f., as to discovery of the lost law-book. Schrader presents the latest form of the De Wette theory :

“(1) Since the account of the discovery of the law-book by the high-priest Hilkiah, in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josiah, refers at all events to our Deuteronomy, its composition *before* that event is an established fact. (2) Everything indicates that only Deut. iv. 44—xxviii. 69 is referred to. (3) The incorporation of that writing with the older historical work was undoubtedly by the same hand which conceived the Book of Deuteronomy, and from whom our books of Kings received essentially their present shape, from an author who survived the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. Hence the composition of the Deuteronomic code cannot be too long before the eighteenth year of Josiah. Its composition in view of xxviii. 68 (Comp. Jer. ii. 18, 36 ; Herod. ii. 159) is to be placed in the last year of Josiah (622), and its author as at the same time the redactor of our present Pentateuch, a man in close relations with Jeremiah, giving a renewal of the law in a prophetic spirit in order to a regeneration of the entire religious, moral, political, and social life.” De Wette's *Lehrb. d. hist. krit. Einleit.* 8te Aufl. by Schrader, p. 322 *sq.*

We admit the correctness of (1) and (2), but (3) is entirely incorrect for the following reasons: (a) There is no evidence

that the author of Deuteronomy and the Redactor are identical. The evidence points the other way. The school of Reuss, soon to be considered, has entirely destroyed that position. (*b*) The reference in Deut. xxviii. 68, to the return to Egypt in ships along the coast of the Mediterranean does not force us to the reign of Josiah. It could not have been a strange idea in the days of Moses or Solomon. The coasts of the Mediterranean were from the most ancient times ravaged by slavers who sold their slaves to the Egyptians.*

We understand, however, that this fixing of the time by reference to the ships sailing to Egypt is based upon other arguments that press the composition of Deuteronomy down toward a time subsequent to Hezekiah. These are best stated by Prof. Riehm, of Halle.†

He argues (1) that Deuteronomy was not written until some time after the conquest, by the expression "within thy gates"; the statement, ii. 12, "as Israel has done to the land of his possession that Jehovah gave him"; the ancient landmarks, xix. 14. The first and last we would explain from the prophetic point of view of the Deuteronomic code which looks forward to the prolonged occupation of the Holy Land and shapes the legislation accordingly. The middle one we would explain as a redactor's note of explanation. (2) The book is pushed down to the reign of Solomon by the law of the King (xxviii. 36; compare xvii. 14-20), and its prohibition of horses and chariots and many wives. But we cannot deny to Moses the conception of a future kingdom in Israel. In view of the fact that the Israelites had just come out of bondage to the king of Egypt, and that they were surrounded by nations having kings; it was most natural to think of kings for Israel likewise. The subsequent provision of the judges is not contemplated in the Deuteronomic code. Joshua is appointed as the successor of Moses to conduct Israel into the promised land. A king would be the most likely thing in the subsequent times after the conquest. That the Deuteronomic *ideal* was not realized was a misfortune. The reproof of Samuel of a subsequent desire for a king was in view of the altered circumstances. The nation was not *ripe* for the kingdom, as the history of Saul clearly indicates. It was *premature* on the part of the people, presumptuous and overriding the divine temporary provision of the *shophetim*.

* The author of *Deuteronomy, the People's Book*, London, 1877, has referred to the *Records of the Past*, vi., p. 37, for a statement from the time of Rameses III., which shows the equipment of fleets on the Mediterranean at that time.

† *Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, 1854.

(3) Prof. Riehm presses the composition of Deuteronomy down to the time of Jehoshaphat, by the law of the supreme judiciary at *one place*, Deut. xvii. 8 *sq.*, which did not exist till the time of Jehoshaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 8-11.

(4) He presses it down to the time of Hezekiah on account of the *one only central altar* which was not realized till the time of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Chron. xxxi. 1; Isaiah xxxvi. 7. (5) He fixes the composition in the time of Manasseh and the reign of Psammeticus on account of the going down to Egypt in ships, Deut. xxviii. 68.

No. (5) we have already answered above. Nos. (3) and (4) demand more serious consideration. We admit the facts that the *one* place of judgment and the *one exclusive* altar were not realized until the times mentioned, as the ideal of the *king* was not realized until the Davidic dynasty, but we deny that these facts disprove the *promulgation* of the Deuteronomic code in the land of Moab. These facts prove the *non-observance* of the code, the *disregard of it*, and possibly also *ignorance* of it, but not its *non-existence*. The Deuteronomic code was an ideal of spiritual worship too lofty for Israel in the times of the Judges or the earlier kings. We will not enlarge upon this argument here because we shall return to it further on in the consideration of the theories of the school of Reuss (see p. 122).

We shall, however, adduce on the other side what seem to us insuperable obstacles to the composition of Deut. in the age of Josiah. (1) The statement of 2 Kings xxii. 3 f., is to the effect that a law-book was discovered which had for a long period been neglected and whose commands had been so long disobeyed that the nation was rejected by Jehovah on that account. The Deuteronomic code had been lost sight of by kings and princes and the priesthood, the entire *official* class of the nation; this neglect was a *national* and a terrible sin that involved the extreme penalty of the exile of the nation. Under these circumstances, a law-book issued as a *legal fiction** would be most ex-

* Riehm, in l. c., p. 112, represents the Deuteronomic code as a *literary fiction*. The author lets Moses appear as a prophetic popular orator and as the first priestly reader of the law. It is a literary fiction as Ecclesiastes is a literary fiction. The latter uses the person of Solomon as the master of wisdom to set forth the lesson of wisdom. The former uses Moses as the great lawgiver, to promulgate divine laws. In criticising this statement of Dr. Riehm, we cannot go with those who regard it as an absurdity or as involving dishonesty on the part of the author. Dr. Riehm and others who hold this view, repudiate such a thought with abhorrence. The style of literary fiction was a familiar and favorite one of the later Jews, as we see from the literary fictions of *prophecy*, such as the Book of Enoch, Assumption of Moses, Apocalypses of Baruch and Ezra, also *poetic* literary fiction as in the Psalter of Solomon and Wisdom of Solomon, in which there was no intent to deceive. We could have no *a priori* objection to this view as inconsistent with divine inspiration, for who shall determine that divine inspiration may not use any *proper* literary style? We reject the view of literary and legal fiction, therefore, on other grounds which we have adduced.

traordinary. How could the nation incur such a penalty for transgressing a code of laws which was now promulgated for the first time? Impossible! A long series of violations is presupposed. The code cannot, therefore, date from a period shortly before this Reform. It was presented as an ancient and long-neglected law-book. The reign of Ammon is too short to come into consideration with a view to the composition of the Deuteronomic code therein. The reign of Manasseh was an evil reign, ill constituted for such a spiritually minded code and not long enough prior to Josiah to involve a forgetting of this law by the entire *official* class of the nation. We cannot even suppose that the law-book of Hezekiah's reform could so soon have been entirely forgotten. Indeed, the statement with reference to the Passover (2 Kings xxiii. 21 *sq.*), makes it clear that the Passover had not been observed in accordance with the Deuteronomic code from the time of the Judges on, from the time of the observance of the Passover by Joshua and Israel on their entrance into the holy land (Josh. v.)* If such an important institution as the Passover could have been so neglected from the conquest to the days of Josiah, how much more other institutions of Deuteronomy of less fundamental importance. It shows that the traditional view of the continued observation of the Pentateuchal codes in Israel is a mistake (see p. 122). The laws seem not to have been observed even in the most important matters, and it was just this transgression of the nation for centuries that incurred the wrath of God and the punishment of the exile.†

(2) There are several laws in the Deuteronomic code which are inappropriate to the time of Josiah, and can only be explained in connection with the circumstances of Israel in the earliest history. The commands to exterminate the Canaanites and the Amalekites,

* "And the king enjoined all the people, saying, Observe the passover unto Jehovah your God, as it is written in the book of the Covenant: for there has not been observed a passover like this passover from the days of the judges who judged Israel and all the days of the kings of Israel and the kings of Judah. But in the eighteenth year of the king Josiah this passover unto Jehovah was observed in Jerusalem." The Passover observed by Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxx.) was not according to the law, but was kept in the second month. And it is there said: "For they had not observed it for a long time as it is written." The observance of the three annual feasts by Solomon is mentioned (2 Chron. viii. 12-13) according to the command of Moses, but it is not indicated that the Deuteronomic code or priest-code were followed.

† The statement of Prof. Green in his art. in l. c. p. 141, that this law is expressly referred to (2 Kings xxi. 7-9), as known and disobeyed by Manasseh, also as obeyed by Hezekiah (xviii. 6), and by Joash (xiv. 6), in our judgment is without sufficient justification in these passages. It is not evident that these monarchs had before them the Deuteronomic code. If it could be supposed that they had the code of Deuteronomy before them as a well-known law-book, it seems inexplicable that it should have been buried out of sight and mind of the best people of the nation in the time of Josiah.

with their circumstances of detail (Deut. vii. 22; xx. 19; xxv. 17); the general laws of war (Deut. xx. 1-15; xxi. 10-14), and others, are appropriate only in connection with the first occupation of the holy land, and not in the time when Israel was threatened only by foreign enemies.*

(3) The circumstances of the reign of Josiah were unfavorable to the promulgation and enforcement of a *new* code of the character of the Deuteronomic legislation, and Jeremiah was the last man to be the most zealous champion of such a code.† The opposition to such a code coming down from the previous times of Manasseh and breaking out immediately on the death of Josiah, supported by the customs and prejudices of the nation, would have been too great to be overcome save by a code claiming and gaining recognition as of *ancient* and *divine* authority, and Jeremiah and the author of the Books of Kings, who are full of the spirit and ideas of Deut., could not have been deceived in such matters and would not have joined hands to deceive the people even with the pious end in view of serving Jehovah and saving the nation.

(4) The language of Jeremiah and of the Books of Kings is no longer the old classic Hebrew, but intermediate in the historical development of the language, showing a breaking off from classic usage, as, for instance, in the occasional neglect of the γ consec. of the imperfect, and the use of γ conj. with the perfect instead. But the Book of Deuteronomy is classic in its language throughout. We have not found a single instance of the violation of the law of the γ consec., or an unclassic use of the γ conj.‡ In view of the fact of the resemblance of Jeremiah and the Books of Kings to Deuteronomy in *other* respects, this difference of language is the more striking, showing that Jeremiah and the author of Kings were imbued with the spirit of Deuteronomy as an ancient law-book of divine authority, but that Deuteronomy must be placed in the classic period of the language, at least not later than the Solomonic era.§

* For a careful elaboration of this argument, see Kleinert, *Deuteronomium und Deuteronomiker*, 1872, p. 79 *sq.*; and Delitzsch, *Pent. Krit. Stud. Zeitschrift, f. Kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1880, xi., also Prof. W. H. Green, in art. *Prof. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch* in this REVIEW, iii., p. 117.

† See Kleinert in l. c., p. 104 *sq.*, and W. H. Green in article *Prof. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch*, in this REVIEW, iii., p. 114. S. Ives Curtiss in article *Delitzsch on the Pentateuch*, in this REVIEW, iii., page 570 *sq.*

‡ See Driver, *Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, 1874, p. 170 *sq.*

§ We may add here the results of the very careful study of the favorite words and expressions of Deuteronomy by Kleinert. He states that half of these are lacking in Jeremiah, a third in Kings, and that the points of contact in this respect with the oldest parts of the middle books of the Pentateuch, and even Hosea, are more numerous than with Jeremiah and Kings. These facts also press Deuteronomy back into earlier times than Hezekiah or Josiah (Kleinert in l. c., p. 235).

(5) The Messianic prophecy, Deut. xviii. 15 *sq.*, predicts another prophet like Moses, who will fulfil and complete his legislation with divine authority. It does not recognize an order of prophets. נביא in our opinion, is never used as a collective.* If this passage came from the period of the kings and prophets there could hardly fail to be allusions to the prophetic order or to other prophets of Jehovah. We find in Jeremiah and Isaiah liii., where the Messianic prophet again comes into prominence in the Messianic idea, such references, and we would expect them in Deut. under the same circumstances.

(6) Looking now at Deut. itself, note its language as to the authorship of its code (xxx. 9-24):

"Moses wrote *this law* and gave it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, who bare the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, and unto all the elders of Israel, and Moses enjoined them, saying, at the end of seven years, in the festival of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel shall come to appear before the face of Jehovah thy God, in the place which He will choose, ye shall read *this law* before all Israel in their ears."—"And it came to pass when Moses had finished writing *the words of this law in a book* to their end, Moses enjoined the Levites, the bearers of the ark of Jehovah, saying: 'Take *this book of the law* and put it by the side of the ark of the covenant of Jehovah your God, and let it be there for a witness.'

This seems to us to imply clearly the Mosaic authorship and composition of the Deuteronomic code. At the same time the view of Delitzsch can hardly be regarded as doing violence to the text when he represents that Deuteronomy is in the same relation to Moses as the fourth gospel to Jesus, in that as the apostle John reproduces the discourses of Jesus, so the Deuteronomist reproduces the discourses of Moses, giving more attention to the internal spirit than the written form, and thus presents the discourses of Moses in a free rhetorical manner.† Nor can we regard as heterodox the view of Prof. Binnie, of Aberdeen, that "to maintain the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy does not oblige us to maintain the Mosaic authorship of every verse in the book or the Mosaic antiquity of every law.‡ And Dr. Green's statement is eminently just:

"That Moses in his oral discourses uttered in every case exactly the words reported to us; just those, and neither less nor more, we are not concerned to affirm; but that he did deliver such discourses, and that they are here preserved in their substantial import, is fully certified, unless the credibility of the book can be impeached. And this code of laws is substantially as it came from the pen of Moses, if any reliance can be placed upon the record."§

* The only passage in which נביא can be a collective other than this is Dan. ix. 24, in late Hebrew. But it is better to take it there as a concrete for abstract נביא for קבואה as a synonym of קוזר.

† *Zeitschrift f. Kirch. Wissenschaft*, 1880, x. and xi.; *Delitzsch on the Pentateuch*, by Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, in this REVIEW, iii. p. 575 f.

‡ *Proposed Reconstruction of the Old Testament History*, Edinburgh, 1880.

§ *Prof. Robertson Smith on the Pentateuch*, in this REVIEW, vol. iii., p. 113.

Having disproved the location of Deuteronomy in the age of Josiah and thrown its origin back into the Mosaic age, we need only remark that the location of the priest-code and the Elohist in the time of the early kings by the supplementary and crystallization hypotheses has been overthrown by the school of Reuss, to which we will now devote our attention.

STADIUM III.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.*

Edward Reuss is the chieftain who has given direction and character to this stadium of the Higher Criticism. As early as 1833† he maintained that the priest-code of the middle books of the Pentateuch was subsequent to the Deuteronomic code. This came to him, he says, as an *intuition* in his Biblical studies, and he presented it to his students in his University lectures from 1834 onward. In 1835 George took independently a similar position.‡ Vatke also, in 1835, reached the same results from the point of view of the Hegelian philosophy, taking the ground that the religion of Israel has three stages of development, and that the simple religion of feeling in the Prophets and Deuteronomy precedes the more external and reflective religion of the mass of the Pentateuch; and that Prophetism and Mosaism must, for the most part, be transposed.§

These writers did not receive much attention. Their positions were too *theoretical* and without a sufficient support in the details of practical exegesis to gain acceptance.||

* For the history of this Stadium see Wellhausen in Bleek's *Einleitung*, 4th Aufl., p. 152 sq.; Merx in Tuch's *Com. ü. d. Genesis*, p. lxxviii. sq.; Duff, History of Research concerning the Structure of the Old Testament Books in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1830, Oct., and 1832, July; Kayser, *Der gegenwärtige Stand der Pentateuchfrage* in the *Jahrbücher f. Prot. Theologie*, 1831, ii., iii., and iv.; Gast, Pentateuch-Criticism, its History and present state, in the *Reformed Quarterly Review*, July, 1832.

† Article *Judenthum* in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclop.*, ii. Bd. 27, p. 334. *Hall. Literaturzeitung*, 1838,

‡ *Die älteren jüdisch. Feste mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pent.*, 1835.

§ *Biblische Theologie*, 1835, i. 1, p. 641 sq.

|| The statement of Prof. S. Ives Curtiss, in his article in l. c., in this REVIEW, p. 567: "The modern critical theory of the Pentateuch and of the Old Testament history is based on the theory of development; philosophically it was set forth by Hegel, scientifically by Darwin," needs qualification. It is true, doubtless, in the case of Vatke, but it is not true of Reuss, the real father and chief of the school if we accept his own testimony, *Gesch. d. heiligen Schriften Alt. Test.*, 1831, p. ix. He was frightened off from the work of Vatke at its first appearance by its very Hegelianism, and has only, in recent times, learned to value it. He reached his position as an intuition in the midst of exegetical studies, and worked out his views on the principles of exegesis. The true statement is, that the same results were reached at the same time by Reuss from the exegetical side and Vatke from the philosophical side.

In 1862 J. Popper* took the position that the description of the erection of the tabernacle, Ex. xxxv.-xl., and the consecration of the priests, Lev. vii.-ix., were later than the directions respecting them both in Ex. xxv.-xxxii., and contended that they received their present form some time after the Babylonian captivity.

Reuss continued to work at his theory in his University lectures, and it was through his pupils that in recent times it has won its way to so wide an acceptance. The first of these was Heinrich Graf, who, in 1866,† presented strong arguments for the priority of Deuteronomy to the priest code of Lev. xviii.-xxiii., xxv., xxvi., Ex. xxxi., holding that the latter was from the prophet Ezekiel, and that in the time of Ezra other legislation was added, *e.g.* Ex. xii. 1-28, 43-51, xxv.-xxxi., xxxv.-xl.; Lev. i.-xvi., xxiv. 10-23; Num. i. 48-x. 28, xv.-xix., xxviii.-xxxii., xxxv. 16-xxxvi. 13, and that the last additions were made soon after Ezra. Graf still held to the priority of the Elohist narrative. This inconsistency was exposed by Riehm and Nöldeke, so that Graf was forced to make the Elohist narrative post-exilic also.‡

Meanwhile the English world had been stirred by the attacks of Bishop Colenso, on the *historical* character of the Pentateuch and book of Joshua, and in the Essays and Reviews by a number of scholars representing free thought.§ These writers fell back on the older deistic objections to the *Pentateuch* as *history*, and as containing a *supernatural* religion, and mingled therewith a reproduction of German thought, chiefly through Bunsen. They magnify the discrepancies in the narratives and legislation, and attack the supernatural element, but add nothing to the sober Higher Criticism of the Scriptures. So far as they take position on this subject they fall into line with the more radical element of the school of De. Wetze. They called the attention of British and American scholars away from the literary study of the Bible and the true work of the Higher Criticism, to a defence of the supernatural, and the inspiration of the Bible. They were successfully attacked by various divines in Great Britain and America.||

* *Biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte.*

† Merx, *Archiv*, i., pp. 68-106, 203-236; *Die geschichtliche Bücher des Alt. Test.*

‡ *Studien & Krit.*, 1863, p. 372; Merx *Archiv*, i., 466-477. Reuss also at this time held this position that was taken by Graf. his pupil.

§ *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*, Part i.-vii., 1862-79; *Recent Inquiries in Theology by eminent English Churchmen, being Essays and Reviews*, 4th Am. edition from 2d London, 1862.

|| Among these we may mention the authors of *Aids to Faith*, being a reply to "Essays and Reviews," American edition, 1862; W. H. Green, *The Pentateuch vindicated from the Aspersions of Bishop Colenso*, N. Y., 1863.

The work of Colenso, however, made a great impression upon the Dutch scholar Kuenen, who had already been advancing under the influence chiefly of Popper and Graf, to the most radical positions.* He took the ground that the religion of Israel was a purely natural religion, developing like all other religions in various stages from the grossest polytheism and idolatry to the exalted spiritual conceptions of the prophets. He rejects the historical character of the Hexateuch, and regards it as composed of ancient but unreliable legends and myths, the legislation representing various stages, the earliest in the period of the kings. The Deuteronomic code is a programme of the Mosaic party in the reign of Josiah, the priest-code the programme of the hierarchy at the restoration under Ezra. He is unwilling to ascribe to Moses more than a fragment of the decalogue. He finds three forms of worship, that of the people, of the prophets, and of the law, the later developing out of the earlier. The assumptions and bad logic of this theory of the purely naturalistic genesis of the religion of Israel are exposed in a most excellent manner by Prof. Willis J. Beecher's article, *The Logical Methods of Prof. Kuenen*, in this REVIEW, iii., p. 701.†

Meanwhile the new theory found a supporter in England in Dr. Kalisch, in 1867, who, influenced in part by Vatke and Kuenen, but chiefly by George, in a series of valuable excursus, traces the development of the various forms of legislation, and reaches the conclusion that the priestly requirements of Leviticus are post-exilic.‡

* In his *Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek*, Leiden, 1861-5, p. 165 f., 194 f., he had taken a similar position to Graf, that the legislation in the Elohist document was composed of laws of various dates arising out of the priestly circle, the last editing of them being later than the Deuteronomist, so that the Redactor of the Pentateuch was a priest. But subsequent investigations led him further. His final positions are represented in his *Godsdienst van Israel*, 1869-70, the English edition, *Religion of Israel*, 1874; *De vijf Boeken van Mozes*, 1872; *De Profeten en de profetie onder Israel*, 1875, translated into English, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877, and numerous articles in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, since that time, and last of all Hibbert Lectures, *National Religions and Universal Religions*, 1882. Kuenen's views are presented in a popular form in the *Bible for Learners*, 3 vols., 1880.

† See also article by Talbot W. Chambers, *Theory of Professor Kuenen*, in this REVIEW, i., 304; W. H. Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, 1882 p. 173 sq. To these works I would refer so far as the theory of Kuenen involves a denial of the historical character and inspiration of the Old Testament and the denial of the supernatural, to save space for the discussion of the questions of Higher Criticism, which are independent of these views, simply affirming that I am in entire accord with Profs. Beecher and Green and Dr. Chambers on these topics.

‡ In his Commentary on Exodus, 1855, Dr. Kalisch is inclined to defend the traditional view of the authorship of the Pentateuch. In his Com. on Genesis, 1858, he is concerned only with the geographical and other scientific and historical difficulties. But in his Com. on Leviticus, Part i., 1867, Part ii., 1872, he advances to the most radical positions.

The views of Reuss, in 1869, were advocated by Duhm,* and especially in 1874, by Kayser,† who undertook a most careful analysis of the Pentateuch with reference to the theory, and gave it much needed support from the literary side. Still later, Wellhausen,‡ in 1876-7, gave a masterly analysis of the literary features of the entire Hexateuch, which commanded the attention of all Old Testament scholars, and then, in 1878, carried the same method of analysis into the entire legislation, combining the philosophical method of Vatke with the exegetical of Reuss. These works at once won over a large number of prominent scholars to his position, such as Hermann Schultz, Kautzsch, Smend, Stade, König, Giesebrecht, Siegfried, and others in Germany; Lenormant and Vernes, in France; W. Robertson Smith, Samuel Sharp, C. H. Toy, and others in Great Britain and America.‡

Wellhausen, like Kuenen, attacks the historical character of the Pentateuch, denies the supernatural element, and reconstructs in the most arbitrary manner—but these features are personal, and have no necessary connection with his critical analysis of the literary documents and legislation of the Pentateuch, so that men of every shade of opinion with regard to the supernatural and to evangelical religion, may be found among the advocates of the theory.

At last the veteran scholar, Edward Reuss himself, sums up the results of his pupils' work as well as his own further studies in 1879, and 1881.§

Reuss ascribes to Moses the Decalogue stripped of its present paraphrase. The poetic pieces Gen. xlix.; Ex. xv.; Num. xxiii.-iv., the book of the wars of Jehovah, and the book of *Jasher* belong to the

* *Theologie der Propheten*.

† *Vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte*.

‡ *Jahr. f. Deutsche Theologie*, 1876, pp. 392-450, 531-602, 1877, p. 407-409; *Geschichte Israels*, i, 1878.

§ Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, ii. Auf., 1878; Kautzsch, *Theo. Literatur Zeitung*, 1879 (2); Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; Smend, *Der Prophet Ezeziel*, 1880; König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alt. Test.*, 1882; Siegfried in Pünjer's *Theo. Jahresbericht*, 1882; Giesebrecht, *Der Sprachgebrauch des Hexateuchischen Elohisten in Zeit. f. d. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1881-2; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, edited by Prof. Brown, 1882; Maurice Vernes in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopedia*, art. *Pentateuque*, x., p. 447; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1881; *The Prophets of Israel*, 1882; Sam. Sharp, *History of the Hebrew Nation*, 4th Edit., 1882; C. H. Toy, *Babylonian Element in Ezeziel*, in *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882, and numerous others. The best statement of Wellhausen's views is that of Prof. Henry P. Smith in this REVIEW, iii., p. 357. In order to save valuable space, I would refer the reader to that article, and refrain from making a statement myself here, inasmuch as all the positions will come up in the discussion of them.

§ *L'Histoire Sainte et la Loi*, 1879; *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, 1881. See my notice of the latter in this REVIEW, iii., p. 408.

northern kingdom after their separation from Judah. The book of the Covenant was written in the reign of Jehoshaphat. The Jehovist wrote the second integral part of our Pentateuch in the second half of the ninth century, and this was followed by Deut. xxxiii., and sundry legends as to the origin of the race preserved in our Genesis. Deut. xxxii. next appeared. Under Josiah the Deuteronomist composed the third great section of our Pentateuch, and was followed by the author of the book of Joshua. After the Restoration the law-book Lev. xvii.—xxvi. was issued, and the priest-code with the fourth great section of our Pentateuch.

It is evident that the school of Reuss propose a *revolutionary* theory of the Literature and Religion of Israel. How shall we meet it but on the same evangelical principles with which all other theories have been met, without fear and without prejudice, in the honest search for the real truth and facts of the case.

In a critical examination of this theory, it is important to distinguish the essential features from the accidental. We must distinguish between the Rationalism and unbelief that characterize Kuenen, Wellhausen, and Reuss, which are not essential to the theory itself, and those supporters of the theory such as König in Germany, Lenormant in France, Robertson Smith in Scotland, and C. H. Toy in this country,* who are firm believers in Christ and the inspiration of the Old Testament. We have still further here as throughout our previous investigations to distinguish between the theory and the new facts that have been brought to light for which this theory proposes to account better than any previous ones.

The facts are these. (1) Our Pentateuchal legislation is composed of three codes which show throughout variation from one another. (2) If we take the Pentateuchal legislation as a unit at the basis of the history of Israel, we find a discrepancy between it and the History and the Literature of the nation prior to the exile in these two particulars: (a) A silence in the historical, prophetic, poetical, and ethical writings as to many of its chief institutions; (b) The infraction of this legislation by the holiest men, the leaders of the nation, throughout the history in unconscious innocence, and unrebuked. (3) We can trace a development in the religion of Israel from the conquest to the exile in three stages corresponding in a

* As sufficient evidence that these men are evangelical, I would refer all who may doubt my statement to their own words. See König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff*, ii., p. 333 sq.; Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, p. x. sq.; W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Chap. I.; C. H. Toy, in *The Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882, p. 66.

most remarkable manner to the variations between the three codes. (4) The books of Kings and Chronicles in their representation of the history of Israel, regard it, the former from the point of view of the Deuteronomic code, the latter from the point of view of the priest-code. (5) The prophet Ezekiel presents us a detailed representation of institutions which seem intermediate between the Deuteronomic code and the priest-code

The theory of the school of Reuss attempts to account (1) for the variation of the codes by three different legislations at widely different *periods* of time, *e. g.*, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, of Josiah, and at the Restoration; (2) for the silence and the infraction, the discrepancy between the Pentateuchal legislation, and the history and the literature, by the *non-existence* of the legislation in those times of silence and infraction; (3) for the development of the religion of Israel in accordance with these codes by the representation that the *origin* of these codes corresponds with that development; (4) for the difference in point of view of the authors of Kings and Chronicles, on the ground that the author of Kings knew *only* of Deuteronomy, while the author of Chronicles was filled with the spirit of the new priest-code; (5) for the peculiar position of Ezekiel's legislation by the statement, that his legislation was in fact an *advance* beyond the Deuteronomic code, and a *preparation* for the priest-code. No one can examine this *theory* in view of the facts that it seeks to explain without admitting at once its simplicity; its correspondence with the law of the development of other religions; its apparent harmony with these facts, and its removal of not a few difficulties. Hence its attractiveness and power over against the prevalent theory which was not constructed to account for these facts, has been too often defended by special pleading, and has not yet been modified to meet these facts.

There are various ways of dealing with this radical and revolutionary theory. We might attempt to deny these facts or explain them away. It seems to us such a course would be but kicking against the pricks. It would not satisfy inquirers, but rather destroy the confidence of all earnest seekers after the *truth*. We might yield to the attractiveness of the theory, and go with the tide of Biblical scholarship which has set so strongly in that direction. We might shut our eyes to the whole matter, and go on our work in other fields, and attend to the practical duties of life, and leave these Pentateuchal studies to others. Any one of these three ways would be easier than the one we propose to follow, namely, to look the facts in the face, and inquire whether the theory of the school of Reuss does account for them.

I. *The Three Codes.*

The variation in the three codes, Ex. xx.—xxiv. (of which Ex. xxxiv. is a compendium); Deut. xii.—xxvi.; the scattered legislation of the middle books, is so constant that it is impossible to explain it away. These variations were already noted in part by Calvin, who wrote a Harmony of the Legislation, but he was not followed by later writers. These variations were more closely scrutinized by Eichhorn, and he explained them on the ground that the Deuteronomic code was a *people's* code, the Legislation of the middle books a *priests'* code.*

Another important difference to which Riehm calls attention is that the priest-code was designed for a people still wandering in the wilderness, the other for a people already dwelling in the land of Canaan. Moreover, the Deuteronomic code is connected with a new covenant besides the original covenant at Horeb (Deut. xxix. 9—14). The priest-code is given as the words of Jehovah revealed to Moses. In the Deuteronomic code Moses comes forward as a popular orator to urge the people to the observance of the laws which he makes known as the prophet of Jehovah.

Thus according to Eichhorn and Riehm we have a difference of *point of view* which determines the structure and the character of these codes and necessarily produced a variation throughout. To this discrimination of the Deuteronomic and priests' codes we may add that the codes, Ex. xx. to xxiv., and xxxiv. differ no less strikingly from them both. They were written by Moses in an earlier and later book of the Covenant. They contain brief, terse, pregnant sentences of command. They resemble the decalogue itself. It is generally agreed among Biblical scholars, that the little book of the Covenant is also a decalogue (Ex. xxxiv.), and not a few find that the larger book of the Covenant is also composed of a series of decalogues.† To this opinion we subscribe without hesitation, and find in it an evidence that this legislation is the fundamental Mosaic legislation in accordance with the explicit statement that Moses wrote it in the book of

* This is acknowledged by Riehm: "For all the Deuteronomic laws prescribe to the people who know not the law, what to do and leave undone, none of them define the duties of the priests and Levites who knew the law. . . . The first distinction between the ancient (Levitical) and Deuteronomic legislation is accordingly *this*: that the one will give a complete law-book designed for all, those knowing the law and those ignorant of it, the other designed only for the people who knew not the law." *Gesetzgebung Moses*, 1854, p. 11 sq.

† Bertheau *die Sieben Gruppen Mosaischer Gesetze*, 1840. even finds such decalogues in the middle books, but does not make it evident save in the two books of the Covenant.

the Covenant. We thus have a third and earlier point of view. These three codes therefore present us the judicial, the prophetic, and the priestly points of view, which determine the variation in aim, form, structure, and character of the three codes. This has been entirely neglected by the advocates of the traditional theory. This has also been ignored to a large extent by the advocates of the theories of De Wette and Reuss, who have sought to explain these variations by a development extending over a wide period of time. To those who deny the supernatural character of the Pentateuchal legislation, as do Reuss, Wellhausen, and Kuenen, and regard the religion of Israel as only *one* of the religions of the world, having in common with them a purely naturalistic genesis, this explanation seems to be the only proper one. The evangelical men of our time naturally feel the force of the philosophical theory of development, and other things being equal, will accept it to account for the phenomena, if they can do it without peril to their faith. Let us look at the differences and inquire how they may be harmonized. The following five specimens of variation will be sufficient for our purpose.

(a) *In the Priesthood.* The book of the Covenant knows no priests as such, the Deuteronomic code presents the Levites, the whole tribe of Levi as priests, the priest-code makes the sons of Aaron the priests and the Levites subordinate ministers.*

(b) *In the Altars.* The book of the Covenant commands the erection of altars "*in all places*" where Jehovah records his name (Ex. xx. 24).† The Deuteronomic code forbids the offering of sacrifices at any place save "*in the place that Jehovah chooseth in one of thy tribes*" (Deut. xii. 13). The priest-code commands the sacrifices to be presented at the door of the tent of meeting, and that the Aaronic priests shall receive the blood and apply it to the altar (Lev. i. sq.)

(c) *The Sacrifices.* Those in the Covenant-code are burnt offerings and peace offerings only. The Deuteronomic code adds *tithes*, votive, and free-will offerings. The priest-code adds the *sin and trespass* offerings, and specifies various details of the other classes.

(d) *Purifications.* According to the Covenant-code the men of

* The effort to show a distinction between priests and Levites in the Deuteronomic code must be regarded as a failure. Dr. Curtiss (*Levitical Priests*, 1877, p. 22 sq.) does not succeed in overcoming the difficulty by finding the distinction obscured at times by the Chronicler. His very thorough investigation deserved better success.

† It is against the laws of Hebrew Syntax to render כֹּל הַמְקוֹמִים as *any* place, or *every* place, for כֹּל with the article in Hebrew as πᾶς with the article in Greek means *all*, the *whole*, but without the article it means *any*, *every*. (Gesenius' *Heb. Grammar* revised by Kautzsch, and edited by Mitchell, Andover, 1880, p. 280; Davidson, *Introductory Heb. Gram.*, p. 42. Winer, *Grammar of New Test. Greek*. Moulton's edition, 1877, p. 137.

Israel are holy, and are not to eat flesh torn of beasts in the field. The Deuteronomic code forbids them to cut themselves, distinguishes the clean from the unclean animals (xiv. 3-21), prescribes washing with water for uncleanness (xxiii. 10 *sq.*) The priest-code gives an extended series of purifications in the varied use of pure water, and by the use of ashes of the red heifer (Lev. xii., xv., Num. xix.), and various ingredients in the healing of the leper (Lev. xiii.—xiv.),

(*e*) *The Feasts.* The Covenant-code ordains the Sabbath, feasts of unleavened bread, harvest and ingatherings, and the seventh year (Ex. xxiii. 10-17). The Deuteronomic code mentions the Passover, feast of unleavened bread, feast of weeks, feast of tabernacles, and year of release (Deut. xv., xvi.) The priest-code gives a complete cycle of feasts (Lev. xxiii.; Num. xxviii.), new moons, Sabbaths, the seven great Sabbaths, Passover and unleavened bread, day of first fruits, feast of trumpets, day of atonement, tabernacles, the seventh year's feast, the year of Jubilee, a most artistic system.

It will be observed that these variations are in the *chief* features of the ceremonial system. They present the appearance of development from the more simple to the complex, and in the order, Covenant-code, Deuteronomic code, and priest-code. The traditional theory is certainly at fault here in regarding the Deuteronomic legislation as *secondary* over against the priest-code as *primary*. The Deuteronomic code is secondary to the Covenant-code, but not to the priest-code. This fault of the traditional theory had not been overcome by the theories of Eichhorn, Geddes, or De Wette. Here is an advantage of the Reuss theory over all previous ones. We must admit the *order* of development, but we deny that it is necessary to postulate a thousand years to account for this development.* A code for the elders and judges of tribes or clans in their various localities, a code for the instruction of the nation as a whole in rhetorical and popular form, and a code for the priests from the holy place as a centre, in the nature of the case will show a progress from the simple to the more and more complex and elaborate in matters of ritualistic observance. The Covenant-code is a series of decalogues for the elders in the administration of justice in various localities. It is based on the Sinaitic covenant, and lies at the root of the Pentateuchal legislation. It is expressly claimed as written by Moses in the two books of the Covenant. The Deuteronomic code is a people's code in a prophetic form to instruct and stimulate the people of Jehovah as an organic whole. It is based on the experience of the wandering in the wilderness, it looks for-

* See Breidenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881, p. 16.

ward to a prolonged occupation of the promised land, and is based on a new covenant in the plains of Moab. We would expect to find progress and development here especially on the *practical* side. This code is also claimed to have been written by Moses, and we can see no sufficient reasons for doubting it as to its essential features.* The priest-code is from the priestly point of view in connection with the tabernacle and its institutions. It will necessarily exhibit progress and development on the *technical* side in the details of the ritual. This code is scattered in groups in the middle books, and broken up by insertions of historical incidents, but when put together exhibits an organic whole, a unity and symmetry which is wonderful in connection with the attention given to details. This code is represented as given by Jehovah to Moses or Aaron, or both, but it is not represented as written down by Moses, as is the case with the two other codes. It claims to be Mosaic legislation, but if we should suppose that Eleazar or some other priest gathered these detailed laws and groups of laws into a code in the time subsequent to the conquest, all the conditions of variation and development might be explained.

There are, to us, several insuperable obstacles to the composition of the priest-code in the post-exilian period: (1) The language of the Elohist and priest-code is *classic*, and cannot, on that account, be placed subsequent to Jehoshaphat. The discussions respecting the language of the Elohist have proved beyond question marked differences from the Jehovist and Deuteronomist, but they have not proved any such deflection in syntax of the γ consec., and multiplication of nouns formed by affixes as characterize Jeremiah and Ezekiel, not to speak of Post-exilian writers.†

(2) The priest-code is a *unit* in its wonderful variety of detail. Given the ark of the Covenant as the throne of Jehovah, the King of Israel, the holy God, and all the institutions, and the ritual seem to be the most appropriate elaboration of that one idea. They are wrapt up in the idea itself as a germ, and we do not see why it should require centuries for the development of the germ into its legitimate flowers and fruit. An idea like that would be more than seed-corn to Israel in the wilderness. We would expect some such practical development as we do find in the priest-code, at the time.

* See page 105.

† Ryssel, *de Elohistae Pentateuchi Sermone*, 1878; König, *De Criticæ sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito*, 1879; Giesebrecht in *Zeitschrift f. d. Alt. Test.*, 1881; Kayser in *Fahrb. f. Prot. Theo.*, 1881; Kautzsch in *Fahresbericht d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellsch.*, 1882; Bredenkamp, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881, p. 17.

(3) The priest-code is *realistic*, and its *realism* is that of the wilderness of the wanderings and the nomadic life. This is so inextricably involved with the ideal in all parts of the legislation, so simple, artless, and inartistic that it seems incredible that it should be pure invention, or the elaboration of an ideal which could not escape anachronisms in some particulars.*

(4) The Elohist and the Elohistic priest-code differ in their doctrinal and ethical conceptions in many respects from the Jehovist and the Deuteronomist and their codes, but these differences are in *type* and point of view. The doctrines and morals of the Elohist are still at the basis of the doctrinal and the ethical development of Old Testament theology. In the whole Pentateuch we find the Messianic idea knows nothing of the Messianic king or the suffering servant. In eschatology it knows nothing of the Resurrection, or of the joyful communion with God in Sheol such as we find in Job xix. and Psalm xvi. In the appropriation of redemption it is behind the conceptions of Ps. xl., l., li., Mic. vi., and Isaiah i. and lvii. In ethics it is less developed than Psalm xv., Isaiah xxxiii., and especially Job xxxi. The four constituent parts of the Pentateuch resemble one another in theology far more than any of them resemble the Prophets, the Psalter, or the ethical writings. They differ from one another and yet resemble one another, as do the gospels, and lie at the roots of Old Testament theology, as do the gospels at the basis of the New Testament.

II. *Discrepancy between the Pentateuchal legislation and the History and Literature of Israel prior to the exile.*

This discrepancy must be admitted by the candid investigator of the Scriptures. It extends through the five classes of the most important points of the ritual given above. It is twofold: that of silence on the one side, and unconscious and uncondemned violation on the other. In the period of the Judges there are many altars besides the altar at Shiloh, where the ark and the tent of meeting were situated. These altars were erected in places consecrated by Theophanies in accordance with the Covenant-code and in violation of the Deuteronomic code and priest-code. The sacrifices were offered by lay-men, such as Joshua and Gideon, at Ebal (Jos. viii. 30); Mispheh in Perea (Judges xi. 11); Bochim (Judges ii. 5); Ophra (vi. 24); Mispheh in Benjamin (xxi. 8), and elsewhere (Judges xiii. 19). This is a vio-

* For an excellent elaboration of this argument see article of Dr. Green in l. c., p. 115 *sq.*, and also Henry P. Smith in l. c., p. 383 *sq.*

lation of the Deuteronomic code and priest-code, but not of the Covenant code.*

The sacrifices are peace-offerings and burnt-offerings of the Covenant-code, but no tithes of the Deuteronomic code, or sin and trespass offerings of the priest-code. There are simple ceremonial washings, but none of the peculiar Levitical purifications. The Passover was *once* kept (Josh. v. 10) and an annual feast at Shiloh (Judges xxi. 19), but there is no mention of any of the feasts peculiar to the priest-code.

On the other hand, we note that the ark of the Covenant, the tent of meeting, the priesthood of Phineas and Eli at Shiloh, the seven sacred trumpets (Jos. vi. 4 *sq.*), and the Nazarite vow (Judges xiii. 5-6), which are only found in the priest-code.

In the time of Samuel a similar state of affairs is discovered. Sacrifices are offered by Samuel, tribal chiefs, and Saul at various places: Mispah (1 Sam. vii. 5), Ramah (1 Sam. vii. 17), Gilgal (1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15, xv. 21-33), Zuph (1 Sam. ix. 12 *sq.*), Bethlehem (1 Sam. xvi.), Michmash (1 Sam. xiv. 35). The sacrifices are burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. The purifications are by simple washing with water. The only feast mentioned is an annual one at Bethlehem (1 Sam. xx. 6). On the other hand, the ark of the Covenant comes into prominence as vindicating its sanctity wherever it was carried. It was captured by the Philistines and taken from Shiloh into their own country, but subsequently returned and placed under the charge of Levitical priests

* Dr. Green explains these violations thus: "In every such instance sacrifices were offered on the spot by those to whom the Lord thus appeared; and in the absence of such a Theophany, sacrifices were never offered except at Shiloh or in the presence of the ark and by priests of the house of Aaron." This explanation does not satisfy us for these reasons: (1) These transactions are no more than the Covenant-code requires. (2) They indicate a practice identical with that of the patriarchs. The Deuteronomic code and priest-code required a change in the earlier practice. Why were these two great codes transgressed by the judges under the influence of the divine Spirit? (3) The ark of the Covenant, according to the priest-code, was the permanent place of divine Theophany. Why was this forsaken by Jehovah himself in violation of His own law, and why did He encourage the chiefs of the nation to violate the law? Why did Jehovah himself permit His one altar and sanctuary and the legitimate Aaronic priesthood to be so neglected and dishonored? (4) The statement that the sacrifices were never offered except at Shiloh or in the presence of the ark and by priests of the house of Aaron, except at the times specified, rests upon no other evidence than *silence*, which may count equally well on the other side, since that which is mentioned as having been done several times may be presumed, with no evidence to the contrary, to have been done at other times. Moreover, the *silence* of the history as to any national habitual worship at Shiloh as the one only legitimate altar in accordance with the Deuteronomic code and priest-code, seems rather to count against such a thing. For the neglect of the sanctuary at Shiloh does not seem from the narratives extraordinary or abnormal. See Prof. H. P. Smith in l. c., p. 337.

at Kirjath-Jearim, where it remained twenty years (1 Sam. v.-vii.) This hill is called the Hill of God, and had its high place, whither pilgrimages were made (1 Sam. x. 5). Nob also was a holy place where the priests dwelt, having the tent of meeting, shew-bread, and ephod (1 Sam. xxi. 9). The Urim and Thummim was also consulted. All these are sacred things, peculiar to the priest-code. And yet Samuel and the nation, as a whole, neglected the ark of the Covenant, the tent of meeting, and the priesthood at Nob, in violation of the priest-code and Deuteronomic code.*

Advancing into the period of the Kings we find the worship at the high places continues. David brought up the ark of the Covenant to Zion and erected a new tent for it (2 Sam. vi. 1-17). He organized a priesthood—a double line of priests and Levites—and arranged for the service of the ark at Zion and the altar at Mispeh. He also erected an altar, and sacrificed on Mt. Moriah, the site of the temple. The offerings are whole burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. The purifications are not indicated; the feasts are the Sabbaths, new moons, and **מוֹעֲדֵי** not specified. We note the presence of the brazen altar, the tabernacle of Jehovah, the tent of meeting, the

* Dr. Green thus explains these things: "During all this period of sad degeneracy and earnest labors for Israel's reformation, Samuel prayed for the people and pleaded with them and led their worship. He sacrificed at Mispeh, at Gilgal, at Ramah, at Bethel (possibly), and at Bethlehem, but never once at Kirjath-Jearim. He never assembled the people at or near the house of Abinidab. He never took measures to have the ark present at any assembly of the people or upon any occasion of sacrifice. The Lord had not indicated His will to establish another sanctuary where He might record His name in place of Shiloh, which He had forsaken" (*Moses and the Prophets*, 1882, p. 150). This explanation seems to us invalid for these reasons: (1) According to the priest-code the ark of the covenant was the throne of Jehovah, and it alone gave the place where it rested sanctity. Shiloh was a holy place only so long as the ark was there. Wherever it went it made a holy place. So the hill Kirjath-Jearim became holy and the house of God so long as the ark was there. As we interpret 1 Sam. x., this place is called the hill of God and house of God, **בֵּית אֱלֹהִים וּבֵית יְהוָה** and pilgrimages were made thither for worship by bands of prophets. But if Dr. Green's interpretation of this passage be correct and Bethel is the hill of God, then, according to this passage, it is a place of pilgrimage and worship rather than the place of the ark, a still more flagrant violation of the priest-code. And if we do not find worship at Kirjath-Jearim here, what evidence is there save *silence*, that Samuel and the people did not resort thither for worship as well as to other places? (2) But why did Samuel, the fearless reformer, so neglect the priest-code and Deuteronomic code while the ark remained for twenty years within easy access at Kirjath-Jearim? The author of *Deuteronomy, the People's Book*, p. 124, singularly contrasts the conduct of Samuel and Saul with that of David and Abimelech: "Samuel and Saul, known for their altar-building, the other pair, Abimelech and David, known for their avoidance of altars and victims except before the ark. Can we help saying that David followed the teachings of the High-Priest and not the example of Samuel? It was a season of transition when good men in their perplexity might justly differ from one another on the course to be followed."

trumpets of the priests, and the shew-bread, of the priest-code (1 Chron. xv. 17; xvi. 39, 40; xxi. 29; xxiii. 29).

The erection of the temple of Solomon concentrated the worship of the people at Jerusalem, but did not do away with the worship on high places or bring about a general recognition of the Deuteronomic code. The temple and its priesthood were organized in accordance with a *plan* given by God to David (1 Chron. xxviii. 19). The offerings are still confined to whole burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. The Levitical purifications are not mentioned. The Chronicler mentions the celebration of the Sabbath, new moons, and three great feasts, (unleavened bread, feast of weeks, and especially tabernacles 2 Chron. vii. 8-10; viii. 3).

Taking our stand here by the temple of Solomon and looking back through the previous history to the conquest, we can but note notwithstanding the transgression of the Deuteronomic code and priest-code, yet at the same time the presence of some of the most essential things of the priest-code. These cannot be explained by the theory of the school of Reuss. The way that Kuenen and Wellhausen meet the difficulty is hardly creditable to their fairness and good judgment. We cannot consent to the denial of the historical sense of the Chronicler for the sake of any theory. We might conceive that the tabernacle was an idealizing of the temple in accordance with the difference between the nomadic life and the settled life of the holy land, if there were any propriety in this idealization under the circumstances. We have a brilliant example of the power of the imagination of a prophet in such an artistic elaboration and detailed representation in Ezekiel xl.-xlviii. Ezekiel's imagination goes forth into the future and from the river Chebar to the Holy Land. We cannot therefore deny the possibility of such a prophet as Ezekiel constructing an ideal of legislation in the wilderness with all its details. And yet it seems to us a most arbitrary proceeding for the school of Reuss to make Ezekiel's legislation a programme and that of Exodus an idealization. There is propriety in the representation of Ezekiel in taking the Holy Land as the site of his temple and institution. But there is no propriety in the supposed post-exilic author of the middle books taking the wilderness and the nomadic life as the scene of his legislation.* He would rather from the necessities of the case have followed the Deuteronomist and Ezekiel, and have legislated in his programme for the

* Dr. Green, in his article in l. c., p. 115, well says: "The style in which the laws are framed and the terms in which they are drawn up point to a sojourn in the wilderness." He gives an admirable detailed proof of it. See also p. 116 of this article.

Holy Land. There is certainly no propriety in inventing the ark of the Covenant and the Urim and Thummim of the priests, the *most essential* things of the priest-code, in a programme to be carried out by the post-exilic Jews in a period conspicuous for the non-existence of the ark, when the literature of the period deploras the absence of Urim and Thummim and recognizes its existence previous to the exile (Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65).*

The most striking features in the religious history of the books of Samuel are just the sanctity of the ark of the Covenant and the consultation of the Urim and Thummim. These things, in which the holy places and things culminated, and in which the clothing and office of the priesthood attained their climax, point with unmistakable force to the priest-code. That these *essential features* remained, argues the prior existence of the *legislation* of the priest-code, notwithstanding its general neglect and violation. Furthermore, the Davidic legislation and the organization of the temple service after the *plan of God* given to David points backward to the simpler Mosaic legislation of which it is an elaboration. The temple of Solomon is easier to explain on the basis of the tabernacle of Moses than the latter on the basis of the former.† The organization of the priests and Levites and singers by the Davidic constitution is easier to explain on the basis of the organization of the priest-code than *vice versa*. There is a development in these two particulars, from the priest-code to the Davidic institutions, that is more remarkable than the development from the Deuteronomic to the priest-code, and this development is a constant one in all the details of the buildings and the vessels and the ministry.

But, notwithstanding all this concentration of worship, the Deuteronomic code is not fulfilled by the doing away of high places and sacrifices there. The sacrifices of sin and trespass offerings, the purifications, and the feasts of the priest-code do not appear. The Davidic legislation is thus at an *angle* with the Pentateuchal; being on the one side a remarkable *advance*, and on the other a no less remarkable *falling behind* the requirements of the Deuteronomic code and priest-code, which cannot be accounted for if *they* were taken as the basis of the Davidic constitution, or if they had been in general observance since the conquest.

The rupture of the nation after the death of Solomon rendered the observance of the Davidic constitution as well as the priest-code and Deuteronomic code an impossibility for the northern kingdom. The an-

* See Dr. Green in l. c., p. 120.

† See Henry P. Smith in l. c., p. 385 57

cestral worship on high places is conducted by Elijah on Carmel and by others at various altars. In Judah itself it continued as the prevailing mode of worship, save for the spasmodic efforts of Hezekiah and Josiah, after the exile of the northern kingdom. This worship on high places even survives the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, and we find a company of pilgrims resorting to the ancient sanctuary at Mispeh (Jer. xli. 5 *sq.*) after the overthrow of the nation.*

Looking now at the testimony of Hebrew Literature with reference to the offerings, the purifications, and the feasts of the priest-code, these are conspicuous by their absence prior to the exile. The sin offering (חטאת) first and alone appears in the pre-exilic history in the reform of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix. 20-24). It is not found in the pre-exilic prophets, or in the entire Psalter, save Ps. xl., or in the ethical writings. In pre-exilic writings the trespass offering (ששנ) is not found unless it be in Isaiah liii.; the Levitical purifications are not mentioned; the feasts of the priest-code do not occur.†

* Dr. Green explains these things thus: "The worship on high places was irregular and illegal after the temple was built; but the fact that they were tolerated by pious princes, who contented themselves with abolishing the emblems and practice of idolatry found there, only shows that they did not do their whole duty—not that the law which had ruled ever since the days of Moses did not exist. They may very easily have persuaded themselves that the spirit of the law was maintained if only the abuses were rectified; that if God was sincerely and piously worshipped in these local sanctuaries, there could not be much harm in suffering them to remain." This explanation is not satisfactory to us. For (1) it is an unlikely supposition that these pious princes so neglected a well-known duty. (2) It assumes that the law ruled from the days of Moses, which is the reverse of the facts. (3) It assumes that these pious princes presumed to please God by neglecting the prescriptions of the law and recognizing true worship against the law.

† With reference to this sin offering of Hezekiah, one can see no evidence that it was offered in accordance with the ritual of the sin offering, Lev. iv. 13 *sq.*, where the blood must be (וְהִזְבֵּהוּ) sprinkled before Jehovah, and put some of it upon the horns of the altar of incense and all the rest (שִׁפְךָ) poured out at the base of the altar of burnt offering. The ritual seems rather to be similar to that of the burnt offering (Lev. i.), where the blood is scattered (זָרַק) upon the altar (comp. 2 Chron. xxix. 22 and Lev. i. 5), for it is represented that they חִטְּאוּ אֶת דָּם הַמִּזְבֵּחַ. We find in (2 Kings xii. 16) in the reign of Joash that sin and trespass money (כֶּסֶף חַטָּאת וְכֶסֶף אֲשָׁם) was given to the priests as a fine or compensation for neglected duties, which corresponds with the law of the sin offering that the flesh goes to the priests, but there is no *victim* here, and hence no correspondence with the priest-code. The attempt of Delitzsch (*Pent. Krit. Studien*, p. 9), to find a חַטָּאת in Hos. iv. 8 (followed by Keil, *Com. Ezek.* 2d Auf., p. 21), is a novel explanation of the passage and against the context. The same is true of the passage, Micah vi. 7. They are properly rendered in A. V.: "sin of my people," parallel with "iniquity," and "sin of my soul," parallel with "my transgression." The sin offering of the Psalm xl., where it occurs alone in the Psalter presses for the post-exilic composition of this Psalm. The אֲשָׁם of Isaiah liii. 10 is the sacri-

What, then, are we to conclude from these facts? The traditional theory was not designed to account for them. The theory of Reuss was constructed in order to account for them on the ground that the codes did not come into existence until they are recognized in the literature and the history of Israel. If the religion of Israel were a purely natural religion like the other religions of the world, this would be the most reasonable supposition. As it is, we must justify the traditional view against the development theory which might seem to be the most natural explanation of the facts of the case.

However, to one who has been convinced that the Pentateuchal legislation is of *divine* origin and contained in an *inspired* book, the presumption is that we have something different from a naturalistic genesis. He expects to find the supernatural ideal presented by divinely appointed prophets centuries before its realization. To an evangelical man, transgression and silence do not prove the *non-existence* of the code, but only a general *neglect* and *ignorance* of it for reasons that may be assigned. Having found sufficient reasons for believing that the three codes lie at the root of the history and literature of Israel in the Mosaic era, let us examine the evidence presented on the positive side in the Old Testament Scriptures, to account for the silence and *non-observance* of them that we have found in the History and Literature. The traditional theory is certainly against the facts so far as it is claimed by Marsh, Horne, and others, that the Pentateuchal legislation was observed in Israel from the conquest to the exile, the infractions being only occasional. On the other hand, the evidence is invincible, not only from silence and repeated instances of infraction in unconscious innocence and uncondemned, but also from positive statements that the Mosaic legislation was not so observed.

(1) The prophet Amos (v. 25) represents that during the forty years wanderings, Israel did not offer burnt offerings and peace offerings to Jehovah. This corresponds with the statement, Josh. v. 5, that circumcision had been neglected, so that an entire generation had to be circumcised after the entrance into Palestine at Gilgal. Then the Passover was kept which had likewise been neglected. The neglect of these essential things carries with it the neglect of the entire priest-code, for according to the law an uncircumcised man and one who did not keep the Passover, was cut off from the congregation. The period of the Judges is characterized by the failure to exterminate the Canaanites, and by a

fiice of the Messianic servant consisting of himself. This undoubtedly presupposes a victim in the פְּשָׁעֵינוּ, but inasmuch as the advocates of the Reuss and De Wette and Eichhorn theories all agree that the second half of Isaiah is post-exilic, that passage cannot help us to prove *against them* the pre-exilic פְּשָׁעֵינוּ.

series of captivities under foreign oppressors, during which the national unity was lost and tribal chieftains and local judges assumed the place assigned for the Levitical priesthood and the king by the Deuteronomic code.

How could there be *one* sanctuary in the midst of independent, hostile, and warring tribes? The observance of the Deuteronomic code and priest-code was impossible, and Jehovah graciously accepted in their stead the code of the Covenant and the patriarchal methods of worship.* The rally of the nation under Phinehas against Benjamin (Judges xx.), to avenge the wrong of the Levite, was the last until the revival of Samuel. Indeed, there was no nation as such under Samuel and Saul. It was not until David established his throne in Jerusalem and moved the ark of the covenant thither, that a political and religious unity became possible. Then again we see a great rally of the nation about the ark and the priesthood, but it was impossible to overcome the worship on high places and ancestral modes of worship. That which could not be accomplished by David and Solomon became impossible when Jeroboam tore away the mass of Israel from the house of David. Nor could weakened Judah, under its most pious kings, such as Jehoshaphat and Joash, do more than overcome in part *idolatry* at the high places. It was not until the reforms of Hezekiah and especially of Josiah, that Israel for brief periods could be brought to the acceptance of the Deuteronomic code.

(2) And here we meet the statement that the Deuteronomic code, thrown aside and neglected in the temple, was providentially discovered and brought to light as the basis of the reform. If the Deuteronomic code could thus be lost sight of, how much more the elaborate and technical priest-code? We also meet the statement that the Passover had not been observed in accordance with the law from the time of Joshua onward (see p. 103). If this be true of the Passover, how much more of other institutions and laws?

(3) After this brief period of reform Judah went into exile, and it was not until the return from exile under the more favorable circumstances of a small, compact, and select population, that Ezra and Nehemiah could reform the nation on the basis of the priest-code. Here, again, Neh. viii. 17, we have the statement that the feast of taberna-

* Dr. Green, in *Moses and the Prophets*, p. 98, makes the admirable evangelical statement: "But God was not limited to these (established ordinance of worship) in His dealings with His people. His grace is broader than the channels through which it ordinarily flows." Hence when the normal forms could not be used God made use of other forms of a simpler and more primitive character. This is the principle that dominates the history of Israel as well as the Christian Church.

cles had not been observed according to the priest-code from the time of Joshua onward, until that occasion. If this be true of this great feast, how much more of other feasts and institutions of the priest-code?

(4) If we compare the statement of the Chronicler, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21 with Jer. xxv. 11, 12, and Lev. xxvi. 34, *sq.*, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the non-observance of the Sabbatical year of the priest-code is assigned as one of the chief reasons of the exile, and that the seventy years of its duration have a certain proportion of retribution in relation to a long-continued series of non-observances. If now we compare the law of the seventh year in the three codes, we find a development from the more simple provisions of Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, through Deut. xv. 1-3, to Lev. xxv. In this latter passage the Sabbatical feasts reach their culmination in the year of Jubilee. The neglect of the seventh year carries with it the neglect of the Jubilee year. Indeed, this elaborate Sabbatical system required for its fulfilment a people and a land in an entirely different situation from that of Israel in the entire period from the conquest to the exile.

(5) The most sacred day of the Mosaic calendar was the Day of Atonement. On this day the sin-offering attained its culmination. The sin-offering of the ritual for the new moons and the double sin-offerings for the great feasts reached their climax in the goat for Azazel and the goat for Jehovah—expressing the two sides of expiation by blood and of forgiveness by entire removal. It is here a most singular fact that in Lev. xvi. we have the institution of the Day of Atonement and its peculiar sacrifices, but nowhere in the Pentateuch or elsewhere in the Old Testament any account of the observance in fact. There is no allusion, direct or indirect, to its most solemn services in Hebrew history or prophecy, sacred song or sentence of wisdom. It seems not to have formed a part of the *historic* life and experience of the people. The omission of the sin-offering in its simpler form shows very clearly that the people of Israel had not in their historical life attained the religious experience that was indispensable for an apprehension of the Day of Atonement and its deep religious lessons. The historical realization first appears in the first century before the advent of our Saviour.*

* Prof. Delitzsch discusses this subject in an admirable manner in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchliche Wissenschaft*, 1880, IV. We agree with him that the passages, 1 Kings viii. 27, *sq.*; Ezra iii. 1-6; Neh. viii. 13-17; Ezekiel xlv. 18-20; Zech. vii.-viii., do not necessarily exclude the Day of Atonement, but we must go further and conclude that the most natural explanation of this silence under the circumstances of these passages is that

Thus comparing the three codes with the history, we must regard them as three grand ideals in an ascending series from the Covenant-code through the Deuteronomic code to the priest-code, which could not be realized in the historical experience of the nation, owing to their failure to fulfil the underlying *covenant* obligations.* If the Covenant-code was based upon the idea that Israel was a kingdom of priests, a holy nation, and the Deuteronomic code was pervaded with deep spiritual conceptions of faith, love, and absolute devotion to God, and if, in the priest-code, the idea of holiness is wrought out from the holy throne of the ark into all the details of the national life; then they were beyond the experience of the tribes who entered the Holy Land. In order to its execution, the priest-code required a holy land under the absolute control of a holy people, all the alien nations exterminated, and every impure influence banished. It required a united, homogeneous people, living in a land flowing with milk and honey, under the protection of the continued presence of God in the form of a theophany enthroned above the ark. It required a strict attention to all the details of the life as to personal purity and sinlessness. The spirituality of the Deuteronomic code in its grand ideal was as far above Israel as a nation, as the discourses of Jesus in John's gospel are above the Church of Christ. The perfect sanctity of the priest-code is as far above the experience of Israel as a nation as our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, and His parables of the kingdom of heaven are above the experience of our life as Christians to-day. The Mosaic legislation was a magnificent *Prophetic ideal*, even more so than the legislation of Ezekiel. This ideal and prophetic element of the Pentateuchal legislation has been buried under the traditional theory of the Pharisees, which has come down as a yoke of bondage and a dark cloud of superstition to the Chris-

the Day of Atonement was not observed. On the other hand, the כפרת of the ark and the most holy place of the tabernacle with its vail and the most holy place of the temple with its screen, imply the *design* of the observance of the Day of Atonement. This is to us again an argument of the *existence* of the code and the law of the Atonement Day as the *ideal* to be realized, notwithstanding the failure to realize it in fact.

* This seems to explain the numerous disputed cases of the traces of the Elohist and the priest-code in the Prophets before the exile, best presented by Karl Marti in *Die Spuren der sogenannten Grundschrift des Hexateuchs in der vorexilischen Propheten des Alten Testaments. Jahrb. f. Prot. Theo.*, 1880, i. 127 sq. See also Prof. Green in l. c., p. 146. These cannot be entirely explained away by the school of Reuss. They are forced to resort to improper and unjustifiable methods of dissection of writings. There are *traces* of the Elohist code, but these traces are not sufficient to make the evidence as reliable as we could wish. If the priest-code were in existence little known and unobserved, we might expect to find occasional references to it in the prophets in the midst of a general silence. If, however, it were in general observance according to the theory of Marsh and Horne, the scanty and doubtful references are inexplicable.

tian Church. Stripping these off, we behold in the Pentateuch vastly more than it has been the custom to find there. We find not only the Deuteronomic prediction of a prophet like Moses fulfilled in Jesus Christ, but that the *whole Law is prophetic of the Gospel*. To this the interpretation of the apostles, and especially the epistle to the Hebrews, has pointed the Christian Church; but Christian exegetes have been halting on the threshold, and have not entered into this grand tabernacle of prophecy. The three codes lie at the basis of the history of Israel as ideals to be realized in the experience of the nation, as the Gospels lie at the basis of Christian History. There are evidences of their presence from time to time, although in general there are silence and infraction. The more elaborate codes were thrown aside for centuries as impracticable, but at the proper time they reappear—the Deuteronomic code in the age of Josiah, the priest-code in the age of Ezra—to be the light and hope of the nation, and lead them, as a schoolmaster leads his boys, to Christ and His gospel.

III. *The Religious Development of Israel.*

That there is a development in the *worship* of Israel as in doctrines and morals is clear from the Literature. The traditional theory is at fault in interpreting the history chiefly as a series of *apostasies*. This pessimistic view of the religion of Israel is against the facts of the case. In morals and in faith there is manifest progress. There must have gone along with progress in these things religious progress also. Doctrinal and ethical progress is indeed impossible without a progress in the religion that underlies and shapes doctrines and morals. The ancient congregation of Israel no more went on declining until the exile than the Christian Church has been declining or will continue to decline, till the Second Advent. There were temporary declensions, but in every case in order to a new advance. Rather as the Church in her historic life has been appropriating more and more the faith of the gospel, so did Israel in her experience appropriate more and more of the law of Moses.

There are two great covenants and they correspond in the fact that as the gospel rules the Church throughout its history, being the ideal of all its strivings, so the Mosaic law ruled Israel as its ideal aim. That the *law* was buried in oblivion as to its most essential parts and hid away in the temple for centuries, while the nation followed *traditional usage*, is no more strange than that the *gospel* should have been buried in monastic chambers for so many centuries away from the use of people, kings, and even pious priests and bishops of

the church, while they followed *canons, missals, and traditional usage* to a large extent in violation of the first principles of the gospel.

Thus we can trace in the history of Israel a religious progress in remarkable accordance with the three codes. It is not surprising that the school of Reuss put the Covenant-code in the reign of Jehoshaphat. It would be difficult to find it in all respects in the previous history, and there seems to have been a progress in the line of the Covenant-code up to the reign of Jehoshaphat and beyond, with a realization of some features only of the other codes. The Deuteronomic code is certainly the basis of the reform of Josiah and enters into the literature of the time in the Book of Jeremiah and the Books of Kings. The priest-code was certainly the basis of the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, and enters into the literature of the Chronicler. But these reforms which show successive stages of appropriation of the Pentateuchal legislation could not have been wrought on the basis of prophetic "programmes" and "legal fictions." Naught but ancient, undisputed, divine documents, long neglected, but all the more impressive on that account from the experience of the divine discipline which that neglect involved, could so influence and control the pious leaders and the pious part of the nation who followed them in these reforms.

IV. The fact that the author of Kings is familiar only with Deuteronomy, and the author of Chronicles with the priest-code, does not of itself prove that the priest-code was not in existence in the time of the author of Kings, but only that it was not at hand; it was not known to him, or used by him. The theory of the school of Reuss, that the Chronicler colors the history from his point of view and misrepresents it, cannot be justified. It was natural that each should examine the history from the point of view of the code most familiar to him; and that the author of Kings and the Chronicler should therefore occupy different planes of judgment, but that does not show any misconception or misinterpretation on the part of either of them.

V. The relation of the code of Ezekiel (xl.-xlviii.) to the priest-code is justly regarded as the key of the situation.* The school of Reuss represents the code of Ezekiel as designed for the returned exiles; and that it was a preparation in development for the priest-code. The intermediate position of the code of Ezekiel between the Deuteronomic code and the priest-code seems to be proved, but it is no more necessary in this case than in the others to explain the fact by a historical development of the one into the other. But rather the

* Smend, *Der Prophet Ezekiel*, p. 312, 1880.

changes are in the nature of an idealization. The construction of the temple, the division of the holy land among the tribes, the wonderful river of life, and trees of life, mingle, in a most magnificent prophetic ideal of the imagination, the representations of the garden of Eden, the temple of Solomon, the division of the land at the conquest, and the great works of architecture on the Euphrates, in their combination impossible of realization in fact. When the offerings and feasts of Ezekiel are considered from this point of view they seem to be intentionally diverse from those of the Mosaic legislation in Deuteronomy, and no less incapable of actual realization. This whole legislation of Ezekiel is a symbol, tremendous in extent and in power, and is to be compared with the symbols of the Resurrection (xxxvii. 1-14), the union of the two sticks (xxxvii. 15-28), the marvellous growth of the cedar twig (xvii. 22-24), and the Gog and Magog battle (xxxviii.-ix.), for Ezekiel is the *master of symbolical prophecy*.*

On the other hand, it is worthy of note that Ezekiel is in very close connection with the section of the priest-code Lev. xvii.-xxvi. This section has certain features peculiar to itself. Graf, Kayser, and others ascribe it to the prophet Ezekiel himself. Horst regards it as a codification of more ancient laws by Ezekiel prior to the composition of his own code. Dillmann regards it as a combination of two more ancient codes from A. and C. by the Redactor. Klostermann calls it the "*Heiligkeitgesetz*," and is followed by Delitzsch in the opinion that Ezekiel leans no more upon this section than on Deuteronomy and the prophetic writings with which he was acquainted.† Reuss, Wellhausen, and Kuenen make this code later than Ezekiel, but prior to the rest of the priest-code. Questions of relative priority and dependence are among the most difficult in the field of Higher Criticism. But having found sufficient reasons elsewhere for the prior existence of the priest-code, we find that Ezekiel's resemblance to it in many respects implies a knowledge of it, and this notwithstanding Ezekiel's independence of it in the construction of his ideal code.

Thus we have found that the facts relied upon by the school of Reuss do not sustain their theory of the composition of the Pentateuch and the development of the religion of Israel. We have

* For a full discussion of this subject see articles of Prof. Toy, *The Babylonian Element in Ezekiel*, and Prof. Gardiner, *Ezekiel in relation to the Levitical Law*, in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882, also Smend, *Der Prophet Ezekiel*, 1880, and Kiel, *Bib. Com. ü. den Prophet Ezekiel*, 2te Auf., 1882, Maybaum, *Die Entwicklung des Altisraelitischen Priesterthums*, 1880, Horst, *Leviticus xvii.-xxvi. und Hezekiel*, 1881.

† Horst, *Leviticus xvii.-xxvi., und Hezekiel Ein Beitrag zur Pentateuchkritik*, 1881, p. 96, Klostermann, *Lutherisch. Zeitschrift*, 1877, p. 406, Delitzsch, *Zeitsch. f. Kirch. Wissenschaft*, 1880, p. 618, Dillmann in 2te Auf. *Knobel's Exodus and Leviticus*, 1880, p. 534.

also found that the prevalent theory as stated by Horne and Keil needs several modifications to adjust it to these facts.

(1) We have not *one* narrative, but a *fourfold* narrative of the origin of the old Covenant religion coming down to us from the Mosaic age, as we have a fourfold gospel giving the narrative of the origin of the new Covenant religion. There is, indeed, a remarkable correspondence in these four types or points of view. The second Elohist may be compared with Mark, the Jehovist with Matthew, the first Elohist with Luke, and the Deuteronomist with John. The difference between the Pentateuch and the gospels is that the four narratives of the Pentateuch have been compacted by an inspired Redactor; whereas the gospels have to be harmonized by uninspired teachers in the Church. How this *unity in variety* strengthens the *credibility* of the Pentateuch! As the four gospels contain the gospel of Christ, so the narratives of the Pentateuch contain the law of Moses. As our Saviour is set forth by the evangelist as the mediator of the new Covenant, Moses is set forth by the narratives of the Pentateuch as the mediator of the old Covenant.*

(2) The Pentateuch does not give us *one* Mosaic code, but *three* codes of Mosaic legislation, a judicial code, a people's code, and a priest-code, contained in the Jehovistic, Elohist, and Deuteronomic narratives, somewhat as the gospels present us the discourses of Jesus in the varied types peculiar to Matthew, to Luke, and to John. As we harmonize the latter for a complete and symmetrical statement of the doctrine of Jesus, so we harmonize the three codes of the Pentateuch for a complete and symmetrical exposition of the legislation of Moses. The law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.

(3) The Mosaic legislation was *delivered* through Moses, but it was enforced only in part, and in several stages of advancement, in the historical life and experience of Israel from the conquest to the exile. It was a *divine ideal*, a supernatural revealed instruction, to guide the people of Israel throughout their history, and lead them to the prophet greater than Moses, who was to fulfil and complete his legislation. The law was the true light of Israel until the first Advent, even as the Gospel is the light and guide of the Church until the second Advent. Israel appropriated more and more the instruction of the law as the Church has appropriated more and more the doctrine of the Gospel. The history of God's people under both covenants has been essentially the same—a grand march forward under the supernatural light of a divine revelation.

* See Delitzsch, *Pentateuch-kritische Studien* xii., *Zeitschrift f. Kirchliche Wissenschaft*, xii., 1880; Bredenkampf, *Gesetz und Propheten*, 1881, p. 16; Henry P. Smith in this REVIEW in l. c., p. 374, *sq.*

(4) Law and Prophecy are not two distinct and separate modes of revelation, but the same. The law of Moses was as much prophetic as legal. Moses was even more a prophet than a lawgiver. The prophets of God that followed him all give divine law as well as divine prophecy. As the apostles in the new covenant were not merely expositors of the gospel, but came forth from the risen and glorified Christ with new revelations, enlarging and completing the gospel; so the prophets were not *mere* expositors of the law, but came forth immediately from the presence of Jehovah as really as Moses did, with new revelations enlarging and completing the old. The distinction between law and prophecy in the Bible is a fluctuating one, so that the whole divine revelation may be called law, and also prophecy, according to the usage of the Bible itself.*

(5) There is in the law, as in the gospel, a divine transforming power which shaped the history of Israel, as the gospel has shaped the history of the Church in successive stages of appropriation. Not without some reason have many recent Christian scholars after Neander divided the history of the Christian Church after the names of the chief apostles as indicating the various types of Christianity. With even more reason might we divide the history of Israel into stages of progress in accordance with the three Mosaic codes. The Christian Church may look forward to a time when the unity and variety of the gospel of Christ shall be fully manifested in her historic life. The people of Israel also reached a stage when in her historic life the three codes harmonized, and the whole bent of the nation was in the study of the law and a conscientious fulfilment of it, and then, in the fulness of time Christ Jesus the Messiah came.

The deeper study of the unity and variety of the Pentateuchal narratives and laws, as we defend them against Reuss, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, and advance in the apprehension of their sublime harmony, will fructify and enrich the theology of our day, just as the deeper study of the unity and variety of the gospels by the school of Neander, in the defense of them against Straus, Renan, and Baur, has been an unspeakable blessing in the past generation. This having been accomplished, we may look forward to a time when our eyes shall be opened as never before to the magnificent unity of the whole Bible in the midst of its wondrous variety. Then the word of God, as one supernatural divine revelation, will rise into such a position of spiritual power and transcendent influence, as shall greatly advance the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and hasten the realization of that most blessed hope of both the Old and New Testaments, the coming of the Messiah in glory. C. A. BRIGGS.

* For an admirable presentation of this subject, see the article of Prof. W. J. Beecher in l. c., p. 715 f.