ARCHER

A Survey of

OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION

MOODY PRESS

Andy Harwood

. 266-267 - sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter

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by

Gleason L. Archer, Jr.

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PREFACE

The purpose of this *Survey of Old Testament Introduction* is to furnish a simple and usable text for the instruction of college and seminary students who have had no previous training in Old Testament criticism. It is also designed to provide a general discussion of the field for ministers and other serious Bible students. Due to the necessity of conserving space, the author has made no attempt to discuss all the most recent books and articles in this field, but rather has contented himself with developing the most representative and influential views of the acknowledged leaders in the study of Old Testament Introduction. An attempt has been made in the interest of clarity to confine the discussion to the main issues and to handle those issues in a way which the novice can understand and appreciate.

The reader will find that this book adheres to a consistently conservative or evangelical viewpoint. For this the author makes no apology, except to say that it is his personal conviction that only the orthodox view of the Bible does real justice to the testimony of the Biblical text itself and truly squares with the evidence presented by all the relevant data. At the same time a consistent effort has been made to deal fairly with the differing views and theories of those adhering to a liberal or Neo-orthodox position, and to present their premises and conclusions in a way to be readily comprehended and fairly appraised by the reader.

GLEASON L. ARCHER, Jr.

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1

INTRODUCTION

The Scope of Introduction

THE HOLY BIBLE is like no other book in all the world. It is the only book which presents itself as the written revelation of the one true God, intended for the salvation of man, and demonstrating its divine authority by many infallible proofs. Other religious documents, such as the Muhammadan Koran, may claim to be the very word of God, but they contain no such self-authenticating proofs as does the Bible (for example, the phenomena of fulfilled prophecy). As the record of God's holy will for man, the Bible is of utmost importance to understand aright the true meaning of the revelations it contains. It will not do to construe the words of Scripture as if they were given in our modern age and addressed to present-day English-speaking peoples facing twentieth century problems. To be sure, the Bible does convey God's message to us today, and is as relevant to us as it was to the Hebrews of ancient times. But the form in which that message was given was an ancient Hebrew form, and it was in the first instance addressed to people who faced the special issues and circumstances peculiar to their own day and age. We cannot properly understand the underlying and permanent principles contained in these ancient utterances of God unless we first of all take stock of the problems and challenges that confronted His people in the generation in which He spoke to them.

Old Testament Introduction is the term applied to a systematic study of the ancient background against which the first thirty-nine books of the Bible are to be properly understood. It deals with matters of language, custom and historical situations, and treats of the persons, places and events alluded to in the various books of the Bible. In its larger scope it includes the following branches of study.

1. The languages in which the Old Testament was originally written, that is, Hebrew and Aramaic, along with those related Semitic languages (such as Arabic, Assyrian, Phoenician, Ugaritic and Syriac) which help us understand the meaning of the words used in the Biblical text.

2. The history of the Hebrew people and of those neighboring countries with which they had contact.

3. The religion and culture of these non-Hebrew nations, as they are revealed to us by ancient pagan authors and by the discoveries of modern archaeology.

4. The authorship of the several books of the Bible, since the question of who wrote the book has an important bearing upon its meaning and its reliability.

5. The date, or at least the approximate time, when each book was composed—since this often gives a clue as to what issues were confronting God's people when He spoke to them.

6. The historical situation and contemporary problems to which the inspired authors addressed themselves as spokesmen for God.

7. The original text of each book as it existed before slips of the pen or other copyists' errors may have crept into the form of the text which has been preserved to us. (This is known as textual criticism.)

8. The integrity of the text, that is, the question of whether each book was entirely written by the author claimed for it, or whether the writings of others have been combined with it.

9. The history of the transmission of the text, that is, the way in which each book was copied and handed on in the various manuscript families, and translated into the various ancient languages of the peoples to whom Judaism and Christianity came during subsequent centuries, until finally the Hebrew text itself (and its various translations into Greek, Latin, Syriac, and so forth) was put into printed form after the invention of the printing press.

As a general rule, the first three divisions of Introduction above described are dealt with in separate courses in language or history, while Old Testament Introduction as an academic subject is restricted to the last six divisions. Furthermore, within Introduction itself there are two main subdivisions: General Introduction and Special Introduction.

General Introduction deals with matters of the text (both in the original language in which it was composed and in the early versions into which it was first translated). It also treats of the canon, that is, the question of which books are truly inspired and authoritative, and the approximate period in history when they were so recognized by the people of God. It gives an account of the origin and extent of the canon, and the arrangement and preservation of the books it comprises. Since the question of the date and authorship of the Pentateuch (the five books of Moses) is so deeply involved with the theory of the canon, it is usually included in the field of General Introduction.

As for *Special Introduction,* it treats the individual books of the Old Testament one by one, giving an account of authorship, date, purpose and integrity. It may also discuss the over-all structure and basic message of

each book, although a detailed treatment of its contents belongs more properly to a course in Bible survey than in Introduction.

The Relationship of the Old Testament to the New

The New Testament authors regarded the books of the Old Testament ("the Law and the Prophets") as a single composite whole ("the Scripture"), ultimately authored by God Himself, although mediated through human authors who wrote down His truth under His infallible guidance (cf. Gal. 3:8; II Pet. 1:20). The inspired apostles regarded the intention of the divine Author of the Hebrew Scriptures as the important thing; the intent of the human author was a merely subordinate matter. It could even happen that the human author of the Old Testament prophecy did not understand the full significance of what he was writing, although his actual words expressed the purpose of the divine Author who inspired him (see I Pet. 1:10, 11). The New Testament writers viewed the entire Hebrew Scriptures as a testimony to Jesus Christ, the perfect Man who fulfilled all the Law; the Sacrifice and High Priest of the ritual ordinances; the Prophet, Priest and King of whom the prophets foretold; and the Lover whom the poetical books described. They saw prophetic significance even in the historical events of the Old Testament record. Thus the crossing of the Red Sea prefigured Christian baptism (I Cor. 10:1, 2); Joshua's conquest of Canaan prefigured the spiritual rest into which Christians enter by faith (Heb. 3, 4); and the calling of Israel out of Egypt foreshadowed the experience of the Child Jesus (Matt. 2:15).

In general we may say that the Old Testament presented the preparation of which the New Testament was the fulfillment; it was the seed and plant of which the New Testament was the glorious fruit. Precisely because Jesus of Nazareth fulfilled what the Old Testament predicted, His life and deeds possessed absolute finality, rather than His being a mere religious sage like many others. For this reason also the gospel of Christ possesses divine validity which sets it apart from all man-made religions. The Old Testament demonstrates that Jesus and His Church were providential, the embodiment of the purpose of God; the New Testament proves that the Hebrew Scriptures constituted a coherent and integrated organism, focused upon a single great theme and exhibiting a single program of redemption.

The Semitic Family of Languages

Just as truly as the genius of the Greek language imposed its stamp upon the New Testament revelation and the terms in which its message was cast, even so was the genius of the Hebrew language determinative for the expression of the Old Testament message. It made a great deal of difference that Greek was precise in expressing time values, and that

Hebrew laid chief emphasis upon mode of action rather than upon tenses. Adequate interpretation of the Old Testament revelation demands a thorough grasp of these peculiar traits of the Hebrew verb and of Hebrew syntax generally; otherwise much misunderstanding and wresting of the Scriptures will result.

To a very large extent Hebrew shared these grammatical and syntactical characteristics with the rest of the Semitic languages. Therefore it is important to examine these related tongues and derive from them the light which they can throw upon Hebrew usage. Moreover, in the matter of vocabulary the study of comparative Semitics is of utmost significance. It often happens that a word which appears only once or twice in the Hebrew Bible is found quite commonly in some of the related languages, and can be interpreted with a high degree of accuracy by comparison with them.

The traditional classification of the various Semitic languages divides them, according to the geographical location of the nations speaking them, into north, south, east and west. *East Semitic* includes but one main language, Akkadian, divided into the slightly differing dialects of Babylonian and Assyrian. *South Semitic* includes Arabic (subdivided into North Arabic, the classical, literary language, and South Arabic with its subdialects: Sabean, Minean, Qatabanian and Hadramautian) and Ethiopic (or Geez) with its modern descendant, Amharic. *North Semitic* embraces the Aramaic family, which is usually divided into eastern and western branches (the eastern being the basis for the Syriac language of the Christian era, and the western being the basis for Biblical Aramaic as found in Daniel and Ezra). *West Semitic* (often classed with Aramaic in what is called Northwest Semitic by modern scholars) comprises Ugaritic, Phoenician and Canaanite (of which Hebrew and Moabite are dialects).

Non-Semitic tongues which exercised some influence upon the Hebrew language were the Hamitic speech of Egypt (although some scholars see even in Egyptian a primitive relationship to the Semitic language group); Sumerian, the agglutinative speech (unrelated to any other known tongue) of the earlier, non-Semitic race which conquered and civilized Lower Mesopotamia prior to the Babylonians; and the Indo-Iranian Persian, a language distantly related to Greek. All of these contributed a small percentage of vocabulary to Biblical Hebrew.

2

THE INSPIRATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BEFORE COMMENCING a higher critical study of the Old Testament, it is appropriate for us to come to terms with the basic question of what kind of book it is. If it is merely a product of human genius, like many other documents upon which religions have been founded, then the data which it presents must be handled in one specific way. That is, these holy writings must be dealt with in purely literary terms, and naturalistic explanations must be found for every feature which appears to be supernatural (such as fulfilled prophecy). If, on the other hand, the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are inspired by God, employing human instruments to record the truth He revealed to man, then the data must be handled in a quite different fashion. That is to say, everything which might appear to be inconsistent with that standard of accuracy and truth which divine inspiration presupposes[1] must be carefully investigated in order to arrive at a satisfactory reconcilement of apparent discrepancies. Thus the whole line of investigation is profoundly influenced by the premise with which we start.

Evidence for the Unique Inspiration of the Bible

This is not the place to enter into a thorough treatment of Christian evidences; that is the province of textbooks on apologetics. But it is appropriate to suggest here, at least in a cursory way, why it is reasonable and proper to start with the premise that the Old Testament is a collection of books inspired by God.

In the first place, there is significant unity which underlies the entire collection of thirty-nine books in the Old Testament, betraying an organic interconnection which carries through the many centuries during which it was being composed. These books exhibit a remarkable

[1]There remains, of course, a third possibility: that God chose to reveal His truth through an imperfect revelation in which truth was mingled with error. But this would be a quite useless, or unusable, type of revelation, inasmuch as it would require infallible human judgment to discern the truth from the error. See the section under "Inerrancy of the Original Autographs" in this chapter.

singleness of purpose and program, most reasonably explained as the operation of a single mind, the mind of the divine Author Himself. (A classic discussion of this aspect of Scripture is found in Chap. 2 of James Orr's *The Problem of the Old Testament*. Though he published this work in 1907, Orr's line of argument has never been successfully refuted, and is still valid today.)[2]

Secondly, of all world religions, only the Hebrew-Christian offers a logically defensible epistemology (or science of religious knowledge). The end result of four thousand years of human investigation and philosophic inquiry has, apart from the Bible itself, been hopeless disagreement and confusion in the whole area of religion. Some theorists have urged the manufacturing of a system of ethics and vague theism which they call a world religion. But the fact remains that the tensions between Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam are just as sharp as they ever have been, even though milder methods of propagation or protection are usually employed today than in earlier ages. They still give entirely different answers to the question, What must I do to be saved?

Contrast the situation which obtains in the realms of medicine and science. The many centuries of experimentation and research have resulted in general agreement among all civilized nations as to the basic laws of chemistry and physics. To be sure, the emergence of new data makes necessary the constant revision of the theories and conclusions which scientists publish from year to year, but by and large the scientific world remains in substantial agreement the world over.

In the case of religion, however, which deals with questions which are of the greatest importance for mankind, there has appeared no consensus whatsoever. It often happens that two men who have been reared as brothers in the same home environment, have enjoyed the same educational advantages, and possess the same degree of intelligence, hold views of religion which are diametrically opposed to each other. If it were possible for the tools of human reason and scientific research to lead to valid results in the realm of metaphysics, men of equal education and enlightenment would surely come to some measure of agreement (just as they do in philology or science). Nothing, however, could be further from the

[2]Of course it is possible to handle the Old Testament writings in an artificially dissectionist way, in the interests of a theory of diverse sources and conglomerate authorship. One who has espoused such theories is not obliged to interpret texts in the light of their over-all context and setting, but he may always by ingenious twists of interpretation find disagreements and discrepancies between the sources. He may uncover divergent viewpoints and inconsistencies in any given work which would never occur as such to the mind of the unbiased reader who is simply reading the book to grasp its message. But even the doctrinnaire dissectionist must finally acknowledge that in the form in which the Hebrew Scriptures have been preserved to us, there is very little difference if any between the concept of God and the covenant which appears in the latest portion of the Old Testament and that which is found in its earliest written sections. Nor can there be any doubt that from the standpoint of Christ and the New Testament apostles, the entire Old Testament represented a single unity that

case so far as religion is concerned. We are scarcely any nearer to agreement today than our ancestors were four thousand years ago; perhaps even less so, for they had not yet invented atheistic naturalism at that early period. It logically follows that human investigation, even with the most careful and scientific methodology, can lead to nothing more solid than mere conjecture when it comes to matters of the soul and the meaning of life. Man by his own searching cannot find out God; at best he can only conjecture.

How then can we know God or His will for our lives? Only if He reveals Himself to us! Unless He Himself tells us, we can never know for a surety the answers to those questions which matter most to us as human beings. At this point it is important to observe that the Bible presents itself to us as the written revelation of God. This purports to be a book in which God gives us the answers to the great questions which concern our soul, and which all the wisdom and science of man are powerless to solve with any degree of certainty. The Bible asserts of itself that it is the special revelation from God; it must therefore be acknowledged as claiming to be the right kind of source from which to derive a trustworthy knowledge of religious truth.[3] It comes to us with the claim that the words are from God Himself: "Thus saith the Lord." If there be a God, and if He is concerned for our salvation, this is the only way (apart from direct revelation from God to each individual of each successive generation) He could reliably impart this knowledge to us. It must be through a reliable written record such as the Bible purports to be.[4]

[3]To be sure, there are a few other religious scriptures which make the same claim for themselves, such as the Koran and the Book of Mormon. It must be conceded, however, that these two documents lack the credentials which authenticate the Bible as the true record of God's revelation. Most notably they lack the validation of prior prophecy and subsequent fulfillment, and the all-pervading presence of the divine-human Redeemer. The Book of Mormon is vitiated by many historical inconsistencies and inaccuracies; and the Koran (which is claimed to have been dictated from a heavenly archetype coeternal with Allah) exhibits not only the most startling historical inaccuracies but also the changing viewpoints of a human author (Muhammed) in the light of the current events of his own day. Nor is there any comparison between the Bible and these other books when it comes to the grandeur and sublimity of thoughts it conveys or the power with which it penetrates the human soul with life-changing consequences.

[4]What about oral tradition? May not the inerrant truth of God be handed down from mouth to mouth through successive generations? Yes, indeed, it may be, and undoubtedly portions of the Bible were preserved in this way for a good many years before finding their authoritative, written form. But oral tradition is necessarily fluid in character and in constant danger of corruption because of the subjective factor: the uncertain memory of the custodian of that tradition. The legacy of faith was handed down through the millennia from Adam to Moses in oral form, for the most part, but the final written form into which Moses cast it must have been especially superintended by the Holy Spirit in order to insure its divine trustworthiness. The Scriptures themselves lay the greatest emphasis upon their written state, and scarcely ever impute divine trustworthiness to mere oral tradition. While it was of course true that the words which Moses, the prophets, Jesus of Nazareth and the apostles spoke were divinely authoritative from the moment they were uttered, yet there was no other way of accurately preserving them except by inscripturation (i.e., recording

Inerrancy of the Original Autographs

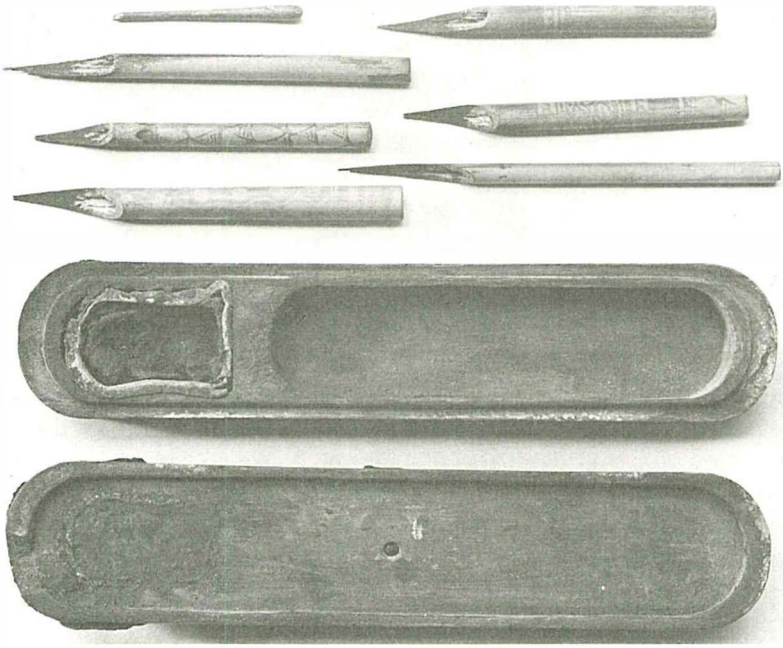
We must next ask ourselves the question, What kind of record is this going to be? One containing errors of various kinds, or one free from all error? If this written revelation contains mistakes, then it can hardly fulfill its intended purpose: to convey to man in a reliable way the will of God for his salvation. Why is this so? Because a demonstrated mistake in one part gives rise to the possibility that there may be mistakes in other parts of the Bible. If the Bible turns out to be a mixture of truth and error, then it becomes a book like any other.

Doubtless there is truth in every other religious document known to man: the Koran, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Analects, the Iliad and the Odyssey, even though this truth may coexist with an abundance of error. What is to be done with books of this sort, books containing both truth and error? There is only one thing that can be done, and that is to subject them to the critical faculty of the human reason. Within proper limits, to be sure, the reasoning powers of man have a legitimate and necessary function in weighing the evidences presented by these documents, to see whether they are consistent with divine origin. Here it is a question of recognizing the identity of a purported revelation as to whether or not it is the word of God. Human reason is competent to pass upon these evidences, applying the rule of self-contradiction and the other canons of logic, in order to determine whether the data of the texts themselves square with the claims of divine origin. (It has already been pointed out in footnote 3 that only the Bible, as opposed to other religious documents, contains decisive evidences of divine inspiration and authority.)

But it is a very different thing for human reason to attempt to pass judgment upon divine revelation as such, to determine its truth or falsity. For such judgments to be valid, they must proceed from a judge who possesses a knowledge of metaphysical truth which is superior to that of the revelation itself. In other words, man must know more about God and the soul and spiritual values than the Bible itself knows if he is to pass valid judgment on the truth of the Bible. But this is obviously not the case, as pointed out previously (p. 14), and therefore man is totally dependent on divine revelation for this all-important knowledge. For this reason, if that revelation is to come in a usable and reliable form, not dependent on the inerrancy of man's fallible judgment, it must come in an inerrant form. Otherwise it would depend ultimately on the authority of man for its validation, and it could not serve its purpose as a trustworthy disclosure of divine truth.

Textual Transmission Not Necessarily Infallible

At this point we must make a distinction. Inerrancy (or freedom from all error) is necessary only for the original manuscripts (the autographs)



Ancient writing equipment from Egypt. Biblical writers may have used something similar.

(Courtesy of the British Museum)

of the Biblical books. They must have been free from all mistakes, or else they could not have been truly inspired by the God of truth in whom is no darkness at all. God could never have inspired a human author of Scripture to write anything erroneous or false.[5]

[5]The question may be raised as to the infallibility of the sources from which the Scripture record (such as the genealogical tables in Genesis and Chronicles) may have been copied. If temple archives or palace records were consulted (as they doubtless were), and if these records were previously written down by uninspired men (as was probably the case), why can we not limit the inerrancy of Scripture to mere accuracy in copying out the human record, whether or not that record was free from mistake? In other words, could there not be inspired mistakes in the Scriptures?

We must answer this question with another: what essential difference is there between a fallible human record and a fallible human speaker? If the written words of men could be accepted into Scripture even though erroneous and mistaken, does it not follow that their spoken words could also be so accepted? Who can suppose that everything that Moses or Isaiah or Malachi spoke was free from all error? Was it not when they were uttering the word of the Lord that their utterance was infallible? As God employed their oral communications to reveal His truth, safeguarding them from error until they were recorded in written form, so also God could take erroneous human archives and guide the human author to avoid all their errors and record only what was in fact true. Whatever Scripture asserts to have been historically true, regardless of the intermediate source of the information, must be understood as trustworthy and reliable. It makes no essential difference whether the source was written or oral, whether it came from a fallible human hand or a fallible human mouth; in either case the Holy Spirit eliminated mistakes and insured the inscripturation only of truth. All the discrepancies which have come down to us in the received text of the Hebrew Scriptures are perfectly well accounted for by errors in later textual transmission. There is no need to resort to a theory of mistakes copied out in the original autographs, and to do so endangers the authoritativeness of Scripture as a whole.

But what about the text of the Bible as we now possess it? Is that text necessarily free from all mistakes of every kind? Not when it comes to copyists' errors, for we certainly do find discrepancies among the handwritten copies that have been preserved to us, even those which come from the earliest centuries. Some slips of the pen doubtless crept into the first copies made from the original manuscripts, and additional errors of a transmissional type found their way into the copies of copies. It is almost unavoidable that this should have been the case. No man alive can sit down and copy out the text of an entire book without a mistake of any kind. (Those who doubt this statement are invited to try it themselves!) It would take nothing short of a miracle to insure the inerrancy of a copy of an original manuscript.

Granted, then, that errors have crept into our texts as we now have them, how can they serve as a reliable medium for disclosing God's will? Are we not right back with the problem of books containing both truth and error? Not at all, for there is a great difference between a document which was wrong at the start, and a document which was right at the start but was miscopied. One may read a letter from his friend or relative and find in it such common slips as "of" for "or," or "and" for "an," and yet by a simple process of correction in the light of the context he may easily arrive at the true sense intended by the writer. Only if the errors which have gotten into the copies are so serious as to pervert the sense altogether does the message fail of accurate communication. But if the letter came from a correspondent who was confused, mistaken or deceitful, then the errors and misinformation it contains are beyond remedy and the reader is injured thereby.

This brings up the question of the faithfulness of the transmission of the Bible text. There are numerous types of manuscript error which the textual critic may discover in the early manuscripts of the Old Testament. (These will be discussed in Chap. 4.) Are these of so serious a nature as to corrupt the message itself, or make it impossible to convey the true meaning? If they are, then God's purpose has been frustrated; He could not convey His revelation so that those of later generations could understand it aright. If He did not exercise a restraining influence over the scribes who wrote out the standard and authoritative copies of the Scriptures, then they corrupted and falsified the message. If the message was falsified, the whole purpose of bestowing a written revelation has come to naught, for such a corrupted Scripture would be a mere mixture of truth and error, necessarily subject to human judgment (rather than sitting in judgment upon man).

Do we have any objective evidence that errors of transmission have not been permitted by God to corrupt and pervert His revelation? Yes, we have, for a careful study of the variants (or different readings) of

the various earliest manuscripts reveals that none of them affects a single doctrine of Scripture. The system of spiritual truth contained in the standard Hebrew text of the Old Testament is not in the slightest altered or compromised by any of the variant readings found in the Hebrew manuscripts of earlier date found in the Dead Sea caves or anywhere else. All that is needed to verify this is to check the register of well-attested variants in Rudolf Kittel's edition of the Hebrew Bible. It is very evident that the vast majority of them are so inconsequential as to leave the meaning of each clause doctrinally unaffected.

It should be clearly understood that in this respect the Old Testament differs from all other pre-Christian works of literature of which we have any knowledge. To be sure, we do not possess ordinarily so many different manuscripts of pagan productions, coming from such widely separated eras, as we do in the case of the Old Testament. But where we do, for example in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, the variations are of a far more extensive and serious nature. Quite startling differences appear, for example, between Chapter 15 contained in the Papyrus of Ani (written in the Eighteenth Dynasty) and the Turin Papyrus (from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty or later). Whole clauses are inserted or left out, and the sense in corresponding columns of text is in some cases altogether different. Apart from divine superintendence of the transmission of the Hebrew text, there is no particular reason why the same phenomenon of discrepancy and change would not appear between Hebrew manuscripts produced centuries apart. Even though the two copies of Isaiah discovered in Qumran Cave 1 near the Dead Sea in 1947 were a thousand years earlier than the oldest dated manuscript previously known (A.D. 980), they proved to be word for word identical with our standard Hebrew Bible in more than 95 per cent of the text. The 5 per cent of variation consisted chiefly of obvious slips of the pen and variations in spelling. Even those Dead Sea fragments of Deuteronomy and Samuel which point to a different manuscript family from that which underlies our received Hebrew text do not indicate any differences in doctrine or teaching. They do not affect the message of revelation in the slightest.

The Doctrine of Inspiration Affirmed by Scripture Itself

Does the Bible assert infallibility for itself? It has sometimes been argued that the Scriptures do not even claim inerrancy for themselves. But careful investigation shows that whenever they discuss the subject, they do in fact assert absolute authority for themselves as the inerrant Word of God.

Matthew 5:18: "For verily I [Christ] say unto you, Till heaven and earth pass, one jot [the smallest letter in the Hebrew alphabet] or one tittle [a distinguishing projection in Hebrew letters] shall in no wise

pass from the law [i.e., the Old Testament], till all be fulfilled." This indicates that not only the thoughts conveyed by Scripture, but also the individual words themselves, as valid vehicles of those thoughts and as spelled out by individual letters, are possessed of infallible truth and will surely find their fulfillment and realization.

John 10:35: ". . . the scripture cannot be broken" carries the same implications as the preceding.

II Timothy 3:16: "All scripture is God-inbreathed *[theopneustos]*, and is profitable for doctrine." From New Testament usage it can easily be established that "scripture" (*graphē*) refers to the whole canon of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament as we have them today. II Peter 3:16 implies that Paul's New Testament epistles also enjoy the same status as inspired Scriptures (*graphai*).

Hebrews 1:1, 2: "God, who . . . spake . . . by the prophets, hath . . . spoken unto us by his Son." This asserts the same infallibility for the writings of the Old Testament prophets as attaches to the New Testament message of Christ Himself.

I Peter 1:10, 11: "Of which salvation the [Old Testament] prophets have inquired and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you: searching what, or what manner of time the Spirit of Christ which was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ, and the glory that should follow." The implication is that the Holy Spirit was in these Old Testament authors, and that He guided them into composing words of infallible truth sure of fulfillment, even though the human authors themselves did not fully know all that these divinely guided words actually signified. Because of verses like these, we must in interpreting Scripture seek to establish not merely the intention of the human author who wrote the words, but also (and more important) the intention of the divine Author who guided in the composition of those words.

II Peter 1:21: "The prophecy [i.e., the Old Testament prophetic Scriptures] came not in old time by the will of man: but holy men of God spake as they *were* moved [literally, as they were carried along, as the wind bears along a sailing ship] by the Holy Ghost." In their speech (as committed to writing) these Old Testament authors who prophesied of Christ were supernaturally carried along into inerrant truth, truth that is not to be subjected to mere "private interpretation" (v. 20).

All these passages add up to this doctrine of inspiration: that accuracy inheres in every part of the Old Testament as well as the New Testament, so that as a whole and in all its parts the Bible is infallible as to truth and final as to authority. This accuracy extends even to matters of history and science as well as to theology and morals. Some scholars, such as Henry P. Smith and Charles A. Briggs, have attempted to draw a distinc-

tion between these two types of truth, and allow for error to inhere in matters of mere history or science. To this position there are two fatal objections. First, that the New Testament makes no such distinction: the historicity of the literal Adam and Eve is implied in I Timothy 2:13, 14 (otherwise Paul's comment would be quite irrelevant) as also in I Corinthians 11:8, 9; the literal experience of Jonah's three days in the stomach of the whale is absolutely essential if it is to serve as an analogy for Christ's three days in the tomb (Matt. 12:40). It is impossible to reject the historicity of these two often-contested episodes without rejecting the authority of the Christ of the Gospels and of the apostle Paul in the epistles. Secondly, it is not always possible to make a clean-cut separation between theology-ethics and history-science. There are crucial cases where both types of truth are involved, as in the case of the literal, historical Adam (upon whose fatherhood of the whole human race the whole theological argument of Rom. 5:14-19 depends). One cannot allow for error in history-science without also ending up with error in doctrine.

Sub-Biblical Views of Inspiration

Those who incline to a Neo-orthodox approach in dealing with the inspiration of Scripture have usually (like H. H. Rowley of Manchester) set up the so-called "mind of Christ" as a standard for judging between doctrinal truth and error in the Bible. For example, they say that when Joshua and the Israelites slew the entire population of Jericho, this was due to their primitive or savage ideas of justice, rather than to the express commandment of God, as recorded in Deuteronomy 20:16-18. Statements or judgments attributed to God in the Old Testament but which seem to be too severe for Christ's standard of meekness, patience and love as contained in the New Testament are to be rejected as mere human inventions concocted by Israel in their earlier stage of religious development. The criterion of truth is "the mind of Christ."

Nevertheless, investigation will show that many of Christ's statements recorded in the New Testament clash with this supposed "mind of Christ" in a most startling way. Note, for instance, Matthew 23:33: "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?" Again, Matthew 25:41: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." We have no other accredited record of what Christ's mind actually was than the sayings recorded in the Gospels. It is fatally inconsistent to set up a philosophic notion as to what the viewpoint of Christ actually was, on the basis of some of His recorded statements, and then to reject the authenticity of other statements recorded in the same source, simply because they conflict with personal preference. Such a procedure really amounts to imposing human judgment upon the written Word of God, and allowing only that portion of

the Word to be true which the human mind endorses. But we have already seen that the human reason is an inadequate and discredited tool for attaining true religious knowledge. The Bible must sit in judgment upon man; man can never sit in judgment upon the Bible. His reasoning powers are to be employed in the task of consistent interpretation of the message of the Bible, in order that he may be sure to understand what God means by the words of Scripture. But never may he pass judgment against the clear teachings of Scripture as established by exegesis; for if he does, he thereby rejects the authority of Scripture as a whole.

More typically Neo-orthodox is the view which regards the Bible as something less than the Word-of-God-written; it is merely a *witness* to the Word of God. According to this view, the Word of God is a dynamic principle which comes into operation only when there is a living or "existential" encounter between the believer and God. God speaks with power to him from the pages of Holy Writ and establishes a personal relationship, rather than merely instilling propositional truth into his mind. ("Propositional" here refers to the kind of truth which may be stated in propositions, such as, "God is an eternal Spirit." Propositions may be grasped as mere objects of knowledge, like mathematical formulae, but divine truth, it is urged, can never be mastered by man's mind. Divine truth reaches man in an "I-Thou" encounter; it is like an electric current with both a positive pole and a negative pole as conditions for existence.) Since the Biblical text was written by human authors, and all men are sinful and subject to error, therefore, it is claimed, there must be error in the Biblical text itself. But, it is argued, the living God is able to speak even from this partially erroneous text and bring believers into vital relationship with Him in a saving encounter. Such a view of the Bible leaves room for all manner of scientific and historical errors, and for all the adverse judgments of rationalist higher criticism against the authenticity of the writings of Moses, Isaiah, Daniel and all the rest. All these findings may be (and doubtless are) true as an accurate account of how the Bible humanly originated. Nevertheless, God has appointed this error-studded Scripture to be a uniquely authoritative witness to His revelation, and He is able to use it in a dynamic way to "save" men.

Thus, in their zeal to sidestep the assaults of rationalistic higher criticism upon the trustworthiness of the Biblical record, and to rescue the significance of the Christian message in the face of scientific objections to the supernatural, the theologians of the Neo-orthodox movement have resorted to a paradoxical view of the nature of revelation itself. They hold the position that by its very nature divine revelation cannot be inscripturated. As soon as it is imprisoned in words, especially words setting forth propositions about God and spiritual truth, then it becomes the object of men's minds and cognitive powers. It thus falls under the

control of man and finds itself "imprisoned within the covers of the written word." Revelation therefore is not to be equated with revealed doctrines or propositions about theology; rather, it consists of a direct encounter between God and man, as one subject confronting another subject. Revelation thus bears an analogy to a personal encounter between human beings; they experience each other as personalities, rather than as a set of statistics or items of information on an identification card.

From this same viewpoint it may be urged that it is a matter of no consequence whether the accounts recorded in Scripture are accurate or not. The Gospel record of the virgin birth, for example, or the bodily resurrection of Christ, may very well be unhistorical (since modern scientific theory leaves no room for such miraculous events), but this makes no particular difference. Through these pious legends of the early church we may encounter God and the suprahistorical realities to which these stories point. To rely upon the infallible accuracy of the written record of the Bible is held to be an obstacle to true faith. The dogma of an infallible Scripture operates as an unhealthy crutch upon which to lean; true faith soars above the manifest errors of the Bible to the transcendental truth to which the Bible points—truth available to the believer only through a personal encounter with the living God.

But this Neo-orthodox view is confronted with a host of logical difficulties. It puts the authority of Scripture on the basis of sheer unverifiable faith. How can we be sure that God has not spoken to us from the record of the Koran (which is demonstrably full of errors and anachronisms), or from the Egyptian Book of the Dead, or from the Hindu Vedas? Why only from the Bible? Objective verification is not only discarded as impossible, but the desire for it is condemned as reprehensibly earth-bound and rationalistic. One must simply believe! Whom or what? Why, the Scripture, of course. But regrettably enough, the Scripture itself seems to be totally unaware of this Neo-orthodox approach to religious knowledge. It positively bristles with propositional truths about God, truths which may be reduced to creedal statements which the human mind may intellectually grasp. Perhaps this may be explained away as a manifestation of the fallibility and frailty of the sinful men who wrote the Bible. But how does one get beyond the text of the Bible to the more rarefied, ineffable, suprahistorical, personal-encounter truth which is supposed to lie beyond? Why, by a direct encounter with God of course! Yes, but whose direct encounter? Barth's? Brunner's? Niebuhr's? Tillich's? These giants of the Neo-orthodox movement have many stark disagreements among themselves on matters theological. Some, like Barth, disagree even with themselves quite noticeably from decade to decade. It is hard to see how the eternal and unchanging truth of God can be validly interpreted in Barth's celebrated *Commentary on Romans,* when

his views are modified so remarkably as they are from edition to edition of that work.

As a matter of fact, then, this Neo-orthodox view of Scripture raises far more serious difficulties than it seeks to solve. It is virtually impossible for Crisis theologians to make any affirmations at all about God or faith or any other aspect of religious truth which do not ultimately rest upon the propositional statements of the written Word of God. For example, to quote from William Temple's dictum concerning Holy Scripture: "No single sentence can be quoted as having the authority of a distinct utterance of the all-holy God."[6] But how does Archbishop Temple know that there is a single God, rather than a host of gods, as pagan religions teach; or no God at all as Marxism teaches? Only from the authority of the written Bible, or of a confessing church which demonstrably trusted in the infallible authority of that Bible. Again, how does he know that the one true God is "all-holy"? Only because the Scripture affirms Him to be so—a propositional affirmation! Remove the authority of the written record of divine revelation, and the statement of Temple or Brunner or any other religious teacher concerning religious truth is reduced to the status of a mere conjecture, completely devoid of authority, and resting upon the same questionable basis as any other human opinion. How may we know that faith is an important and saving principle, as Neo-orthodox teachers insist that it is? Only because it is so taught in the written Word of God. Otherwise it may well be, as most of the non-Christian world believes, that salvation is achieved only by good works. Even the possibility of an encounter between God and man is only guaranteed to us by the affirmations of Scripture, and its numerous records of such encounters. Otherwise the whole "experience" of divine-human encounter may be a mere matter of hallucination and autosuggestion, devoid of metaphysical reality.

Thus it turns out that every religious affirmation of the adherents of this school is ultimately dependent upon the truthfulness of the written Word of God, the Hebrew-Christian Scriptures. If these are erroneous in any portion, then they may be erroneous in any other portion; no reliance can be placed in them at all, or indeed in any affirmation which Neo-orthodox theologians have derived from them—and all their doctrinal statements about God, encounter and faith have in fact been derived from them. In other words, if the authority of the Bible as written cannot be trusted, then no insight of Crisis theology has any more value than a mere human opinion—unless perchance the theologian happens to enjoy in his own person the very attribute of infallibility which he denies to Scripture.

This brings us to the question of the peculiarity of Neo-orthodox

[6]William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (1953), p. 350.

faith, the faith which soars to God without the fettering dogma of Scriptural inerrancy. What is faith but a trust in something or somone other than itself? In what or whom, then, is this exalted faith reposed? Ostensibly it is reposed in God, or in the insights derived from religious experience as the believer encounters God, whether in the pages of Scripture or in some other context. But how are these insights to be adjudged in their validity? Since they cannot be verified by appeal to any objective authority whatever (whether the Scripture or an infallible human teacher or church), the believer cannot look to any authority except his own. He cannot even be sure that there is a God, if the Bible is not reliable as an objective witness; he can only trust in himself. In other words, this Neo-orthodox type of faith must in the last analysis be faith in man, not in God; that is, the believer's faith is reposed in himself. Since the Bible cannot be trusted, nor any human authority either (since humanity implies fallibility), therefore the Neo-orthodox believer can know nothing except his own opinion, and hope that this may turn out to be correct. Otherwise he is irretrievably lost. It is only a bit of self-deception for him to suppose that his faith rests in a God outside himself; lacking any objective authority whatever, he is at the mercy of his own subjective impressions and opinions. He can never be sure that his revelations are not mere hallucinations.

Dealing with Difficulties in the Bible

It must be admitted that the text of Scripture as transmitted to us contains occasional difficulties which appear to challenge the doctrine of Biblical inerrancy. Some of these difficulties are relieved by a proper use of the science of textual criticism. Others, such as discrepancies in statistics or the spelling of names, call for an emending of text which goes beyond the available data of textual criticism. Still others present logical difficulties, such as the endorsement given in Judges 11 to the apparent sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter, when Deuteronomy 12:31 forbids all human sacrifice in Israel.

There are two possible methods of dealing with these problems. (1) One may hold in abeyance the Biblical claims to infallibility until each individual difficulty is cleared up. Each time a new problem presents itself, the Bible becomes demoted to a suspect status until the matter is satisfactorily settled. Meanwhile, the believer is kept on the tenterhooks of painful suspense and anguish of soul until the Bible is again cleared of the charges against it. (2) One may, even in the face of apparent discrepancies, retain his faith in the infallibility of the Biblical record and wait with patience for the vindication which later investigation will surely provide. Having been convinced that only divine origin explains the phenomena of Scripture, he takes his stand with Jesus of Nazareth upon

the inerrancy of the written Word of God, and looks forward to an eventual clearing up of all the problems that may arise.

Those who follow this second approach may perhaps be accused of illogical subjectivism, because they proceed on the basis of an a priori conviction. But this accusation is not well-founded, for the Bible cannot be studied at all except upon the basis of one a priori or another. One must start with the prior assumption that the Bible is either a fallible record or an infallible one. There is no middle ground; one cannot remain in a state of neutral suspense and insist, "Just let the Bible speak for itself." We must first of all ascertain what kind of book this Bible is which does the speaking. Is it the infallible Word of God, or is it the error-prone product of man, having elements of divine truth intermingled with human mistakes?

The most logical procedure is to determine at the outset what kind of book the Bible is. If it presents such data as to compel an acknowledgment that it can be only of divine origin—and it does present such data in abundance—then the only reasonable course is to take seriously its own assertions of infallibility. If the Scriptures constitute an authoritative self-disclosure of God, then any discrepancies which appear must be dealt with as only apparent, not real. When all the facts are in, the charges of error will prove to be unsubstantiated.

It should be pointed out that such a procedure is commonly followed in human relations, and that too without adverse criticism. For example, a husband who has come to the conviction that his wife is a faithful and virtuous woman will steadfastly refuse to become suspicious of her even though she has been seen going out with some other man. Without jumping to adverse conclusions he will simply wait further information which will clear up the situation and satisfactorily explain her association with the man in question. It would be foolish and unworthy for him to abandon his conviction of her integrity until her action is vindicated. Only an initial presumption that she is inconstant and untrustworthy would justify such a reaction on his part.

Even so it is foolish and unworthy for one who has been convinced of the divine authority of the Bible to question its infallibility until each new allegation against it has been cleared up. Rather than being a scientific and objective procedure, as is sometimes asserted, such a policy involves only an illogical shifting from one a priori to another with weak-minded vacillation. A genuine, outright contradiction in the Scripture (especially if demonstrable for the original autographs) would be good cause for abandoning faith in the inerrancy of Scripture; but until such has been proved, or until some outright error in history or science has been demonstrated according to the laws of legal evidence, the believer in Scripture need never feel embarrassed about holding to the assump-

tion that it is the inerrant Word of God. It is highly significant that no such mistake has ever yet been proved to the satisfaction of a court of law, although various attempts have been made to do so.[7]

[7]Cf. Harry Rimmer, *That Lawsuit Against the Bible* (1940). For additional material on the subject of difficulties in the Bible, consult the spirited defense of Biblical authority and inerrancy found in Wick Broomall, *Biblical Criticism* (1957), pp. 11-84.

Part One

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

3

THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS AND THE EARLY VERSIONS

WE NO LONGER have access to infallible originals of the various books of the Hebrew Scriptures. The earliest copies which have been preserved to us are in some instances no closer than a thousand years to the time of original composition. Nevertheless they constitute our primary authority today as to the inspired Word of God, and all our copies and translations of the Holy Scriptures are necessarily dependent upon the earliest and best available manuscripts of the Hebrew and Aramaic originals. We must therefore review the written evidence upon which our modern printed editions of the Hebrew Bible are based, and have some idea of the large and varied body of evidence with which Old Testament textual criticism has to deal.

Of course the Hebrew manuscripts take priority in value, inasmuch as God's revelation first came to Israel in the Hebrew tongue, and there is far less likelihood of corruption in the copying out of manuscripts into the same language than when a translation into another tongue is involved. But in cases where scribal errors have crept into the Hebrew copies, it is quite possible that the early translations into Greek, Aramaic or Latin might give us a clue to the original Hebrew word or phrase which has been garbled in the Hebrew manuscripts themselves. For this reason we must survey not only the earliest and best Hebrew manuscripts, but also the earliest and best copies of the ancient translations, or versions, as well.

The Earliest Hebrew Manuscripts

A. THE PRE-CHRISTIAN MANUSCRIPTS

These consist principally of the remarkable discoveries in the Dead Sea caves. Technically these are referred to as Qumran materials, since the various caves in which these discoveries were found are located in the canyon of the Wady Qumran, along the northwest coast of the Dead

Sea. The technical identification of these Dead Sea documents consists of the number specifying which of the caves was the scene of its discovery, followed by an abbreviation of the name of the book itself, plus a supralinear letter indicating the order in which this particular manuscript came to light, as over against other copies of the same book. For example, the famous Dead Sea Isaiah Scroll—which still remains the only complete copy of a book of the Old Testament yet discovered and published—is technically referred to as 1QIs[a], meaning: the first discovered (or most important) manuscript of Isaiah found in Cave 1 of Wady Qumran. The so-called Hebrew University Scroll of Isaiah (although 1QIs[a] has also now passed into the possession of the Hebrew University, by way of purchase from St. Mark's Monastery) is technically known as 1QIs[b].

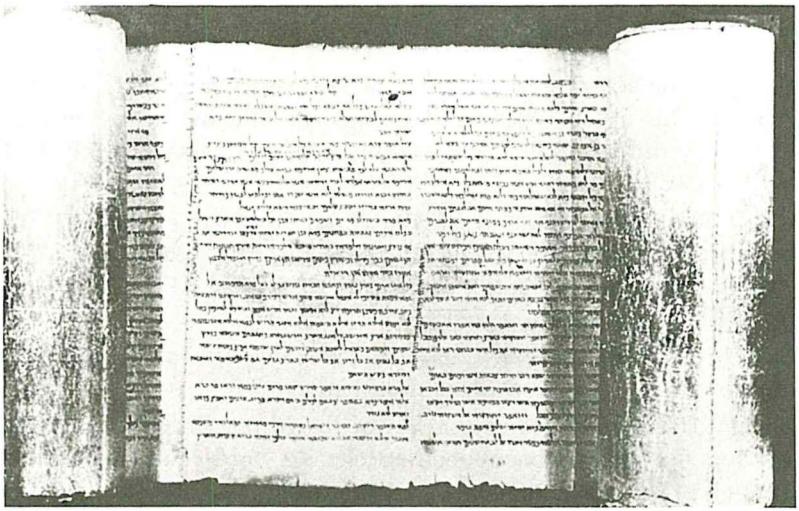
For the most part the only Biblical fragments which have been published as yet have come from Cave 1 and Cave 4. Thousands of fragments have been recovered from Cave 4, with over 380 different manuscripts identified, of which perhaps 100 are from the Old Testament.[1] Nothing has yet been published from Cave 2, although more than 180 legible fragments were found there (one-fourth of which were Biblical). The unpublished Biblical materials from Cave 3 (famous for its copper scroll—an inventory of sacred treasure hidden for safekeeping) and Caves 5 and 6 are said to be meager and of minor importance. There has been very little reported as yet concerning the contents of Caves 7, 8, 9, and 10. As for Cave 11, it is said to have yielded five relatively complete scrolls: a portion of Leviticus, a scroll of a selection of Psalms, an Aramaic Targum of Job, and a non-canonical Apocalypse of the New Jerusalem.[2]

The major publications of the Qumran materials are: Millar Burrows (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (1950), containing the photographed text of 1QIs[a] and the Habakkuk Commentary, 1QpHb; O. P. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert: Qumran Cave 1* (1955), containing brief fragments from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Judges, Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Psalms; E. Sukenik, *'WṢR HMGYLWT HGNWZWT* (Hebrew for *The Treasure of the Hidden Scrolls*) (1954), containing the Hebrew University MS of Isaiah, 1QIs[b]. The following is a list of the published and unpublished manuscripts of which public notice has been given in the scholarly journals.

1. The Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah (1QIs[a])—the entire sixty-six chapters (150-100 B.C.). This important text belongs to the same manuscript family as the Masoretic Text (MT). Only occasionally does it favor a Septuagint (LXX) reading, and most of its deviations from the MT are the result of obvious scribal lapses, for the text was rather carelessly copied. Yet some of the proper names point to an earlier and more reliable vocalization

[1]See F. M. Cross in BASOR 141, Feb., 1956, and in *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (rev. ed., 1958), pp. 39, 40.

[illegible] *Dead Sea Scrolls* (1958), pp. 14, 28-30



One of the most important of the Dead Sea Scrolls is the complete manuscript of Isaiah (1QIs[a]), dating prior to 100 B.C.
(*Courtesy of* The Biblical Archaeologist)

than does the MT; e.g., 1QIs[a] points to the vocalization *tūrtān* (cf. the Akkadian *turtannu*), which is certainly more reliable than MT's *tartān* (in 20:1).[3]

2. The Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHb)—chapters 1 and 2 only, with commentary notes interspersed between verses (100-50 B.C.). Here again the Habakkuk text quoted stands in a very close relationship to the MT. The variants are fairly numerous, though minor in character, and often explicable as simple scribal errors. Very seldom does a variant find support in the LXX or the other versions. Incidentally, the commentary (or *pesher*) is of a very special kind: it is usually concerned with how each verse is fulfilled in recent (Hasmonean) history and by current events.[4]

3. The Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll (1QIs[b])—substantial portions of chapters 41—66 (50 B.C.?). This has a far closer fidelity to the MT than 1QIs[a].

4. 1Q Leviticus fragments—chapters 19—22 represented by a few verses each (perhaps fourth century B.C.—de Vaux, and Burrows guardedly agrees, whereas Cross prefers second century). Published in Barthelemy, p. 51, pl. 8, 9. Textually this MS is in remarkable agreement with the MT. It is written in paleo-Hebrew script.

5. 4Q Deuteronomy-B—32:41-43 written in hemistichs as poetry, not as prose. Favors LXX as against MT in three instances. Published

[3]Beegle discusses these vocalizations in BASOR 123, Oct., 1951. For a discussion of textual variants in general, see Millar Burrows in BASOR 111, Oct., 1948, "Variant Readings in the Isaiah Manuscript."

[4]An excellent discussion of this "commentary" is found in F. F. Bruce, *Biblical*

by Skehan in BASOR 136, December, 1954; he suggests no date for this.

6. 4Q Samuel-A—I Samuel 1, 2, twenty-seven fragments (first century B.C.). This agrees with LXX as against MT in several places; in other places differs from both. Published by Cross in BASOR 132, December, 1953.

7. 4Q Samuel-B—I Samuel 16, 19, 21, 23 (225 B.C. or earlier). Even more sparing in *matres lectionis* (or vowel-indicating letters) than MT. A text which consistently agrees with LXX as against MT. Published by Cross in JBL 74, September, 1955.

8. 4Q Jeremiah-A—likewise archaic and for the same reason, according to Cross (*ibid.*). Still unpublished.

9. 4Q XII-A (XII signifying a MS of the Minor Prophets). Referred to by Cross in the above-mentioned article as a third century B.C. cursive.

10. 4Q Ecclesiastes—likewise a third century B.C. cursive, according to Cross.

11. 4Q Exodus—a fragment of chapter 1 with a variant which favors the LXX (1:5 reads "seventy-five" instead of MT's "seventy").

12. 4Q Exodus—portions of chapters 7, 29, 30, 32 (and perhaps others), written in paleo-Hebrew script. This MS favors the Samaritan Pentateuch as against the MT in a significant number of instances.

13. 4Q Numbers—written in square Hebrew but with Samaritan-type expansions; e.g., after 27:23 comes an insert derived from Deuteronomy 3:21. But in other instances it agrees with LXX as against Samaritan and MT (as in 35:21).

14. 4Q Deuteronomy-A—chapter 32 ("Song of Moses"). Inclines to LXX as against MT at 32:43 (although it omits some of the LXX expansion here).[5]

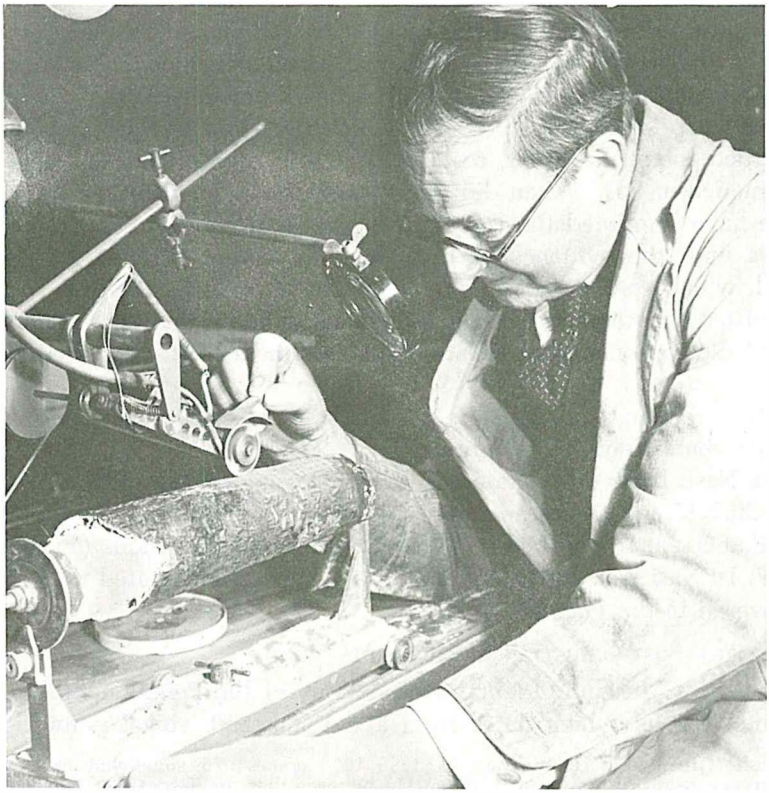
15. 11Q Psalms—a manuscript of Psalms from Cave 11, copied in the formal bookhand style of the Herodian period. The bottom third of each page has been lost. Thirty-three psalms have been preserved, including Psalm 151 of the LXX. Four séparate fragments contain portions of four more psalms, thus making a total of thirty-seven. Represented are Psalms 93, 101—103, 105, 109, 118, 119, 121—130, 132—146, 148—151, although they do not always follow the sequence of the MT (e.g., Ps. 105 is followed by Pss. 146, 148, 121—130, etc.). There are also about six non-canonical poems (two of which are known in a Syriac translation)

[5]Manuscripts 11-14 are discussed by Burrows in MLDSS 135ff. No. 14 is briefly discussed by Skehan in BASOR 136, Dec., 1954. Translations have been published of "commentaries" or *peshārīm* from Cave 4 commenting on Nahum, Psalm 37, Isaiah and Hosea (as well as of the pseudepigraphical works Blessings of the Patriarchs, the Testimonies of the Twelve Patriarchs, and a *Florilegium* or Anthology of Eschatological Midrashīm). Cf. Johann Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (2 vols., 1960), I, pp. 180-189; II, pp. 162-167.

and one prose portion listing the number of psalms written by David (cf. BASOR 165, pp. 13-15).

From the foregoing descriptions it becomes apparent that the Qumran materials point to three or possibly four main manuscript families: (1) the proto-Masoretic, from which the consonantal text of our present-day Hebrew is derived; (2) the proto-Septuagintal, the Hebrew *Vorlage* ("preceding model") of the original Greek translations that eventuated in the later Septuagint; (3) the proto-Samaritan, forming the basis for the later Samaritan text of the Hebrew Pentateuch (doubtless lacking the later Samaritan additions on the basis of sectarian bias); (4) a neutral family, standing more or less midway among the conflicting traditions of the first three families.

But it should be understood that the existence of these non-Masoretic manuscript families does not necessarily mean that the proto-Masoretic does not represent the purest textual tradition of all. Nothing in the new discoveries from the Qumran caves endangers the essential reliability



Professor H. Wright Baker of Manchester's College of Technology cutting the Copper Scroll from Cave Three.

(Courtesy of John M. Allegro)

and authority of our standard Hebrew Bible text, as represented for example in the Kittel editions of *Biblia Hebraica*. They do not indicate that the Septuagint is necessarily to be exalted to a more respected position than before as a witness to the original text, except perhaps in such books as I and II Samuel in which, for some reason, we have an unusually defective Hebrew text in the MT. Certainly we may expect increasing assistance from Qumran sources in regard to Samuel, and perhaps also in some portions of Deuteronomy (particularly in those instances where a New Testament author has quoted a verse according to the LXX wording rather than the MT's).

One further remark should be made concerning the consonantal MT. When it is compared with such examples of the proto-Masoretic tradition as 1QIs[a] (which contains many "extra" *matres lectionis*), the MT obviously goes back to a pre-Maccabean recension of the Hebrew Bible and points to the activity of a standardizing revision committee under official auspices, who consulted all the earliest and best manuscripts then available (doubtless including the official copies in the temple archives) and produced a sort of resultant text much after the manner of Westcott and Hort or Eberhard Nestle in their New Testament editions. Unlike Westcott and Hort, however, the Jewish scholars never took the trouble to record the prior manuscripts from which they had worked, but simply discarded them altogether, feeling that their new and official text met all practical needs. When did this hypothetical committee do its work? Some have suggested the Council of Jamnia in A.D. 90, but this hardly agrees with the evidence of texts like the Hebrew University Isaiah Scroll, which corresponds almost letter for letter with the MT and yet dates from about 50 B.C.. A more likely supposition is that the standardization of the consonantal text of the Old Testament took place around 100 B.C.[6]

There remains just one more pre-Christian MS to list here, one which did not come from the Qumran caves:

16. Nash Papyrus—containing the Decalogue and the *shema'*, i.e., Exodus 20:1-17 and Deuteronomy 6:4-9 (dated by Cross at 100 B.C., by Albright at 50 B.C.). This text is close to the Masoretic tradition. (Purchased by W. L. Nash from an Egyptian antique dealer who stated that it was discovered in the *Fayyūm*.)

B. THE POST-CHRISTIAN MANUSCRIPTS

1. British Museum Oriental 4445—a copy of the Pentateuch, the consonantal text of which dates from about A.D. 850, vowel points being

[6]Moshe Greenberg (cf. Burrows, MLDSS 161) comes to a somewhat similar conclusion as a result of the Qumran data. He believes that the Jerusalem scribes began systematically correcting and editing the text of the Old Testament as early as the third century B.C., and that this project gained momentum under the Hasmonean (Maccabean) kings in the second century. While the standardized text may not have prevailed until after the fall of Jerusalem, it is fair to say that "the prevalence of the standard, not its creation, came after A.D. 70."

added a century later. (Most of Genesis and Deuteronomy are missing.)

2. Leningrad MS of the Latter Prophets (dating from A.D. 916, according to most authorities, e.g., Bentzen; but 930 according to Würthwein). Discovered by Firkowitsch at Tschufutkale in Crimea. A codex with Babylonian punctuation.

3. Leningrad MS B-19A—the entire Old Testament, containing the Ben Asher Masoretic Text. Dated at A.D. 1010 as a faithful copy of an A.D. 980 MS (which has since been lost). This MS furnished the basis for Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica,* third edition (and all subsequent editions), which is the standard text for Hebrew scholarship today. Previous to 1929 the standard text had been Ben Hayyim edition of 1525. (The model codex C of Ben Asher has until recently been jealously guarded by the Sephardic synagogue in Aleppo, and its custodians refused permission even to photograph it, much less permit its use in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica.* It has now been acquired by the State of Israel, however, and doubtless it will replace the Leningrad MS as the basis for critical editions of the Hebrew Bible.)

4. The Samaritan Pentateuch. The earliest MSS of this version are still in Nablus, withheld by the Samaritan sectarians from publication. Pietro della Valle first discovered a form of this Samaritan text in Damascus, 1616, and it was then published in the Paris Polyglot of 1645. (One interesting MS more recently discovered is the Torah Finchasiye, copied in A.D. 1204, and containing in parallel columns the Hebrew, an Aramaic Targum and an Arabic translation, all written in Samaritan characters.) This Samaritan Version contains about 6,000 variants from the MT, mostly mere differences in spelling. But in 1,900 instances it agrees with LXX as against MT (e.g., in the ages of the patriarchs). It contains tendentious sectarian insertions, designed to show that Jehovah chose Gerizim rather than Zion, and Shechem rather than Jerusalem. It shows a popularizing type of text, modernizing antique forms and simplifying difficult sentence constructions. In 1815 Wilhelm Gesenius condemned it as nearly worthless for textual criticism. In more recent times both Geiger and Kahle have argued that this judgment was unfair. Kenyon (BAM 49, 50) gives a favorable judgment of its worth. The standard edition is by A. von Gall. (It should be added that the Samaritans wrote in an alphabet quite different from square Hebrew but descended from the old paleo-Hebrew character.) No MS of the Samaritan Pentateuch is known to be earlier than the tenth century A.D.

C. MOST IMPORTANT EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

1. Bologna Edition of the Psalter, A.D. 1477.
2. Soncino Edition of Old Testament (vowel-pointed), 1488.
3. Second Bomberg Edition of Old Testament (text of Jacob ben

Hayyim, with Masora and Rabbinical notes, under patronage of Daniel Bomberg), 1525–26. This became the basis of all modern editions up to 1929.

The Early Versions of the Old Testament

A. THE GREEK VERSIONS

1. The Septuagint (translated in Alexandria 250-150 B.C.)

The traditional account of the origin of this version is given in the *Letter of Aristaeus to Philocrates,* which originated between 130 and 100 B.C. Despite fabulous embellishments, the letter reflects an actual historical event, in which the Torah at least (if not more of the Old Testament) was cast into Greek for the convenience of Greek-speaking Jews who knew no Hebrew. Paul Kahle has inferred from this letter that there were already earlier translations of the Torah which were revised by a committee in the reign of Ptolemy II (rather than being a completely new translation made at that time). But Kahle doubts that there was, apart from the Torah, any single standard Old Greek version, but inclines to the view that it was the early church which assembled a standard text from various Old Greek versions already current. Yet P. de Lagarde (followed by A. Rahlfs) believes there was a standard, original LXX text for the whole Old Testament even from pre-Christian times, and he has used very careful methodology in preparing a critical text for publication. (Rahlfs' edition is the easiest one to obtain for study purposes today.) The following is a list of the most important manuscripts or manuscript fragments of the Septuagint.

a. Rylands Papyrus 458, containing portions of Deuteronomy 23–28 (150 B.C.). (Preserved to us in a mummy wrapping.) Kenyon (BAM 63) states that it tends to favor *A* and *Theta* (Codex Washingtoniensis I, a sixth century MS) as against *B*.

b. Fourth Qumran cave fragments:

Leviticus fragment on papyrus; agrees well with standard LXX text, but uses *IAŌ* instead of *kyrios* for "Jehovah."

Leviticus fragment on leather, containing 26:2-16. Ten variations from later LXX, and five other variants where the LXX MSS are themselves in disagreement.

Numbers fragment on leather, containing 3:30–4:14. In quite a few instances it uses a different Greek word from LXX, but apparently for the same Hebrew word in the original. (These are all discussed by Burrows, MLDSS 136, 137, and are apparently assigned by him to first century B.C.)

c. The Chester Beatty Papyri, found at Oxyrynchus in Egypt.

#VI, ca. A.D. 150, a papyrus codex containing portions of Numbers and Deuteronomy, tending to agree with *A* and *Theta* against *B*.

#VII, ca. A.D. 230, containing portions of Isaiah with glosses in Fayyumic Coptic.

#V, ca. A.D. 270, containing portions of Genesis (chaps. 8, 24, 25, 30–46).

#IV, ca. A.D. 350, containing Genesis 9:1–44:22.

d. Papyrus 911, from Egypt about the end of the third century A.D., written in a cursive uncial hand, contains fragments of Genesis 1–35, in a pre-Hexaplaric text showing affinities to MSS E and D (i.e., the Bodleian *Genesis* of the tenth century, at Oxford, and the Cotton *Genesis* of the fifth century, at the British Museum).

e. Freer Greek Manuscript V of the Minor Prophets ("W") in Washington, comprising 33 papyrus leaves, dates from second half of third century A.D., written in an Egyptian hand, and containing a fairly complete text of all the prophets except Hosea. The text is of pre-Hexaplaric type, and among the uncial manuscripts it is somewhat closer to Q and Aleph than to the others. Yet it bears noteworthy affinities to such minuscule MSS as 407, 198, 233, 534 and 410—which likewise show a pre-Hexaplaric type of text.

f. Origen's *Hexapla,* ca. A.D. 240. Origen lived A.D. 185-254. Because of the many divergencies in the MSS of the LXX then current, and because he had noticed some portions of the Hebrew text were missing in the LXX, Origen determined to draw up a more satisfactory Greek Old Testament in the following way. He copied out six parallel columns (*hexapla* means sixfold) consisting of (1) the Hebrew original, (2) the Hebrew transliterated into Greek letters, (3) the literal Greek translation of Aquila, (4) the idiomatic Greek translation of Symmachus, (5) the Septuagint itself, (6) the Greek translation of Theodotion. Where sections appeared in LXX which were not in the Hebrew, he inserted an obelus (horizontal diacritical stroke) and closed with a metobelus (a stroke with a dot or short cross stroke). Where a portion in the Hebrew was not in the LXX, he inserted a Greek translation from one of the other columns, setting it off with an asteriscus (a cross with intervening dots) and a metobelus.

This original *Hexapla* of Origen's was apparently never copied out for publication; it was far too voluminous to be marketable. But the contents of the fifth column (the LXX plus additions) were later published by Eusebius and Pamphilus, carefully including the diacritical symbols. A copy of this has been preserved to us in the Codex Sarravianus (G), dating from the fourth or fifth century, and containing portions of Genesis through Judges. No other considerable section had been preserved of this edition in Greek, but fortunately it was translated into Syriac by order of Bishop Paul of Tella in 616 (cf. "Syriac Versions" below) and some MSS of this have been preserved, with the all-important diacritical marks appearing in the Syriac text.

g. The Hesychian Recension (a revision of the Septuagintal text made in Egypt by Bishop Hesychius, martyred in A.D. 311) does not survive in any early MSS except possibly the Codex Marchalianus (Q) of the Prophets (sixth century); but it is thought to be preserved in a later form in Minuscules 49, 68, and some others, and in the Coptic and Ethiopic Versions generally, as well as in the Itala or "Old Latin."

h. The Lucianic Recension (made by Lucian of Samosata and Antioch, also martyred in A.D. 311) has likewise survived only in later MSS, notably Codex Venetus (N), an eighth century MS containing portions of Exodus and Leviticus. Kahle feels that the appearance of some characteristically "Lucianic" readings in MSS prior to Lucian's lifetime—especially in certain Old Latin MSS—indicates the earlier existence of an "Ur-Lucian" text (*Handschriften aus der Höhle*, p. 34).

i. Codex Vaticanus (B) (A.D. 325-350)—a magnificent MS which contains most of the New Testament as well as the Old Testament. This represents a pre-Origenic text (even though copied out later than the *Hexapla*) of the LXX. One book (Daniel), however, is not from the LXX but from Theodotion.

j. Codex Sinaiticus (Aleph) (ca. A.D. 375-400)—another splendid MS, which also contains the New Testament complete, although portions of the Old Testament are missing. In part it resembles the Vaticanus, and in part the Alexandrinus.

k. Codex Alexandrinus (A) (ca. 450), also an important New Testament text. It shows some affinities to the Hexaplaric, although basically it is an Egyptian type of text.

The LXX varies greatly in quality and value from book to book. The Pentateuch was translated with greater accuracy, for the most part, than were the other books of the Old Testament, doubtless because it had to serve as a sort of Greek Targum at synagogue worship services for the Jewish congregations in Egypt. The Former Prophets (i.e., Joshua through II Kings) and Psalms are rendered with considerable fidelity to their Hebrew *Vorlage*, generally speaking. In the case of the Latter Prophets (Isaiah through Malachi) the tendency is more definitely toward paraphrase, and the more difficult Hebrew passages are often inexpertly handled. The remaining Poetic Books (apart from Psalms) show a similar tendency toward freedom in rendering.

In considering the value of the LXX for the textual emendation of any particular book, we must first of all study the character of the translation as a whole, so far as that particular book is concerned. If it seems to be quite paraphrastic in its translation technique, its usefulness for text amendment is very much less than if it tends, on the whole, to be quite literal. If, on the other hand, it makes consistently good sense throughout the book, and evidences a good grasp of Hebrew, it deserves respect. Yet

it must be remembered that the LXX text has come down to us in various and divergent forms (such as to give rise to suspicions of a quite heterogeneous origin), and betrays a rather low standard of scribal fidelity in its own transmission. Greek scribes did not bind themselves to the same stringent rules of literal and meticulous accuracy such as were embraced by the Jewish scribes of the period of the Sopherim (see Chap. 4, section on "The Work of the Sopherim").

One significant example of the perils of reconstructing a Hebrew *Vorlage* on the basis of the LXX translation has come to light with the discovery of a sizable portion of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus (or The Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira) in the Apocrypha. Previous to this discovery (in 1897) textual critics had conjectured a number of emendations of the Greek text in order to bring it more closely in line with the presumed Hebrew original. But when this portion of the recovered Hebrew original was published (by Cowley and Neubauer), it was discovered that the Greek translator had dealt very freely with his original, and had in the interests of a more Hellenistic viewpoint taken considerable liberties (even though the Hebrew original had been composed by his own grandfather). Kenyon (BAM 95) remarks: "The moral to be drawn from this discovery is consequently one of caution in assuming that variations (even considerable ones) in the Septuagint from the Masoretic Hebrew necessarily imply a different text. They *may* do so, no doubt; but we must be prepared to make considerable allowances for liberty of paraphrase and for actual mistakes, especially in the case of books which are likely to have been the latest to be translated."

2. The later Greek versions

a. Aquila's Version. Aquila, who came from Pontus, is said to have become a proselyte to Judaism, and a pupil of Rabbi Aqiba. His work was published about A.D. 130, apparently, and proved to be of a strictly literal character. He endeavored to adhere to one standard Greek equivalent for each Hebrew word, whether or not it made good sense in Greek in each context. (Thus he rendered the accusative particle *'eth* by the Greek preposition *syn,* "with.") Aquila's translation has survived only in quotations and fragments, especially from Kings and Psalms 90–103.[7]

b. Symmachus' Version (perhaps A.D. 170) rendered the Old Testament into good idiomatic Greek, although still adhering to high standards of accuracy. Symmachus was an Ebionite, according to Jerome, although Epiphanius reports that he was a Samaritan convert to Judaism. Unfortunately there are only a few fragments which have survived; they are collected in Field's edition (see footnote 7).

[7]These fragments have been collected in Field's edition of the Hexaplaric fragments, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt,* 1875. The Aquila fragments found in the Cairo Genizah were published by F. C. Burkitt in 1897. Examples of Aquila's translation are given in the Introduction of Rahlfs' *Septuagint,* pp., viii-x.

c. Theodotion's Version (ca. A.D. 180 or 190) was actually not a fresh, new translation, but a revision of an earlier Greek version, whether of the LXX or of some other is much disputed. The fact remains that readings of the "Theodotion" type are found in MSS earlier than Theodotion's time (e.g., in some New Testament quotations from the Old Testament, in Epistle of Barnabas, Epistles of Clement, Hermas, etc.). Kenyon and Kahle incline to the view that what Theodotion revised was a non-Septuagintal text. In the case of Daniel, the Theodotion translation altogether displaced the original LXX version of that book, for the very good reason that Theodotion was faithful to the form of the Hebrew original current in the early Christian centuries. (The original LXX Daniel has been preserved only in a single late minuscule, MS 88, and in the recently discovered Chester Beatty Papyri IX-X.)

B. THE ARAMAIC TARGUMS

During the Babylonian Exile the Jewish people began to forsake their ancestral Hebrew more and more for the Aramaic tongue, which had become the international language for diplomacy and commerce and the principal medium of communication between the Persian government and its subjects after the establishment of the Persian empire. As Jewish congregations became more uncertain of their Hebrew (although Hebrew never ceased to be studied and spoken by the learned class in Palestine right up to the second century A.D.), it became necessary for an interpreter to repeat to them in Aramaic the message which had just been read in the synagogue service from their Hebrew Bible. But this interpreter (Aramaic *methurgemān*) would not limit himself always to mere translation, but would often (especially in the case of the Prophets) explain the message by a paraphrase, designed to show in what way the utterance of the original was to be understood. After centuries of oral tradition, especially after the banishment of the Jews from Palestine in A.D. 138, it seemed wise to commit this Aramaic paraphrase to writing as a *targum* ("interpretation").

There was a tradition that the oral Targum began in Ezra's time (Neh. 8:7, 8), but there is no evidence of a written Targum until A.D. 200 or thereabouts. The value of the Targums for textual criticism is limited by the fact that their Hebrew *Vorlage* was very nearly the same as that of our received text (i.e., the Second Bomberg Edition). Only occasionally do they betray any divergencies which are explicable only on the basis of a variant wording in their Hebrew original. Therefore their value is greater for interpretation than for textual criticism as such.

1. The Targum of Onkelos on the Torah (coming from third century A.D., possibly as a recension of an earlier paraphrase) was produced by the Jewish scholarly circles in Babylon. (It is not quoted from by extant Palestinian writings any earlier than A.D. 1000.) Traditionally it was as-

signed to a certain Onkelos, who was supposed to be the same native of Pontus who composed the Aquila Greek translation (in other words, Onkelos equals Aquila). But the eastern origin and the later time of composition militate against this tradition. At any rate Onkelos, whoever he was, adheres very closely to the Hebrew original in almost every passage except in the poetic chapters of the Pentateuch.

2. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Prophets (i.e., Joshua to Kings, Isaiah to Malachi) was composed in the fourth century A.D., and likewise in Babylonian circles. It is far more paraphrastic and free in its rendering of the Hebrew text than is Onkelos.

3. The Targum of Psuedo-Jonathan on the Torah comes from about A.D. 650 and consists of a mixture of Onkelos with Midrashic materials.[8] It is of small critical value.

4. The Jerusalem Targum on the Torah comes from about A.D. 700. This too is of little critical value.

C. THE LATIN VERSIONS

1. The Old Latin or Itala Version (composed during the second century, completed about A.D. 200) was not a direct translation from the Hebrew but was merely a Latin translation from the Septuagint. Hence the Itala is of value only as a "daughter translation"; it helps only in ascertaining the earlier text of the LXX. This version, which existed in many and divergent forms, seems to have arisen in North Africa. Subsequent to the appearance of Jerome's translations it fell into disuse and finally was abandoned, except in the case of the Psalter (as indicated in the next paragraph). It has survived only in fragments (apart from the Psalms themselves), and these were collected and published by Sabatier in 1739. Among the manuscripts are:

a. Würzburg Palimpsest Codex, coming from about A.D. 450, and containing fragments of the Torah and Prophets.

b. Lyons Codex, from about A.D. 650, containing fragments from Genesis to Judges.

2. Jerome's Vulgate (A.D. 390–404). In 382 Jerome was commissioned by Pope Damasus to revise the Itala with reference to the Greek Septuagint (for even though Jerome was already versed in Hebrew, Damasus did not at first intend anything so radical as a new Latin translation from the Hebrew original). About the same time that Jerome's translation of the Gospels was ready (for he was working with New Testament revision also), he produced his earliest Psalter, which became known as the Roman Psalter (because it was adopted for use at St. Peter's in Rome). It involved only a slight revision of the Itala, bringing it more closely into line with the LXX. Later (387-390), Jerome produced a second translation, known as the Gallican Psalter, on the basis of the fifth column

[8]See paragraph on the *Midrash,* Chap. 4, p. 55.

of Origen's *Hexapla.* This was originally published with diacritical marks, but these were eventually dropped, and it became the standard translation of the Psalms for the Latin church from that day until this. But in the later years of Jerome's translation activity he perfected his Hebrew by extended residence in Bethlehem, studying under Jewish rabbis. The result was his Hebrew Psalter, which was a fresh and accurate rendering from the the Hebrew text then current in Palestine. Between 390 and 404 Jerome produced the rest of the Old Testament (including the Apocrypha, although he questioned its canonicity). This received more or less official acceptance as the new, authoritative Latin Bible for the Western Church. Over the subsequent centuries it was published in parallel columns with the Itala (from whence it received some corruption). Finally, about the middle of the sixteenth century the Council of Trent appointed a commission to produce an expurgated edition of the Vulgate, and this indirectly resulted in the Sixtine Edition, which was published in 1590, followed by a Clementine amended edition in 1592.

D. THE SYRIAC VERSIONS

Contemporaneously with the formation of the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos, the Syrian Christians were beginning to produce a more or less standard translation of the Bible into their Eastern Aramaic dialect. (The Aramaic spoken by the Jews of Palestine and Babylon was of the Western type, and was written in the same square Hebrew characters as the Hebrew Scriptures themselves. But the Christian Aramaic speakers adopted a quite dissimilar alphabet of their own, bearing some superficial resemblances to Arabic script.) In the case of the New Testament translations, it is obvious that they have been derived from the Greek original; they even abound in Greek loanwords which have been taken over from the Greek text. It was not until later that the tradition sprang up among the Syrian Christians that their Gospels were really the original from which the Greek was translated (on the specious ground that the mother tongue of Christ and the apostles was Aramaic).

1. The Peshitta (i.e., "The Simple") Syriac Old Testament must have been composed in the second or third century A.D., since it was quoted already in fourth century Syriac writings. At first the Old Testament portion was translated from the Hebrew original, but later it suffered some revision in order to make it conform more closely to the Septuagint. Therefore its textual witness is ambiguous and it must be used with care and discrimination for purposes of textual criticism. The Peshitta achieved an official status for the Syriac-speaking church when it was revised and published under the authority of Bishop Rabbula of Edessa (ca. A.D. 400). As to its contents, the Peshitta in its earliest form lacked the Apocrypha (indicating that it had been translated from the Hebrew canon rather than from the LXX). It also lacked Chronicles, although this was later

added, in the form of a translation from the Targum of Chronicles. Later still the greater part of the Apocrypha was added (except Tobit and I Esdras).

2. The Syriac Hexapla is the only other extant Old Testament translation. As explained above it consisted of a translation of the fifth column of Origen's *Hexapla,* and was published under the sponsorship of Bishop Paul of Tella in A.D. 616. The extant portions of it were published in part by A. M. Ceriani and in part by P. de Lagarde. The Codex Mediolanensis, containing II Kings, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Lamentations, and the Poetical Books except for the Psalms, was published by H. Middeldorpf in Berlin, 1835.

E. OTHER VERSIONS

1. The Coptic Versions. Coptic was a vernacular descended from the language of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, although by Christian times it had borrowed many Greek words and was written in the Greek alphabet. Five or six distinct dialects were spoken, but the Bible translations are mostly either in Sahidic (a southern dialect) or in Bohairic (spoken in Memphis and the Delta). Of the two, the Sahidic is earlier, going back possibly to the second century A.D., although the earliest extant manuscripts date from the fourth century. The Bohairic is later, and somewhat more of it has survived (although neither the Sahidic Old Testament nor the Bohairic is complete). They markedly differ from each other in diction and show every evidence of complete independence from each other. Yet both go back generally to the Hesychian Recension of the LXX. They were translated from the Greek, not directly from the Hebrew.

2. The Ethiopic Version was probably made in the fourth century, although the earliest extant MSS are from the thirteenth century. It also is a daughter translation, either from the LXX or (as others think) from the Coptic or Arabic.

3. Arabic translations never became standardized into one authoritative version, but most of them were made from the LXX. The Arabic translation of Saadia Gaon forms a notable exception; being a Jew, he translated directly from the Hebrew text (ca. 930).

4. The Armenian Version seems to have received its earliest form in the early fifth century. It shows some influence by the Peshitta.

5. Of the Gothic Version by Wulfilas (ca. A.D. 330) little remains of the Old Testament. The Codex Argenteus contains only Nehemiah 5–7.

F. THE POLYGLOTS

A word should be said about the great polyglots which began to appear about the time of the Reformation. The polyglots were elaborate and expensive printed editions in which the Hebrew text and all of the available ancient versions were printed in parallel columns.

1. The Complutensian Polyglot was the earliest (so named from Complutum or Alcala in Spain, where it was prepared). It came out under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes and was published under papal sanction in 1522 (although it had already been run off the press in 1514-17). The Old Testament portion appeared in the first of its six volumes.

2. The Antwerp Polyglot (under the patronage of Philip II of Spain) came out 1569-72 in eight volumes. It added to the contents of the Complutensian Polyglot the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets and also a Targum on the Hagiographa.

3. The Paris Polyglot, which appeared in 1645, followed the text of the Antwerp Edition, but added also the Samaritan Pentateuch and Samaritan Aramaic Version, the Peshitta, and an Arabic version.

4. The London Polyglot added to all of this the Itala, an Ethiopic version of Psalms and Song of Solomon, and the Apocrypha (in Greek, Latin, Syriac and Arabic), the Targum of Psuedo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, and even a Persian version. It was edited in six volumes by Bishop Brian Walton in 1656-57.

4

LOWER CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

IN CONTRADISTINCTION to higher criticism, which deals with questions of the authorship and integrity of the text of Bible books, the science of lower criticism (or textual criticism) is concerned with the task of restoring the original text on the basis of the imperfect copies which have been preserved to us. It attempts to sift the evidence provided by the variants, or different readings, where the surviving manuscripts disagree with each other, and by the use of a scientific system arrive at what was most probably the wording used by the orginal author.

Types of Manuscript Error

It is a well-known fact that certain characteristic types of error were apt to accompany the copying out of any written document. Sometimes the copyist would substitute a word of similar sound for the one used in the original (e.g., "whole" for "hole," or "there" for "their"); he might inadvertently write the same word twice (e.g., "and and"); or he might switch the order of letters (e.g., "seige" instead of "siege"). The types of error which could be listed in this connection are very numerous indeed. They are usually detected by the context itself, and the intelligent reader can easily tell what the copyist really meant to write.

But there are some types of scribal inadvertence which could be explained in any one of several different ways, and some standard method or system is needed to arrive at that correction which is most likely to have been the word or expression used in the original. In the transmission of the sacred text of Holy Scripture, we find that the same types of scribal slip have crept into the copies of Bible books as appear in secular works. As has already been suggested, it would take nothing short of a miracle to make possible an infallible copy of an infallible original. God has not seen fit to perform such miracles as the Scriptures have been handed down from copy to copy between the time of original composition and the invention of the printing press. There is no particular reason why He

should have. Therefore we have to cope with the problems presented by transmissional errors and deal with them in as objective and systematic fashion as possible. This, then, is the special task of Biblical lower criticism.

First of all it is necessary to analyze the various types of error which copyists were apt to commit, and observe the contexts in which such errors were most likely to occur. This is necessary preparation before proceeding to their correction. Some of the commonest classes of error are listed below, and are illustrated for the most part from the First Qumran Isaiah Scroll (1QIs[a]).

1. Haplography—the writing of a letter, syllable or word only once, when it should have been written more than once. For example, Isaiah 26:3 *BᵉKa BāṬᵉḤuW* (or *BiṬᵉḤuW*), meaning "in thee they trusted" (or "in thee; trust ye . ."), instead of *Bᵉkā BāṬuWaḤ BiṬᵉḤuW* (" . . trusting in thee; trust ye . ."). As written in consonants only (as of course all Hebrew was before A.D. 800) it would be merely the difference between the scroll's *BK BṬḤW* and the MT's *BK BṬWḤ BṬḤW*. Such haplography has probably crept into the MT of Judges 20:13 *BNYMN* ("Benjamin") being written for *BNY BNYMN* ("the children of Benjamin"). The latter reading has been preserved by the LXX, and indicates the original wording (as we can tell from the plural verb which goes with this noun, for a simple *BNYMN* would demand a singular verb). The accidental omission of a letter is also known as haplography even when no doubling is called for. For example, the Isaiah Scroll reads *BḤZQT YD* ("with strength of hand") in Isaiah 8:11, instead of MT's *BḤZQT ḪYD* ("with the strength of *the* hand").

2. Dittography—the writing twice of that which should have been written but once. For example, in Isaiah 30:30 *HŠMY' HŠMY'* ("cause to be heard cause to be heard") instead of MT's simple HŠMY' ("cause to be heard"). Again, in Ezekiel 48:16 MT reads *ḤMŠ ḤMŠ M'WT* ("five five hundred") instead of the proper *ḤMŠ M'WT* ("five hundred").

3. Metathesis—reversing the proper position of letters or words. For example, Isaiah 32:19 *HY'R* ("the forest") instead of MT's *H'YR* ("the city")—which alone makes good sense in the context. Again, in Ezekiel 42:16 the MT consonantal text has *ḤMŠ 'MWT QNYM* ("five cubits reeds") instead of the obvious *ḤMŠ M'WT QNYM* ("five hundred reeds") —the proper correction having been indicated by the Masoretes in their apparatus (see under Masoretes, p. 56).

4. Fusion—the combining of two separate words into one. Würthwein cites Amos 6:12 where *BBQRYM* ("with oxen") probably stands for an original *BBQR YM* ("with oxen the sea"—i.e., "Shall one plough the sea with oxen?"). Rypins cites Isaiah 3:15 *MLKM* (according to the consonantal text of MT), which would mean "their king"; but what the context calls for (and what the Masoretes amend to) is *MH LKM* ("What is the

matter with you?"). In this connection note that Jerome, following the interpretation of the LXX, understood the term *L'Z'ZL* ("for Azazel") in Leviticus 16:8 as a case of fusion for *L'Z 'ZL* ("for a goat of sending away"—which certainly makes excellent sense in the context, and does away with a bothersome proper name otherwise unknown).

5. Fission—the dividing up of a single word into two words. For example, in Isaiah 2:20 MT's *LḤPR PRWT* ("to a hole of rats") should be amended to the scroll's *LḤPRPRWT* ("to the shrew-mice"), as the LXX shows (which simply transcribed the word as *pharpharōth*, without attempting to translate it). Rypins cites MT's *KY DRKYK* ("because thy ways") in Ezekiel 7:4, arguing that it originally read *KDRKYK* ("according to thy ways"). Yet this last emendation lacks any strong support.

6. Homophony—the substitution of one homonym for another. For example, frequently we find *LW* ("to him") substituted for *L'* ("not"). Thus in Isaiah 9:3 both MT and scroll read *HRBYT HGWY L' HGDLT HŠMḤH* ("Thou hast multiplied the people; thou hast not multiplied the joy"), where far better sense is obtained from *HRBYT HGWY LW HGDLT HŠMḤH* ("Thou hast increased the people, thou hast increased the joy for him"). The confusion arose from the fact that both *L'* and *LW* were pronounced *lō*.

7. Misreading of similar appearing letters. From 600 B.C. and onward, D (*daleth*) and R (*resh*) resembled each other closely enough so that they were often confused, especially in proper names. Thus the Dodanim of Genesis 10:4 appear as "Rodanim" in I Chronicles 1:7—which is thought by many to be the better reading, since it probably refers to the Rhodians. Again, W (*waw*) and Y (*yodh*) were written very similarly from 150 B.C. and onward, and even in the Isaiah Scroll they are often impossible to distinguish. Where MT reads *WD'W* ("and know ye") the scroll has *YD'W* ("let them know") in Isaiah 33:13. One interesting example of this occurs in Acts 7:43, which quotes the LXX spelling of *Raiphan* as the name of the idol, whereas the MT of Amos 5:26 (from which this was quoted) spells it *Chiun*. How could this confusion have arisen? In mere consonants Chiun appears as *KYWN;* Raiphan would be *RYPN*. In the fifth century B.C., as the Elephantine Papyri testify, the shape of K (ך) was very similar to R (ר), and W (ו) greatly resembled P (פ). In that period, then, a copy of Amos would have presented a name which could be read either as *KYWN* or as *RYPN*. (From the Akkadian *Kaiwanu,* the name of the god who presided over the planet Saturn, we gather that the MT has preserved the more original spelling in this case.) As for Stephen (whose speech is reported in Acts 7), the verse he quoted is recorded by Luke in the LXX Version, which was the only form of the Old Testament accessible to his Greek-speaking readers.

8. Homoeoteleuton—the omission of an intervening passage because the copyist's eye had skipped from one ending to a second similar ending (*homoeoteleuton* is Greek for "similar ending"). An example of this in the scroll is found in Isaiah 4:5 (all the words omitted being contained between the parentheses): *BR' YHWH . . 'NN (YWMM W'ŠN WNGH 'Š LHBH LYLH KY 'L KL KBWD ḤPH WSKH THYH LṢL) YWMM MḤRB.* From this it will be observed that the eye of the scribe jumped from the first *YWMM* ("by day") to the second *YWMM*, resulting in the loss of thirteen words in between. Again, in I Samuel 14:41 the LXX has two occurrences of "O Lord God of Israel," with nineteen words between them. The MT lacks all of these nineteen words and has only one "O Lord God of Israel." The only fair conclusion is that the MT dropped these words out by homoeoteleuton, rather than that the LXX inserted all these extra words from some unknown source.

9. Accidental omission of words—in situations where no repetition is involved. One celebrated instance is I Samuel 13:1, where MT reads, "Saul was . . . year(s) old when he began to reign." Unfortunately textual criticism does not help us, for both the LXX and the other versions have no numeral here. Apparently the correct number fell out so early in the history of the transmission of this particular text that it was already lost before the third century B.C.

10. Misreading vowel letters as consonants. The Hebrew letters ' (*aleph*), H (*he*), W (*waw*) and Y (*yodh*) were true consonants only, in the earlier stages of Hebrew writing. But gradually they came to be used to indicate the presence of certain vowels, and when so used, the ',H, W or Y was not to be pronounced at all, but was simply a *mater lectionis* ("mother of reading," i.e., a vowel letter; the plural of this term being *matres lectionis*—"mothers of reading"). In the Maccabean period we find that the use of these vowel letters greatly expanded, probably because the correct pronunciation of Hebrew was becoming uncertain to a people who were using Aramaic for all ordinary purposes. Most of the earlier Qumran MSS show this proliferation of *matres lectionis*. In the first century B.C. the *Sopherim* (see section on Sopherim in this chapter) reverted to the less encumbered spelling of the older period, and largely restricted the vowel letters to indicate "pure-long" vowels only (rather than "tone-long" or short vowels, as the second century scrolls often did). But occasionally some of the superfluous *matres lectionis* were preserved in cases where, if understood as true consonants, they made a substantial difference in meaning. An instance in point, according to Würthwein, is Amos 2:7 where MT's *HŠ'PYM* ("who trample upon") has replaced the original *HŠPYM* ("those who bruise").

The Canons of Textual Criticism

Certain standard criteria have been set up by textual critics to help in arriving at an intelligent choice among two or more competing variants. It often happens that two or more of these rules or "canons" apply in a given situation and tip the scale of preference in opposite directions. Thus, one of two readings may conform more perfectly to the known style and diction of the author, whereas the other may be the more difficult (Canon #6 versus Canon #2). Or else the older reading (Canon #1) may at the same time be the longer reading (Canon #3). In such cases the rule of thumb is to give priority to the canons in the order of their listing below. But this method must be applied with great discrimination and with due consideration of all the special circumstances that might weaken the case for the particular variant which the prior canon might seem to favor. For example, a rigid application of Canon #1 would automatically give preference to the Dead Sea Scroll of Isaiah as over against the MT in every case of disagreement. But a careful study of the entire scroll indicates that the copyist followed far lower standards of scribal fidelity than those of the official recension on which the MT itself was based. Or again, a very old copy may in turn be derived from an earlier exemplar which had suffered gaps or wormholes, or the like. These would betray themselves through occasional loss of words or conjectures which markedly depart from other textual traditions. But with due respect to these special complicating factors, the canons listed below will serve as a reliable guide to the textual critic.

Canon #1: The older reading is to be preferred. As just indicated, the older manuscript is not necessarily the most carefully copied manuscript; this canon applies where the older manuscript is at least as reliable as the later, and equally free of oddities or peculiarities.[1]

Canon #2: The more difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*) is to be preferred. This is because a scribe was more apt to simplify or clarify the wording of his original than he was to make it harder for his reading public to understand. If he left a rare word or difficult expression or irregular grammatical form, it must be because he found it that way in his model. This does not apply, of course, if the difficulty involved arose from ignorance or inadvertence on the part of the copyist himself. Nor does it apply if the difficult reading does not make sense at all, or utterly contradicts the author's meaning as expressed elsewhere.

[1]In this connection note this excellent statement by Burrows (MLDSS 162): "It should not be necessary, but perhaps it is, to say again that an old reading is not necessarily a good one. The Qumran texts are full of variant readings which are demonstrably inferior to those of the traditional text. To put the same thing in another way, paradoxical but true, a pre-Masoretic reading is not necessarily older than a Masoretic reading. The proto-Masoretic text existed at Qumran and elsewhere along with divergent texts; on the whole it is fair to say that it was the trunk and they were the branches that had sprung out of it. The greatest contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to textual criticism is still their demonstration of this fact."

Canon #3: The shorter reading is to be preferred. This is because copyists were more apt to insert new material than they were to leave out any of the sacred text they had before them. In cases of haplography or homoeoteleuton, of course, this canon does not apply.

Canon #4: The reading which best explains all the variants is to be preferred. For example, Psalm 22:16 (MT 22:17) reads *K'RY YDY WRGLY*, which, as pointed by the Masoretes (*Kā'ᵃRiY*), means *"like the lion* my hands and my feet" (KJV "they have pierced my hands and my feet"). The Hebrew column in the Complutensian Polyglot reads *K'RW*, vocalized as *Ka'RuW*, which means "they have bored through." Which reading best explains the variants (in this case, the reading in the versions)? Probably the second reading, for the LXX, the Peshitta, the Vulgate, and even Jerome's Hebrew Psalter all read, "They have dug through" or "pierced." Symmachus rendered it: "as seeking to bind" (which does not clearly favor either *K'RY* or *K'RW*).

Canon #5: The reading with the widest geographical support is to be preferred. Thus a reading favored by LXX, the Itala and the Coptic will not be as well attested as one in which the Peshitta and the Samaritan agree. This is because the Itala and Coptic are daughter translations of the LXX and all belong to the Alexandrian recension, whereas the Peshitta and the Samaritan represent entirely different textual traditions. Similarly, the likelihood is great that a variant attested by such diverse traditions as the Samaritan and the LXX is closer to the original than the MT reading. For example, in Numbers 22:35, both Samaritan and LXX agree on *TŠMR LDBR* ("thou shalt be careful to say"), whereas the MT reads simply *TDBR* ("thou shalt speak"). Of course Canon #3 might seem to favor the MT here, but the presence of this same locution in widely separated traditions is hard to explain as a later insertion which by coincidence turned out to be the same.

Canon #6: The reading which most conforms to the style and diction of the author is to be preferred. This is a mere statement of likelihood, of course. But where two variants present themselves, each equally possible in the context, but one conforming to the author's usual way of expressing that type of thought, and the other sounding a bit different from the style he uses elsewhere, the former is to be preferred. Yet it should be added that textual critics of the slash-and-slice school have greatly overused this canon in a most inadmissible way, and have imposed upon passages that do not for some reason suit them a rather subjective and arbitrary judgment as to what the ancient author could or could not have said.

Canon #7: The reading which reflects no doctrinal bias is to be preferred. For example, we know from the Targums and from the LXX that later Jewish thought shied away from any humanlike representations of God, or from locutions which implied that He had a body, parts or

passions. A variant which tends to minimize this factor is known as an "antianthropomorphism." For example, in Isaiah 1:12 we find in the consonantal text (the *kethib*) the word *LR'WT*, which would normally be pointed *LiRᵉ'oWT* ("to see"). But this would imply the possibility of man's beholding the face of God, and so for this reason (presumably) the Masoretes pointed the word *LēRā'oWT* ("to be seen" or "to appear"), thus permitting the interpretation, "to appear before Me." This should normally have been spelled *LHR'WT*, if Isaiah really had intended to say "to appear." We do well, therefore, to explain the Masoretic pointing here as an antianthropomorphism and to prefer the *kethib*.

Summary of Textual Methods

In addition to the general rules given above, it would be well to summarize an excellent methodology proposed by Würthwein.[2]

1. Where the MT and the other witnesses offer the same text, and it is an intelligible and sensible reading, it is inadmissible to reject this reading and resort to conjecture (as too many critics have done).

2. Where there is a genuine deviation from the MT on the part of the other witnesses (and the deviation is not simply a matter of translator's interpretation) and both readings seem equally sensible, then the preference should normally be given to the MT (unless one of the canons intervenes to give clear preference to the other reading).

3. Where the text of MT is doubtful or impossible because of factors of language or sense-in-context, and where at the same time other witnesses offer a satisfactory reading, then the latter should be given favorable consideration. Especially is this so if it can be seen how the MT reading might have been corrupted through some familiar scribal error. But if there is reason to believe that the ancient translator produced a clear reading only because he could not make out what the Hebrew text meant and guessed at its meaning and supplied what would be plausible in the context, then we have an obscurity which textual criticism cannot relieve except by conjecture. We must simply label it as obscure or corrupt.

4. Where neither the MT nor the other witnesses offer a possible or probable text, conjecture may legitimately be resorted to. But such a conjecture should try to restore a reading as close as possible to the corrupted one itself, with due consideration for the well-known causes of textual corruption (note "Types of Manuscript Error" above).[3]

[2]Ernst Würthwein, *Text of the Old Testament* (1957), pp. 80, 81.

[3]At this point it would be well to call attention to an excellent observation quoted with approval by Bentzen (*Introduction to the Old Testament*, 1952, I, 97n.): "We always run the risk of introducing a new error by conjecture . . . conjectures generally are quite useless to the historian, because it is never justified to infer any conclusions from conjectures, at least without noting that the conclusion is another conjecture!"

5. In all textual-critical work, due regard must be had to the psychology of the scribe himself. We must ask ourselves always the question, how might this error—if error there be—have originated from his hand? Does this accord with his type or habit of mind as observed elsewhere in his work?

By means of this careful formula Würthwein attempts to set up a method of objectivity and scientific procedure that will eliminate much of the reckless and ill-considered emendation which has too often passed for bona fide textual criticism.

The Work of the Sopherim, the Talmud and the Masoretes

The *Sopherim* represented that order of "scribes" (for so the term signifies) which first had its rise under Ezra, the greatest scribe of them all, who formed a recognized guild of Bible-text custodians in Jesus' day. Their activity extended from 400 B.C. to A.D. 200, and their great achievement was to standardize a pure text of the Hebrew Scriptures (as pure as their manuscript sources permitted them). Presumably they had much to do with the hypothetical revision committee[4] and saw to it that all the copies of Scripture produced by their hands (and they were the official Bible publication society of that day) would conform to the standard text. At some unknown period (perhaps in the first century B.C.) they hit upon the device of counting all the verses, words and letters of each book in the Old Testament, and appending these figures at the end of the book concerned. This would enable any checker to tell whether he had a perfect copy before him, for he had only to count the verses, words and letters, and if they did not number to the right total, he would know there was an error. These statistics of the Sopherim have been included in the *Masora Finalis* of each book in the Masoretic Bible. It should be clearly understood that the Sopherim worked only with the consonantal text; they had nothing to do with the vowel points. Vowel points were not even invented until after A.D. 500.

One other contribution of the Sopherim consisted in the so-called *tiqqūnē sōpherīm*, or "decrees of the scribes," eighteen in number. Many of these were of an antianthropomorphic character (cf. Canon #7 above); e.g., in Genesis 18:22, "Jehovah stood yet" is altered to "Abraham stood yet." Or else they protect the dignity of God in some way. Thus in the traditional text of I Samuel 3:13 the sons of Eli curse "God" (*'LHYM*), but this is changed to: they curse (or bring a curse) "upon themselves"

This point is well taken; would that Bentzen himself had observed the wider implications of this principle for rationalist higher criticism. There too a conclusion based upon a mere conjecture (and what is there in the Documentary Theory which is free from conjecture?) is itself only another conjecture—and not, to use a hackneyed phrase, one of "the assured results of modern scholarship."

[4]See Chap. 3, p. 36.

(*LHM*—the *aleph* and *yodh* being omitted). Still others of these emendations seem to have little point or justification.[5]

According to Jewish tradition the term *Sopherim* is to be applied more exactly to the earliest group of scribes from the fifth century to third century B.C. (from Ezra to Antigonus of Socho). After them came the *Zugoth* ("the pairs" of textual scholars) from the second to first centuries B.C. (from Jose ben Joezer to Hillel). The third group were the *Tannaim* ("repeaters" or "teachers"), from the death of Hillel to the death of Judah Hannasi after A.D. 200. The teachings of all three groups are found in the Mishnah, the Tosefta, the Baraithoth and the Midrash. More than two hundred Tannaim are mentioned in these works, most of them being entitled either Rabbi or Rabban ("our teacher").

The Jews preserved, at first by oral tradition and then in writing, an enormous amount of traditional interpretation of the Torah and other parts of the Old Testament, together with folklore embellishments, anecdotes and homilies of various sorts. Much of this had to do with practical legal questions, or with intricate details of ritual, or the like. This mass of tradition has been preserved in two major collections, the Midrash and the Talmud, plus a minor one known as the Tosefta. They are now described in chronological order.

The *Midrash* ("textual study" or "text interpretation," from *dārash*, "to search, investigate") was brought together between 100 B.C. and A.D. 300. It was a doctrinal and homiletical exposition of the Old Testament. Composed in both Hebrew sections and Aramaic sections, it provided a commentary on the written Law (i.e., the Pentateuch). It consisted of two parts: the *Halakah* ("procedure"), commenting on the Torah only; and the *Haggada* ("declaration" or "explanation"), commenting on the entire Old Testament, and including various proverbs, parables and tales. These contain the earliest extant synagogue homilies. They have some importance for textual criticism in their numerous quotations of the Old Testament text, occasionally in a slightly different form from the MT.

The *Tosefta* ("addition" or "supplement") arose between A.D. 100 and 300. It consists of a collection of teachings and traditions of the Tannaim which were closely related to the Mishnah. According to tradition, it contains that part of the original Mishnah which Rabbi Akiba (ca. A.D. 100) omitted from his abbreviated edition of the Mishnah (abbreviated in order to facilitate memorization).

The *Talmud* ("instruction," from *limmēd*, "to teach") grew up between A.D. 100 and 500. It consists of two main divisions. The *Mishnah* ("repetition" or "teaching") was completed around A.D. 200. Composed in Hebrew, it contained a digest of all the oral laws (supposedly communicated by word of mouth from Moses to his seventy elders), traditions

[5]These are all listed in C. D. Ginsburg's translation of Jacob ben Hayyim's introduction to the Bomberg Bible. Cf. Stanley Rypins, *The Book of Thirty Centuries* (1951), p. 37.

and explanations of Scripture. It is divided into six orders (*s^edārīm*): Agriculture, Feasts, Women, Civil and Criminal Law, Sacrifices or Holy Things, and Unclean Things. These in turn are subdivided into sixty-three tractates (for the titles of which see ISBE 2905). The sages who contributed to the Mishnah were known as Tannaim (the latest order of Sopherim, as mentioned above). The second main division is the *Gemara* ("the matter that is learned" from *g^emar*, "to complete, accomplish or learn"). An Aramaic word, it indicates that it was composed in Aramaic rather than Hebrew. It consists of a supplement to be attached to each of the tractates by way of expanded commentary upon the Mishnah. It arose in two distinct forms, the Palestinian Gemara (ca. A.D. 200), and the much larger Babylonian Gemara (ca. A.D. 500). The sages who contributed to the Gemara were known as Amoraim ("speakers, explainers," from *'āmar* "to speak").

The *Masoretes* were the scholars who between A.D. 500 and 950 gave the final form to the text of the Old Testament. They were so called because they preserved in writing the oral tradition (or "masorah") concerning the correct vowels and accents, and the number of occurrences of rare words or unusual spellings. They received the unpointed, consonantal text of the Sopherim and inserted the vowel points which gave to each word its exact pronunciation and grammatical form. They even engaged in a moderate amount of textual criticism. Wherever they suspected the word indicated by the consonantal text was erroneous, they corrected it in a very ingenious way. They left the actual consonants undisturbed, as they had received them from the Sopherim. But they inserted the vowel points which belonged to the new word which they were substituting for the old, and then they inserted the consonants of the new word itself in very small letters in the margin. For example, in Isaiah 28:15 occurs the word cluster *KY–'BR*. As normally pointed, this would read *KiY–'āBaR* ("when it has passed over"), and this is therefore the reading of the *kethib* (an Aramaic term meaning "the thing written," i.e., the word indicated by the consonants). But the Masoretes felt that an imperfect tense should follow *KiY* ("when") in this connection, and therefore inserted under *'BR* the vowels appropriate to *Ya'^aBōR* ("it passes over"); and then in the margin they wrote in small letters *Y'BR*, which indicates this *qerē* (an Aramaic term meaning "read!") variant. (The customary abbreviation for *kethib* is *K*, and that for *qerē* is Q.)

Perhaps the most famous (and frequent) example of a *qerē* reading is the covenant name of God, Jehovah. This name is written with the four consonants *YHWH*, going back to an original pronunciation, *YaHWeH*. The proper, original rendering of Jehovah, therefore, is *Yahweh* (or *Jahweh*, as the Germans write it). But the Jews as early as Nehemiah's time began to feel qualms about pronouncing the holy name, lest they bring upon themselves possible penal consequences under the third com-

mandment. It therefore became accepted practice to substitute the title "Lord" (*'ᵃDōNāY*) for the name *Yahweh* whenever reading it aloud. To indicate this substitution, the Masoretes inserted the vowels of *'ᵃDōNāY* under the consonants of *JaHWeH*, resulting in the appearance of *JᵉHoWaH* or "Jehovah." Misunderstanding this *qerē*, European scholars of the Renaissance period (when Hebrew became avidly studied in Europe) supposed that the proper pronunciation of the name was "Jehovah"—and so it has come down to us today. It was actually *Yahweh* (this may be called the *kethib* reading), but the mistake has become so sanctioned by usage that devout Christians generally are loath to accept any reversion to the pronunciation which was historically correct.

In addition to the insertion of vowel points and the indication of *qerē* readings, the Masoretes also busied themselves with accent marks. At first the accent marks were simpler and more sparingly used, but later they became more complicated, especially as the accentual system became perfected by the Tiberian School of Masoretes (Tiberias being the city mentioned in the Gospels as situated by the Sea of Galilee). The most celebrated of all the Masoretes were Moses ben Asher (with his learned son Aaron) and ben Naphtali. The standard text of the Hebrew Bible is based on a ben Asher text (the Leningrad Codex of the Old Testament).

At the side margins of the Masoretic MSS was placed the *Marginal Masorah*. This included not only the consonants of *qerē* readings (as described above), but also statistics as to how often various words and phrases appearing in that line of script occurred elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures. Or else they indicated how often they occurred elsewhere with that particular spelling or combination of words. The most frequent notation of this sort was a single L (*lamed*) with a dot over it, standing for *Lō'* ("not") and indicating that this word or this spelling does not occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Scriptures. (This of course served notice on future copyists that any other occurrence of this unique word or spelling would be rejected as an error.)

At the bottom margin of the Masoretic MSS was the *Larger Masorah*, containing more information of this sort, often furnishing mnemonic devices whereby all the occurrences of infrequent words or phrases could be remembered. For example, at Genesis 1:1 the Masoretic note says with reference to the first word cluster ("In-the-beginning"—*bᵉrē'šīt*): "The sign is: God establishes the righteous" (*ᵉlōhīm yāḵīm haṣṣedeḵ*). This indicates that in the first occurrence (Gen. 1:1) the next word after *bᵉrē'šīt* is "God"; the second occurrence of *bᵉrē'šīt* (Jer. 26:1) has the name of King Jehoiakim after it (for "Jehoiakim," or *Yᵉhō-yāḵīm*, means "Jehovah establishes"); the third occurrence of *bᵉrē'šīt* (Jer. 28:1) is followed by the name of Zedekiah (for "Zedekiah," or *Ṣedeḵ-Yah*, means "Righteous is Jehovah"). Needless to say, this type of information is of

marginal interest to most modern scholarship, and thus the Masoretic notations are not widely studied in non-Jewish circles.

The *Final Masorah* contains mostly statistics as to the number of verses, letters, and the like, occurring in the book, and indicates the middle word and the middle letter.

Two other features of the Masoretic recension deserve mention, because of their bearing upon textual criticism. There are fifteen dotted words in the Old Testament text, and Jewish tradition has it that these were words which in the judgment of the scholars of the so-called Great Synagogue (apparently founded by Ezra) should be deleted, or at least marked as doubtful. For example, in Numbers 3:39 the word "and Aaron" is dotted, inasmuch as Aaron himself was not one of those numbered in the census. The other device is that of suspended letters, i.e., letters placed above the line. These occurred in four passages, where the Masoretes (following the decision of the Sopherim) suspected the genuineness of the letters so placed. Thus in Judges 18:30 the original wording apparently was, "Jonathan the son of Gershom the son of Moses" (Heb. *MōŠeH*); but to safeguard Moses' reputation an extra N (*nun*) was inserted (although slightly above the line) so as to change the name from "Moses" to "Manasseh" (*MᵉNaŠeH*).

In conclusion we should accord to the Masoretes the highest praise for their meticulous care in preserving so sedulously the consonantal text of the Sopherim which had been entrusted to them. They together with the Sopherim themselves gave the most diligent attention to accurate preservation of the Hebrew Scriptures that has ever been devoted to any ancient literature, secular or religious, in the history of human civilization. So conscientious were they in their stewardship of the holy text that they did not even venture to make the most obvious corrections, so far as the consonants were concerned, but left their *Vorlage* exactly as it was handed down to them. Because of their faithfulness we have today a form of the Hebrew text which in all essentials duplicates the recension which was considered authoritative in the days of Christ and the apostles, if not a century later. And this in turn, judging from Qumran evidence, goes back to an authoritative revision of the Old Testament text which was drawn up on the basis of the most reliable manuscripts available for collation from previous centuries. These bring us very close in all essentials to the original autographs themselves, and furnish us with an authentic record of God's revelation. As W. F. Albright has said (in Rowley's OTMS 25): "We may rest assured that the consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible, though not infallible, has been preserved with an accuracy perhaps unparalleled in any other Near Eastern literature."

5

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE TERM "canon" is derived from a Greek word *kanōn,* which means "straight rod, straight edge, ruler." As applied to literature, canon has come to mean those writings which conform to the rule or standard of divine inspiration and authority. In the Hebrew Scriptures there are thirty-nine books which are considered by the Jews to be canonical. These are the same as those accepted by the apostolic church and by the Protestant churches since the days of the Reformation. The Roman Church adds to these fourteen other books (or portions of books) which compose the Apocrypha, and consider these of equal authority with the rest. This raises the questions: What makes a book of Scripture canonical? When were these various books composing the Old Testament considered or accepted as canonical by God's ancient people? We shall defer a consideration of the claims of the Apocryphal books until a later part of this chapter. First let us consider the tripartite division of the Hebrew canon (Law, Prophets, Writings), and the explanations which have been offered for it.

The Division of the Hebrew Canon

The Masoretic edition of the Old Testament differs in certain particulars from the order of books followed in the Septuagint, and also from that of Protestant churches. The compilers of the Greek Version (LXX) observed a more or less topical arrangement, as follows.

The books of Law: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.

The books of History: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I and II Samuel, I and II Kings (generally these last four are named, I, II III and IV Kingdoms), I and II Chronicles, I and II Esdras (the first being Apocryphal, the second being canonical Ezra), Nehemiah, Tobit, Judith and Esther.

The books of Poetry and Wisdom: Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus).

The books of Prophecy: the Minor Prophets—Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi; the Major Prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel (including Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Holy Children).

The supplemental books of History: I and II Maccabees.

In general the Latin Vulgate follows the same order as the Septuagint, except that I and II Esdras equal our Ezra and Nehemiah, and the Apocryphal parts (III and IV Esdras) are placed after the New Testament books, as is also the Prayer of Manasseh. Also, in the Vulgate the Major Prophets are placed before the Minor Prophets. From this listing it will be apparent that the Protestant Bible follows the same topical order of arrangement as the Vulgate, except that all the Apocryphal parts (including the considerable additions to Esther) are omitted. In order, then, the Protestant Bible follows the Vulgate, but in content it follows the MT.

The order of books in the Masoretic Text is as follows.

The Torah (or Pentateuch)

The Prophets (*Nᵉbi'īm*) in following order: Former Prophets—Joshua, Judges, (I and II) Samuel, and (I and II) Kings; Latter Prophets—Major Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and twelve Minor Prophets (in the same order as in the English Bible).

The Writings (or *Kethūbīm*—in Greek, *Hagiographa* or "Holy Writings"): Poetry and Wisdom—Psalms, Proverbs, Job (but Leningrad Codex has Psalms, Job, Proverbs); the Rolls or *Megilloth*—Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther (but Leningrad, Ruth, Song, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther); Historical—Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and I and II Chronicles.

It ought to be mentioned, however, that the order of the books composing the MT represents a later division (largely resorted to in order to facilitate discussion with Christian apologists who appealed to the Old Testament in their polemic against Judaism). The earlier division consisted of the same content as the thirty-nine books listed above, but arranged in only twenty-four books. This meant that I and II Samuel were counted as one book; likewise I and II Kings and I and II Chronicles. The twelve Minor Prophets were also counted as one book, and Ezra and Nehemiah formed a single unit. Josephus, however, who wrote near the end of the first century A.D., gives evidence of a twenty-two book canon (*Contra Apionem*, I:8). This apparently involved the inclusion of Ruth with Judges and of Lamentations with Jeremiah. Yet essentially, whether thirty-nine books, or twenty-four, or twenty-two, the basic divisions of the Hebrew canon have remained the same. The reason Ruth and Lamentations were later separated from Judges and Jeremiah, respectively, is that they were used in the Jewish liturgical year, along with the three other units in the *Megilloth*. That is to say, Canticles (Song

of Solomon) was read at Passover (in the first month); Ruth was read at Pentecost (in the third month); Lamentations was read on the ninth of Ab (fifth month); Ecclesiastes was read at the Feast of Tabernacles in the seventh month; and Esther was read at Feast of Purim in the twelfth month. This accounts for the MT order in the *Megilloth*: Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther.

From what has just been said about the inclusion of Ruth in Judges and Lamentations in Jeremiah it is apparent that the list of *Kethūbīm* was by no means fixed and rigid. If under the twenty-two book division of Josephus these two units (Ruth and Lamentations) of the *Kethūbīm* were earlier included under the Prophets, then the third category of the Hebrew canon must have been smaller in the first century A.D. than the later MT division would indicate. Josephus refers to the third category as having only four books, which he describes as containing "hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life" (Josephus, *ibid.*). This would seem to exclude Daniel from the third division and imply its inclusion among the Prophets, since Daniel is neither hymnic nor preceptive. The same would be true of the historical books such as Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles. The still earlier description of the third division by the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus as "others who have followed in the steps of the Prophets" and "other books of our fathers" is too vague to serve as a basis for any deductions. But it is rather striking that the New Testament never specifies any other book besides the Psalms as comprising the third division of the Old Testament (Luke 24:44 speaks of the Law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms). Usually the Hebrew Scriptures are referred to simply as "the Law and the Prophets"; in one place even a passage from Psalms (Ps. 82) is spoken of as being written "in your law" (John 10:34). The Qumran Manual of Discipline and the Zadokite Document refer to the Scriptures simply as "Moses and the Prophets."[1] No deductions as to the time of composition of books in the *Kethūbīm* may safely be drawn from the later MT division, since it is obviously not pre-Christian in its origin.

The Antilegomena

At this point a word must be said about the so-called *Antilegomena* ("the books spoken against"). The Mishnah mentions the existence of controversy in some Jewish circles during the second century A.D. relative to the canonicity of Canticles, Ecclesiastes and Esther. Doubts were expressed by some during the same period as to the book of Proverbs. Ezekiel had also, according to the Gemara, been under discussion as to its authority until the objections to it were settled in A.D. 66. We are told that the disciples of Shammai in the first century B.C. contested the canonicity of Ecclesiastes, whereas the school of Hillel just as vigorously up-

[1]Laird Harris, *Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* (1957), p. 146.

held it. The scholarly discussions held at Jamnia in A.D. 90 sustained the claims of both Ecclesiastes and Canticles to divine authority. These minority objections should not be misconstrued as having delayed the canonicity of the five books concerned, any more than Martin Luther's sixteenth century objections to James and Esther delayed canonical recognition of these books.

To deal with the charges against these disputed books we must take them up one by one. The criticism of Ecclesiastes was based upon its alleged pessimism, Epicureanism, and denial of the life to come. But thoughtful students of the book came to the conclusion that none of these charges was justified when the work was interpreted in the light of the author's special technique and purpose.[2]

The criticism of the Song of Solomon was based on the passages in it which speak of physical attractiveness in bold and enthusiastic imagery bordering on the erotic (if taken in a crassly literal way). But the allegorical interpretation of Hillel, who identified Solomon with Jehovah and the Shulamite with Israel, revealed spiritual dimensions in this truly beautiful production. Christian exegetes followed this lead in applying the figure of Solomon to Christ and the bride to the Church, and attained thereby richer insight into the love relationship between the Saviour and His redeemed.

As for Esther, the objection was that the name of God does not appear in it. But this drawback (difficult though it is to explain) was more than offset by the unavoidable manifestations of divine providence working through every circumstance to deliver the Jewish race from the greatest threat to its existence ever faced in history.

In the case of Ezekiel, the problem it presented consisted in the disagreements of detail between the latter-day temple and ritual of the last ten chapters and those of the Mosaic tabernacle and Solomonic temple. But it was pointed out in rebuttal that these differences were found only in minor details and might pertain to a temple still future, rather than to the second temple erected by Zerubbabel. In any event, it was to be confidently expected that Elijah upon his return to earth would clear up all these difficulties for the faithful.

The objections to Proverbs were not so serious, but centered rather in a few apparently contradictory precepts, such as 26:4, 5: "Answer not a fool according to his folly. . . . Answer a fool according to his folly."

Ancient Witnesses to the Masoretic Canon

How early was this twenty-two book canon of the Palestinian Jews? The earliest extant reference to the three main divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures is to be found in the Prologue to the Apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus, composed ca. 190 B.C. in Hebrew by *Jesus ben Sirach*. The Pro-

[2]These matters will be taken up in detail when the book is analyzed in Chap. 35.

logue itself was composed in Greek by the grandson of the author, who translated the entire work into Greek. In the Prologue (dating from about 130 B.C.) we read: "Whereas many and great things have been delivered to us by the Law and the Prophets and by others that have followed their steps—my grandfather, Jesus, when he had much given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets and other books of our fathers, and had gotten therein good judgment, was drawn on also himself to write something pertaining to learning and wisdom." What is classified in the MT canon as the *Kethūbīm* (the Writings or *Hagiographa*) is referred to here as (a) books by others who have followed in the steps of the prophets, (b) other books of our fathers. This shows that a tripartite division of some sort already existed in the second century B.C. Note also that I Maccabees, composed about the same time as the Prologue, refers to two episodes in Daniel (I Macc. 2:59, 60) and quotes expressly from the Psalms (e.g., I Macc. 7:17 quotes from Ps. 79:2, 3); and both these books (apparently regarded as canonical) belong to the *Kethūbīm*. As for the New Testament, Luke 24:44 refers to the Old Testament as "the Law of Moses, and the Prophets, and the Psalms." Not only the Psalms, but also Proverbs and Daniel are often referred to as the authoritative Word of God, and even Lamentations is alluded to in Matthew 5:25. Since these four books belong to the *Kethūbīm*, there is no reasonable doubt that the third division of the Hebrew canon was put on a level with the first two as divinely inspired.

Next we come to *Josephus* of Jerusalem (A.D. 37-95), whose numeration of the Old Testament as consisting of twenty-two books has already been alluded to. In his *Contra Apionem* I:8 he says: "We have not tens of thousands of books, discordant and conflicting, but only twenty-two containing the record of all time, which have been justly believed to be divine." After referring to the five books of Moses, thirteen books of the Prophets, and the remaining books (which "embrace hymns to God and counsels for men for the conduct of life"), he makes this significant statement: "From Artaxerxes (the successor of Xerxes) until our time everything has been recorded, but has not been deemed worthy of like credit with what preceded, because the exact succession of the prophets ceased. But what faith we have placed in our own writings is evident by our conduct; for though so long a time has now passed, no one has dared to add anything to them, or to take anything from them, or to alter anything in them."

Note three important features of this statement: (1) Josephus includes the same three divisions of the Hebrew Scriptures as does the MT (although restricting the third group to "hymns" and *ḥokhmah*), and he limits the number of canonical books in these three divisions to

twenty-two.[3] (2) No more canonical writings have been composed since the reign of Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes (464-424 B.C.), i.e., since the time of Malachi. (3) No additional material was ever included in the canonical twenty-two books during the centuries between (i.e., from 424 B.C. to A.D. 90). Rationalist higher critics emphatically deny the last two points, but they have to deal with the witness of such an early author as Josephus and explain how the knowledge of the allegedly post-Malachi date of sizable portions, such as Daniel, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and many of the psalms, had been kept from this learned Jew in the first century A.D. It is true that Josephus also alludes to Apocryphal material (as from I Esdras and I Macc.[4]); but in view of the statement quoted above, it is plain that he was using it merely as a historical source, not as divinely inspired books.

The oldest catalogue of the books of the Old Testament canon now in existence is the list of *Bishop Melito* of Sardis, written ca. A.D. 170. He states that he went to the Orient to investigate the number and order of the books of the Old Testament and came to the following result: "Five of Moses—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth, four of Kingdoms, two of Chronicles, Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon (which is also Wisdom), Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job; the Prophets—Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Twelve in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra." In this list note: (1) Lamentations is omitted, but was probably subsumed under Jeremiah; (2) Nehemiah likewise, but probably included with Ezra; (3) Esther is omitted altogether for some unknown reason; (4) with the possible exception of the term "Wisdom" (which conceivably could refer to the Wisdom of Solomon) no book of the Apocrypha is included.

In the third century A.D., *Origen* (who died in 254) left a catalogue of twenty-two books of the Old Testament which was preserved in Eusebius' *Ecciesiastical History,* vi. 25. This indicates the same list as that of the twenty-two book canon of Josephus (and of the MT). The only difference is that he apparently includes the Epistle of Jeremiah, being perhaps ignorant of the fact that it was never written in Hebrew.

Approximately contemporaneous with Origen was *Tertullian* (A.D. 160-250), the earliest of the Latin Fathers whose works are still extant. He states the number of canonical books as twenty-four. *Hilary* of Poitiers (305-366) numbers them as twenty-two. *Jerome* (A.D. 340-420) both in the *Prologus Galeatus* and elsewhere[5] advocated recognition of only the

[3]For an explanation of how this corresponds to the thirty-nine books in the Protestant canon, cf. p. 60.

[4]Cf. Henry B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (1902), p. 378.

[5]The pertinent quotation from the *Prologus Galeatus* is as follows (author's translation): "This prologue, like a helmeted vanguard (*principium*) of the Scriptures, can apply to all the books which we have translated from Hebrew into Latin, so that

twenty-two books contained in the Hebrew, and the relegation of the Apocryphal books to a secondary position.[6] Thus, in his *Commentary on Daniel* he cast doubt upon the canonicity of Susanna on the ground that a certain word play put into Daniel's mouth was derivable only from Greek and not from Hebrew (implication: the story must have been originally composed in Greek).[7] Similarly also in connection with Bel and the Dragon he remarks: "This objection is easily solved by asserting that this particular story is not contained in the Hebrew of the book of Daniel. If, however, anyone should be able to prove that it belongs in the canon, then we should be obliged to seek out some other answer to this objection" (*ibid.*, p. 157).

The Question of the Canonicity of the Apocrypha

Not only the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox communions contend for the canonicity of the fourteen Aprocryphal books (in whole or in part), but also Protestant scholars of liberal persuasion speak of an "Alexandrian Canon" as having equal claims to validity with those of the so-called "Palestinian Canon" (of twenty-two or thirty-nine books). The evidences appealed to for this contention deserve careful scrutiny.[8]

The first argument in favor of the Apocrypha is that the early versions contained them. This however is only partially true. Certainly the Aramaic Targums did not recognize them. Not even the Syriac Peshitta in its earliest form contained a single Apocryphal book; it was only later that some of them were added. We have just seen that Jerome, the great translator of the Scriptures into Latin, did not recognize the Apocrypha as being of equal authority with the books of the Hebrew canon. A more careful investigation of this claim narrows down the authority of the Apocrypha as resting upon only *one* ancient version, the Septuagint, and those later translations (such as the Itala, the Coptic and Ethiopic, and later Syriac) which were derived from it. Even in the case of the Septuagint, the Apocryphal books maintain a rather uncertain existence.

we can know whatever is apart from these must be placed among the Apocrypha. Therefore the Wisdom commonly entitled Solomon's, the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, and Judith and Tobias and The Shepherd [presumably the Shepherd of Hermas] are not in the canon. I discovered the First Book of Maccabees in Hebrew; the Second is Greek, as can be tested by its very wording." In Jerome's *Preface to the Books of Solomon* he mentions finding Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew, but states his conviction that the Wisdom of Solomon was originally composed in Greek rather than Hebrew, since it shows a Hellenic type of eloquence. "And so," he goes on, "just as the church reads Judith and Tobias and Maccabees (in public worship) but does not receive them into the canonical Scriptures, so let it read these two books also for the edification of the people, not for the establishing of the authority of the doctrines of the church."

[6]Cf. Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1948), p. 69.

[7]Gleason L. Archer (trans.), *Jerome's Commentary on Daniel* (1958), p. 155.

[8]G. D. Young, in his chapter on the Apocrypha in *Revelation and the Bible* (1958), gives one of the most recent conservative treatments of this subject. R. L. Harris, *Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* (1957), Chap. 6, is very helpful also. But perhaps the most adequate discussion is found in Unger, IGOT 81-114.

The Codex Vaticanus ("B") lacks I and II Maccabees (canonical according to Rome), but includes I Esdras (non-canonical according to Rome). The Sinaiticus ("Aleph") omits Baruch (canonical according to Rome), but includes IV Maccabees (non-canonical according to Rome). The Alexandrinus ("A") contains three "non-canonical" Apocrypha: I Esdras and III and IV Maccabees. Thus it turns out that even the three earliest MSS of the LXX show considerable uncertainty as to which books constitute the list of Apocrypha, and that the fourteen accepted by the Roman Church are by no means substantiated by the testimony of the great uncials of the fourth and fifth centuries.

It is urged by protagonists of the Apocrypha that the presence of Apocryphal books in the LXX indicates the existence of a so-called "Alexandrian Canon," which included these fourteen extra books. But it is by no means certain that all the books in the LXX were considered canonical even by the Alexandrian Jews themselves. Quite decisive against this is the evidence of the writings of Philo of Alexandria (who lived in the first century A.D.). Although he quotes frequently from the canonical books of the "Palestinian Canon," he never once quotes from any of the Apocryphal books. This is impossible to reconcile with the theory of a larger "Alexandrian Canon," unless perchance some Alexandrian Jews did not accept this "Alexandrian Canon," while others did.

Secondly, it is reliably reported that Aquila's Greek Version[9] was accepted by the Alexandrian Jews in the second century A.D., even though it did not contain the Apocrypha. A reasonable deduction from these evidences would be that (as Jerome himself put it) the Alexandrian Jews chose to include in their edition of the Old Testament both the books they recognized as canonical, and also the books which were "ecclesiastical"—i.e., they were considered valuable and edifying though not inerrant.

Additional support for this supposition (that subcanonical works may be preserved and utilized along with canonical) has recently been found in the discoveries of Qumran Cave 4. There in the heartland of Palestine, where surely the "Palestinian Canon" should have been authoritative, at least two Apocryphal books are represented—Ecclesiasticus and Tobit. One fragment of Tobit appears on a scrap of papyrus, another on leather; there is also a leather fragment in Hebrew. Several fragments of Ecclesiasticus were also discovered there, and so far as they go, at least, agree quite exactly with the eleventh century MS of Ecclesiasticus found in the Cairo Genizah back in the 1890's (cf. Burrows, MLDSS 177, 178). For that matter, the Fourth Qumran Cave has also yielded pseudepigraphical works like the Testament of Levi in Aramaic, the Testament of Levi in Hebrew, and the book of Enoch (fragments from ten different MSS!). Surely no one could seriously contend that the straight-laced Qum-

[9]Cf. Chap. 3, p. 41.

ran sectarians considered all these Apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works canonical simply because they cherished copies of them.

Appeal is often made to the fact that the New Testament usually employs the LXX translation in its quotations from the Old Testament. Therefore, since the LXX did contain the Apocrypha, the New Testament apostles must have recognized the authority of the entire LXX as it was then constituted. Moreover it is a fact, it is urged, that appeal is occasionally made to works outside the "Palestinian Canon." Wildeboer[10] and Torrey[11] have collected all possible instances of such quotations or allusions to Apocryphal works, including several which are only suspected.

But all this line of argument is really irrelevant to the issue at hand, since none of these sources is even alleged to be from the fourteen books of the Roman Apocrypha. In most cases these works which are supposed to have been quoted from have long since disappeared—works such as Apocalypse of Elias and (apart from a Latin fragment) Assumption of Moses. Only in one instance, the quotation from Enoch 1:9 in Jude 14-16, has the source quoted from survived.[12] There are quotations from pagan Greek authors too in the New Testament. In Acts 17:28 Paul quotes from Aratus' *Phaenomena*, line 5; in I Corinthians 15:33 he quotes from Menander's comedy, *Thais*. Surely no one would suppose that such quotations as these establish the canonicity of either Aratus or Menander. On the contrary, the testimony of the New Testament is most decisive against the canonicity of the fourteen books of the Apocrypha. Virtually all the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament are quoted from as divinely authoritative, or are at least alluded to.[13] While it has just been pointed out that mere quotation does not necessarily establish canonicity, nevertheless it is inconceivable that the New Testament authors could have considered the fourteen books of the Roman Catholic Apocrypha canonical and never once quoted from or alluded to any of them.

The second chief argument in favor of the Apocrypha is that the Church Fathers quote from these books as authoritative. It would be more correct to say that *some* of the early Christian writers appear to do so, while others take a clear-cut stand against their canonicity. Among those in favor are the writers of I Clement and Epistle of Barnabas, and most notably Jerome's younger contemporary, Augustine of Hippo. Yet we must qualify this advocacy as only apparent, or at least presumptive, for we have already seen that Jude could quote Enoch as containing a true account of one ancient episode without necessarily endorsing the whole book of Enoch as canonical. As for Augustine, his at-

[10]G. Wildeboer, *Origin of the Canon of the Old Testament* (1895).
[11]Charles C. Torrey, *The Apocryphal Literature* (1945).
[12]Complete only in the Ethiopic, some portions in Greek, and Qumran Cave 4 fragments in Hebrew and Aramaic.
[13]The exceptions, as revealed in the quotation list at the end of Nestle's Greek New Testament, are Ruth, Ezra, Ecclesiastes and Canticles.

titude was rather uncritical and inconsistent. On the one hand, he threw his influence at the Council of Carthage (397) in favor of including the entire fourteen as canonical; on the other hand, when an appeal was made by an antagonist to a passage in II Maccabees to settle an argument, Augustine replied that his cause must be weak if he had to resort to a book not in the same category as those received and accepted by the Jews.[14]

The ambiguous advocacy of the Apocrypha on the part of Augustine is more than offset by the contrary position of the revered Athanasius (who died in 365), so highly regarded by both East and West as the champion of Trinitarian orthodoxy. In his Thirty-ninth Letter he discussed the "particular books and their number, which are accepted by the church." In paragraph 4 he says, "There are, then, of the Old Testament twenty-two books in number," and he proceeds to enumerate the same books as are found in the MT in approximately the same order as in the Protestant Bible. In paragraphs 6 and 7 he states that the extra-Biblical books (i.e., the fourteen of the Apocrypha) are "not included in the canon," but merely "appointed to be read." Nevertheless the Eastern Church later showed a tendency to concur with the Western in the acceptance of the Apocrypha (second Trullan Council at Constantinople in 692). Even so, there were many who had misgivings about some of the fourteen, and at last in Jerusalem in 1672 the Greek Church narrowed down the number of canonical Apocrypha to four: Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit and Judith.

The Tests of Canonicity

First we may consider certain inadequate tests which have been proposed in recent times.

1. J. G. Eichhorn (1780) considered age to be the test for canonicity. All books believed to have been composed after Malachi's time were excluded from consideration. But this theory does not account for the numerous older works like the Book of Jashar and the Book of the Wars of Jehovah which were not accounted authoritative.

2. F. Hitzig (ca. 1850) made the Hebrew language the Jewish test of canonicity. But this does not explain why Ecclesiasticus, Tobit and I Maccabees were rejected even though they were composed in Hebrew. It also raises questions as to the acceptability of the Aramaic chapters of Daniel and Ezra.

3. G. Wildeboer[15] makes conformity to the Torah the test of canonicity for the later books. But later on in his discussion he introduces many other criteria which render this nugatory: (a) canonical books had to be written in Hebrew or Aramaic; and they either had to (b) treat of

[14]G. D. Young in *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 176.
[15]G. Wildeboer, *Origin of the Canon*, p. 97.

ancient history (like Ruth or Chronicles), or (c) speak of the establishment of a new order of things (Ezra, Nehemiah), or (d) be assigned to a famous person of ancient times, such as Solomon, Samuel, Daniel or (perhaps) Job, or (e) be in complete harmony with the national sentiment of people and scribes (Esther). Here indeed we have a bewildering profusion of tests. As for Wildeboer's original criterion, how can we be sure that the Words of Nathan the Prophet (referred to in II Chron. 9:29) or Isaiah's Acts of Uzziah (II Chron. 26:22) or Jeremiah's Lamentation for Josiah (II Chron. 35:25) were not in conformity to the Torah, at least as much so as their other words or writings which have been preserved in the canon? As for (e), many of the pseudepigraphical works, like Enoch, Lamech and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Testament of Adam, and several others, were assigned to famous men of old, and it is not absolutely certain that none of them were originally composed in Aramaic (if not in Hebrew).

The only true test of canonicity which remains is the testimony of God the Holy Spirit to the authority of His own Word. This testimony found a response of recognition, faith and submission in the hearts of God's people who walked in covenant fellowship with Him. As E. J. Young puts it:[16] "To these and other proposed criteria we must reply with a negative. The canonical books of the Old Testament were divinely revealed and their authors were holy men who spoke as they were borne of the Holy Ghost. In His good providence God brought it about that His people should recognize and receive His Word. How He planted this conviction in their hearts with respect to the identity of His Word we may not be able fully to understand or explain. We may, however, follow our Lord, who placed the *imprimatur* of His infallible authority upon the books of the Old Testament."

We may go further than this and point out that in the nature of the case we could hardly expect any other valid criteria than this. If canonicity is a quality somehow imparted to the books of Scripture by any kind of human decision, as liberal scholars unquestioningly assume (and as even the Roman Church implies by her self-contradictory affirmation: "The Church is the mother of the Scripture"), then perhaps a set of mechanical tests could be set up to determine which writings to accept as authoritative and which to reject. But if, on the other hand, a sovereign God has taken the initiative in revelation and in the production of an inspired record of that revelation through human agents, it must simply be a matter of recognition of the quality already inherent by divine act in the books so inspired. When a child recognizes his own parent from a multitude of other adults, he does not impart any new quality of parenthood by such an act; he simply recognizes a relationship which already exists. So also with lists of authoritative books drawn up by ecclesiastical

[16]E. J. Young, "The Canon of the Old Testament." *Revelation and the Bible*, p. 168

synods or councils. They did not impart canonicity to a single page of Scripture; they simply acknowledged the divine inspiration of religious documents which were inherently canonical from the time they were first composed, and formally rejected other books for which canonicity had been falsely claimed.

Liberal Theories as to the Origin of the Canon

The foregoing survey has furnished a proper basis on which to evaluate the standard higher critical account of the evolution of the Hebrew canon. Those who do not take seriously the Bible's own claim to be the uniquely inspired revelation of God's will must necessarily cast about for some more rationalistic, down-to-earth explanation of the origin of these books. Because of antisupernaturalistic presuppositions, they must be true to their own philosophical principles in rejecting all Biblical data which testify to direct revelation from God. For example, the Pentateuch affirms with great frequency, "Jehovah said unto Moses, Speak unto the children of Israel and say unto them. . . ." But scholars who do not believe that God could ever speak personally and intelligibly to Moses (or any other man) must reject all such Biblical statements as legendary. The notice that Moses wrote out a copy of the Torah and laid it up before the ark of the covenant (Deut. 31:9, 26) must be ruled out of court. The same is true of the numerous references to a written Law of Moses in Joshua (e.g., 1:8, and also 8:32, which affirms that Joshua had the Torah inscribed on stone stelae for public convenience). Only those references to a reading of the Torah which accord with rationalist presuppositions are to be taken as historical. The Development Hypothesis (cf. Chaps. 11 and 12) and the Documentary Theory of the Pentateuch are explained in detail further on, but for the present a brief summary of the critical theory of the canon must suffice.

Liberal scholarship explains the threefold division of the Hebrew canon (i.e., Torah, Prophets and *Kethūbīm*) as resulting from three separate stages in the composition of the various books themselves. That is to say, the Torah arose in successive accretions starting at 850 B.C. (the earliest written document), combined with a later document between 750 and 650; then in 621, at the time of Josiah's reform, Deuteronomy became the first unit of the Pentateuch to achieve canonicity, being formally accepted by both king and people (II Kings 23). During the Babylonian Exile (587-539) the ritual and priestly sections were written up by Levitical authors under the inspiration of Ezekiel, and their activity continued down to the time of Ezra (who was one of their number). Nehemiah 8:1-8 contains a record of the first public reading of the entire Torah as "the book of the Law of Moses" (some parts of which had been just newly finished, and all of which was at least five hundred years later than the death of Moses). Ezra's public were somehow convinced that

these five books of mixed and spurious parentage were indeed the product of Moses' pen and contained the authoritative Word of God. Thus they imparted canonization to the first division of the Old Testament, the Torah, in 444 B.C.

So far as the second division, the "Prophets," is concerned, these were gradually assembled into an authoritative list between 300 and 200 B.C. It could not have been much earlier than that because (according to higher critical theory) certain parts of Isaiah, Joel, Zechariah, *et al.*, were not written until the third century B.C. (Some scholars, like Duhm, insisted that certain portions of Isaiah were not composed until the second century or first century B.C.) Hence the second division achieved canonical status under unknown circumstances at a place unknown at a time unknown, but approximately 200 B.C.[17]

As for the third division, the *Kethūbīm* or Writings, they were not collected (and most of them were not even written) until well after the collection of the Prophets had begun. Since Daniel, on grounds of literary criticism, was composed around 168 B.C., the *Kethūbīm* could not have been assembled much before 150 B.C., since a couple of decades at least were necessary for a book to achieve canonical stature. Preliminary or tentative canonization of this third group of books was doubtless achieved between 150 and 100 B.C., but final ratification was deferred until the Council of Jamnia in A.D. 90.

Such is the usual account of the formation of the canon in liberal circles today. Granted their presuppositions and critical methodology, it is perhaps reasonable enough. If, however, their datings of those portions of the Old Testament which they have assigned to post-fifth-century times can be shown to be ill-founded (as the succeeding chapters attempt to do), then this whole theory of the canon must be abandoned in favor of that account which is presented by the Scripture itself. The Biblical authors indicate very clearly, whenever the matter comes up, that the various books of the Bible were canonical from the moment of their inception, by virtue of the divine authority ("Thus saith the Lord") behind them, and the books received immediate recognition and acceptance by the faithful as soon as they were made aware of the writings.

As to the Torah, we are told in Deuteronomy 31:9 that an authoritative copy of it was laid up before the ark not long before Moses' death in 1405 B.C. (or somewhat later, if the late date theory of the Exodus be adopted—cf. Chap. 16). We are not told anywhere at what time the three sections of the Prophets (Former Prophets, Major Prophets, and Minor Prophets) were assembled into a single main division. If Malachi was the latest book in this group, canonization of the whole could hardly have taken place until about 400 B.C.. The criterion for what books belonged to the Prophets may have been their authorship. They were all

[17]Robert H. Pfeiffer, *The Books of the Old Testament* (1957), p. 15.

composed by the authoritative interpreters of the Law who belonged to the prophetic order (according to Deut. 18), and either transmitted their messages directly from God, or else composed an account of Israel's history according to God's perspective (Judges, Samuel and Kings).

As for the third division, the Writings, it is obvious that all inspired books which did not belong to either of the first two groups were put here. All they had in common was that they were not composed by human authors who belonged to the prophetic order. Thus Daniel's memoirs were assigned to the *Kethūbīm* because he was a civil servant and did not belong to the prophetic order. It is true that he like David and Solomon possessed a prophetic gift, but none of these were anointed as prophets of Jehovah. The same non-prophetic status doubtless characterized the unnamed authors of Job and Esther, as well as Governor Nehemiah and Ezra the scribe. (We have already seen that Lamentations, which was doubtless the composition of Jeremiah, originally was included among the Prophets.) But there can be no question of time sequence, so far as the second and third groups are concerned. Much of the material of the *Kethūbīm* was written before the earliest of the writing prophets. The units of each division were formed more or less contemporaneously, and they were assigned later to each group, the Prophets and the Writings, on the basis of authorship. While we have no actual notice as to who composed Joshua, Judges, Samuel or Kings, the viewpoint of the authors—as even liberal critics are swift to agree—is consistently a prophetic one.

6

HISTORY OF THE DOCUMENTARY THEORY OF THE PENTATEUCH

UNTIL THE RISE of deistic philosophy in the eighteenth century, the Christian church had always taken at face value the claims of the Pentateuch to have been composed by the historic Moses of the fifteenth century B.C. A few Jewish scholars had suggested the possibility of later authorship of at least parts of the Torah, men such as the pantheistic Spanish Jew Benedict Spinoza, but these conjectures had been largely ignored by European scholarship until the deistic movement created a more favorable attitude for historical skepticism and the rejection of the supernatural. (Spinoza in 1670 had expressed the view in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* that the Pentateuch could hardly have been written by Moses, since he is referred to in the third person, "he," rather than by the first, "I"; nor could he have recorded his own death, as is done in Deuteronomy 34.[1] Therefore he proposed Ezra as the final composer of the Torah. Although this suggestion was largely ignored in his own generation, it constituted a remarkable anticipation of the final formulation of the Documentary Hypothesis by Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen in the latter half of the nineteenth century.)

Early Developments

The Documentary Hypothesis—the theory that the Pentateuch was a compilation of selections from several different written documents composed at different places and times over a period of five centuries, long after Moses—had its beginning with *Jean Astruc,* a French physician who became interested in the literary analysis of Genesis. He was intrigued by the way in which God was referred to only as Elohim (God) in Genesis 1 and mostly as Jehovah (or Yahweh) in Genesis 2. In his *Conjectures*

[1]This argument based on the use of the third person is very weak. Many well-known ancient authors, such as Xenophon and Julius Caesar, referred to themselves in their own historical narratives in the third person exclusively. As to the obituary notice in Deuteronomy 34, it does not even purport to have been written by Moses, and was undoubtedly added by Joshua or some other near contemporary. But this in no way renders doubtful the Mosaic authorship of the rest of Deuteronomy which does claim to have been his composition.

Concerning the Original Memoranda Which It Appears Moses Used to Compose the Book of Genesis (in French), he tried to account for this phenomenon by the supposition that Moses used two different written sources which gave two different accounts of creation. He contended that in composing these two chapters Moses quoted one author who knew of God only by the name of Elohim (presumably the earlier writer) and another author who referred to Him only as Jehovah.[2] While Astruc's proposal found little immediate favor, it set forth a criterion of source division which before long met with a response from the scholarly world (which was similarly involved in the dissection of Homer's epics into many different sources) and furnished the first basic assumption of the Documentary Hypothesis, the *criterion of divine names.*

The next stage came with the *Einleitung* or *Introduction to the Old Testament* of *Johann Gottfried Eichhorn,* published in 1780-83. He divided the entire book of Genesis, plus the first two chapters of Exodus (up to Moses' interview with God at the burning bush) between the Jahwist and the Elohist (J and E). He attempted to correlate the supposedly divergent "parallel accounts" and "doublets" (e.g., the "two accounts" of the Flood) with these two "sources" and isolate the characteristic traits of each. He at first attributed to Moses the editorial work of combining these "pre-Mosaic" written materials, but in the later editions of his *Einleitung* he at last yielded to the growingly popular view that the Pentateuch was written after the time of Moses. Thus was the J-E division extended to much of the Pentateuch.

The third stage came with the contribution of *Wilhelm M. L. De Wette* concerning Deuteronomy. In his *Dissertatio* (1805) and his *Beitraege zur Einleitung* (1806) he set forth the view that none of the Pentateuch came from a period earlier than the time of David. But as for Deuteronomy, it bore all the earmarks of being the book of the Law which was found by the high priest Hilkiah in the Jerusalem temple at the time of King Josiah's reform, according to II Kings 22. Both the king and the priest were united in the purpose to abolish all worship and sacrifice to Jehovah outside the capital city. Centralization of worship would contribute to closer political unification of all parts of the kingdom, and it would insure that all revenues from the pious would pour into the coffers of the Jerusalem priesthood. Therefore this book was concocted to serve the governmental campaign, and its discovery was then staged at the psychological moment. This pinpointed the date of composition as 621 B.C. (the date of Josiah's reformation) or shortly before. Thus arose Document D (as it came to be called), entirely separate in origin from J or E, and framed to support governmental policy by means of its refer-

[2]This explanation, of course, ignored the fact that Genesis 1 presents God as Creator and Sovereign over all of nature, hence only Elohim was appropriate; whereas Genesis 2 presents Him as a covenant God to Adam and Eve, hence Jehovah only was appropriate, except where the compound title Jehovah Elohim occurs.

ences (see Chap. 12) to the "city which Jehovah shall choose." This made the roster of "sources" for the Pentateuch include three documents: E (the earliest), J, and the late seventh century Document D.

Strictly speaking, however, De Wette did not belong to the Documentary School, but rather to the Fragmentary theorists. The Fragmentary Theory of the origin of the Pentateuch was first propounded in 1792 (*Introduction to the Pentateuch and Joshua*) by a Scottish Roman Catholic priest named *Alexander Geddes.* Geddes held that the Torah was composed in the Solomonic era from many separate fragments, some of which were as old as Moses, or even older.

Geddes' views were adopted by *Johann Vater* (*Kommentar über den Pentateuch,* 1802), who analyzed the book of Genesis alone into no less than thirty-nine fragments (which of course involved the division of E into diverse elements). While some fragments dated from the Mosaic age, the final combination and arrangement did not take place until the time of the Babylonian Exile (587-538 B.C.). De Wette fell in line with this type of source analysis, alleging that the historical records of of Judges, Samuel and Kings did not betray the existence of Pentateuchal legislation (since the laws of Moses were consistently ignored as if non-existent).[3] Therefore there could not have been any such laws until the later Jewish monarchy.

There were no major changes in the development of the Documentary Hypothesis between De Wette and Hupfeld. During this intervening period certain other theories of Pentateuchal composition found able advocates. The Supplementary Theory, advocated by Ewald, Bleek and Delitzsch, assumed the existence of one basic document or body of tradition (E) which underlay all the rest and which dated from about 1050-950 B.C. But this acquired additions and supplements by the later author of J, who left the earlier E material largely unaltered as he incorporated it with his own.

Heinrich Ewald in *Komposition der Genesis* (*The Composition of Genesis*), 1823, stressed that the essential basis of Genesis was very early, even if not quite Mosaic. He discounted Eichhorn's use of repetitions and headings in the Hebrew text to prove diverse authorship, for he pointed out that early Arabic works (the unity of whose authorship was unquestioned) employed similar techniques as characteristic traits of Semitic style. In his *Geschichte Israels* (*The History of Israel*), 1840, he expressed the view that Moses personally composed the Decalogue (Exod. 20) and a few of the oldest laws. Genesis 14 and Numbers 33 were also of very ancient origin. But these earlier materials were supplemented by a Book of Covenants, composed by an anonymous Judean in the period of the Judges. In the time of Solomon came a Book of Origins written by an anonymous Levite, containing much of the material of Document

[3]Cf. Chap. 12, p. 150 for a refutation of this claim.

E. A third supplement came in the ninth century (the time of Elijah) in the form of a biography of Moses. Later still came a prophetic narrator, and lastly a Judean from the time of Uzziah (middle eighth century) who introduced the name "Yahweh" in numerous places and reworked the whole corpus as final editor. This 1840 work of Ewald's actually involved a departure from the Supplementary Theory to the Crystallization Theory, a modification which regarded each successive contributor to the Mosaic corpus as reworking the entire body of materials, rather than simply adding his own isolated contributions here and there. Thus by successive layers of molecules, a sort of literary "crystal" was built up. (Other advocates of the Crystallization Theory were August Knobel [1861] and Eberhard Schrader [1869], who simplified the growth process somewhat in their treatments of the Pentateuch.)

The second supplementarist mentioned above was *Friederich Bleek,* who in 1822 came out with an extension of literary source analysis to the book of Joshua, thus giving rise to the term Hexateuch ("Six Volume") as the form in which the Mosaic tradition found its final written form, rather than in any mere five-volume Pentateuch. In 1836 he published his observations on Genesis, in which he granted that some passages in it were genuinely Mosaic. The first considerable supplementation came in the time for the united monarchy (tenth century) when an anonymous compiler brought together the earliest form of Genesis. A second important redaction came in the period of King Josiah (approximately 630 or 620 B.C.) by the anonymous compiler of the book of Deuteronomy, who incorporated Joshua also to form the Hexateuch.[4] Bleek later published a complete Old Testament Introduction, the second edition of which (appearing in 1865) was soon translated into English (1869). In this work he took a stand against some of the most unwarranted extremes of the literary criticism then in vogue; yet he made many unwise and unjustified concessions to the whole Documentarian approach.

As for *Franz Delitzsch,* the third supplementarist scholar mentioned above, he was far more conservative in tendency than were Ewald and Bleek. In his commentary on Genesis, appearing in 1852, he advanced the view that all portions of the Pentateuch attributed by the text itself to Mosiac authorship were genuinely his. The remaining laws represented authentic Mosaic tradition, but were not codified by the priests until after the Conquest of Canaan. The non-Mosaic parts of Document E were probably composed by Eleazar (the third son of Aaron), who incorporated the book of the covenant (Exod. 20:23–23:33). A still later hand supplemented this work, including Deuteronomy with it. Delitzsch produced a series of excellent commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament (some of them in collaboration with Karl Friedrich Keil,

[4]For a discussion of the difficulties besetting this theory of a Hexateuch, cf. Chap. 19, p. 253.

a pupil of Hengstenberg's. In the latter part of his career (1880), Delitzsch shifted to a modified form of the regnant Documentary Hypothesis. (Incidentally, Franz Delitzsch is not to be confused with his son, Friedrich Delitzsch, who distinguished himself particularly in the field of Assyriology, and who held somewhat more liberal views of Old Testament criticism than did his father.)

Mention was made in the previous paragraph of *Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg*, the leader of the conservative wing of German Biblical scholarship. He was a very able defender of the Mosaic authorship of all five books of Moses, and he skillfully refuted the standard arguments for diverse sources which had been purveyed in scholarly circles since the days of Astruc and Eichhorn. His most influential work was translated into English in 1847 as *The Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, and it did much to bolster the conservative position. As has already been mentioned, he exerted a profound influence upon Friedrich Keil, who became the foremost conservative Old Testament scholar in the German-speaking world during the latter half of the nineteenth century. In America the Princeton Seminary scholars Joseph Addison Alexander and William Henry Green vigorously upheld the same viewpoint, and subjected the Documentarian school to devastating criticism which has never been successfully rebutted by those of liberal persuasion.

In 1853 appeared the epoch-making work of *Hermann Hupfeld, Die Quellen der Genesis* (*The Sources of Genesis*). His contribution to the discussion resulted in what has been termed the "Copernican Revolution in the history of the Documentary Theory." In the first place he subjected Document E to a thorough re-examination, and distinguished in it two distinct sources: one (E^2) consisting of those rather considerable portions of the Elohist which greatly resembled J in style, vocabulary and type of subject matter, and which occasionally seemed to contain allusions to material also found in (the presumably later) J. Indeed, if it were not for the divine name (Elohim), it would be very difficult to tell such passages from J. (It should be observed that the admission of the existence of such passages as these dangerously undermined the soundness of using the divine names Elohim and Jahweh as a criterion for source division.) Hupfeld therefore segregated such portions (beginning at Gen. 20) from the rest of the E corpus, which latter he adjudged to be the earliest and called the "Grundschrift" (or "basic document") and designated as E^1. This E^1 document roughly corresponds with what later criticism renamed P, or the Priestly Code. The later E^2 (which later came to be designated simply as E) was still a bit earlier than J (the Jahwist). D (the Deuteronomic work) was of course the latest (dating from Josiah's time). Therefore the correct order of the "documents" was for Hupfeld as follows: PEJD.

It should be mentioned here that Hupfeld was not the first to originate this idea of E division, but was preceded by *Karl David Ilgen* of Jena, who in 1798 published a work setting forth the view that Genesis was made up of seventeen different documents, among the authors of which were two Elohists and one Jahwist. This work was a product of the Fragmentary school and did not carry very wide or lasting influence.

Hupfeld's *Quellen* also emphasized the continuity of the supposed documents E^1, E^2 and J, and tried to demonstrate that when segregated by themselves, the sections of Genesis assigned to each of the three made good sense and could stand in their own right as separate works.[5] But most noteworthy of all was Hupfeld's emphasis upon a hypothetical redactor (i.e., a final editor) who rearranged and supplemented the whole corpus of Genesis through Numbers and who accounted for all the instances where J passages came up with words or phrases supposedly characteristic of E, and *vice versa.* In other words, wherever the theory ran into trouble with the facts or ran counter to the actual data of the text itself, the bungling hand of R (the anonymous redactor) was brought in to save the situation.

Hupfeld's contributions provoked new interest in the Documentary Theory among scholarly circles. Particular attention was devoted to Document E^1, Hupfeld's "Grundschrift." First of all appeared the discussion of *Karl Heinrich Graf* in 1866. Like his teacher, Eduard Reuss, Graf believed that this Priestly Code in the Pentateuch contained legislation which was of later origin than Deuteronomy itself (621 B.C.), for the reason that D shows no acquaintance with the legal portions of P (the Priestly Code), although it does reflect the laws of J and E.[6] Hence we are to regard the legislation of P as dating from the time of the Exile (587-539 B.C.). The historical portions of P, however, were doubtless very early. Thus the order of the "documents" with Graf turned out to be: historical—P, E, J, D; legal—P. He felt that E was supplemented by J, and then in Josiah's time EJ was redacted by the author of D.

But P was not destined to remain long in the split condition in which Graf had left it. A Dutch scholar, *Abraham Kuenen,* and his *De Godsdienst van Israel* (*The Religion of Israel*), published in 1869, argued very forcefully for the unity of P, insisting that the historical portions of this "document" could not legitimately be separated from the legal. And since Graf had proved the Exilic or post-Exilic origin of the Priestly legislation, therefore the entire P document had to be late. This meant that what Hupfeld had determined to be the earliest portion of the Pentateuch (his "Grundschrift") turned out to be altogether the latest portion of all, which received its final definitive form when Ezra assembled the entire Penta-

[5]This ingenious attempt at verification is capable of easy refutation, however, as is mentioned in Chap. 9, pp. 112-113.

[6]See Chap. 12, pp. 149-153 for a refutation of this claim.

teuchal corpus in time for the public Bible reading ceremony mentioned in Nehemiah 8. The new order of the "documents" was now: J, E, D and P. J was the basic document of the Torah, and E was incorporated into it afterward. D was added next in Josiah's time, just before the end of the Jewish monarchy. During the ministry of Ezekiel in the Exilic period, the Holiness Code (H), consisting of Leviticus 17–26, was formulated as the earliest portion of P; the rest of P originated in the late sixth century and the first half of the fifth century—a thousand years after the death of Moses!

After the work of Hupfeld, Graf and Kuenen, the stage was set for the definitive formulation of the Newer Documentary Theory by *Julius Wellhausen,* whose most important contributions were *Die Komposition des Hexateuchs* (*The Composition of the Hexateuch*), which appeared in 1876, and *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (*Introduction to the History of Israel*), which came out in 1878. Although Wellhausen contributed no innovations to speak of, he restated the Documentary Theory with great skill and persuasiveness, supporting the JEDP sequence upon an evolutionary basis. This was the age in which Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* was capturing the allegiance of the scholarly and scientific world, and the theory of development from primitive animism to sophisticated monotheism as set forth by Wellhausen and his followers fitted admirably into Hegelian dialecticism (a prevalent school in contemporary philosophy) and Darwinian evolutionism. The age was ripe for the Documentary Theory, and Wellhausen's name became attached to it as the classic exponent of it. The impact of his writings soon made itself felt throughout Germany (claiming such luminaries as Kautzsch, Smend, Giesebrecht, Budde, Stade and Cornill) and found increasing acceptance in both Great Britain and America.

In England it was William Robertson Smith (*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*) who first interpreted Wellhausianism to the public. Samuel R. Driver gave it the classic formulation for the English-speaking world (*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* 1891), although he was personally of somewhat more conservative theological convictions than the architects of the Documentary Theory had been. The same is true of George Adam Smith in America, who counted himself an evangelical in theology, and yet devoted his skilled pen to a popularization of the Documentarian type of approach to the Old Testament prophets (notably Isaiah and the Minor Prophets, for which he wrote the exposition in the *Expositor's Bible* edited by W. R. Nicoll). In the United States the most notable champion of the new school was Charles Augustus Briggs of Union Seminary (*The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch,* 1893), seconded by his able collaborator, Henry Preserved Smith.

As we shall see in the next chapter, the twentieth century has wit-

nessed a vigorous reaction against Wellhausen and the Documentary Hypothesis, and general confidence in it has been somewhat undermined, even in liberal circles. Nevertheless, no other systematic account of the origin and development of the Pentateuch has yet been formulated so lucidly and convincingly as to command the general adherence of the scholarly world. For want of a better theory, therefore, most non-conservative institutions continue to teach the Wellhausian theory, at least in its general outlines, as if nothing had happened in Old Testament scholarship since the year 1880.[7] In England W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson's *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* (1934) was basically Wellhausian, although some uncertainties are expressed concerning the comparative dating of the "documents" (JE may have been contemporaneous with D, and H may have been a bit earlier than D—pp. 52, 53). In America Julius A. Bewer's *The Literature of the Old Testament* (1922) and Robert H. Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941) adhered quite loyally to classic Wellhausianism (although Pfeiffer isolated a new document, S, a pessimistic Edomite source, and also dated the Ten Commandments as later than D, rather than constituting a part of E).

In Germany itself the influence of Form Criticism (which will be discussed in the next chapter) has resulted in an attempt to synthesize the Form Critical approach of Gunkel and Gressmann with the Documentarianism of Wellhausen. This synthesis appears most strongly in the work of Otto Eissfeldt (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* 1934). In Scandinavia, Aage Bentzen of Copenhagen (*Introduction to the Old Testament,* 1948) holds mainly to the type of synthesis which Eissfeldt had attempted; but his earlier compatriot, Johannes Pedersen, as well as Sigmund Mowinckel and Ivan Engnell of Uppsala (Sweden), inclines far more definitely toward a Form-Critical or History-of-Tradition approach than to Wellhausian source criticism. In England and the United States, however, the rule of Wellhausen continues more or less supreme in most non-conservative schools, and makes its influence felt in many of the more or less conservative schools of the old-line denominations. Therefore we must treat the Documentary Theory as still a live issue today, even though liberal scholarship on the European continent has administered well-nigh fatal blows to nearly all its foundations.

[7]Illustrative of this attitude is this quotation from a foremost British scholar, H. H. Rowley (*The Growth of the Old Testament,* 1950, p. 46): "That it [the Graf-Wellhausen theory] is widely rejected in whole or in part is doubtless true, but there is no view to put in its place that would not be more widely and emphatically rejected. . . . The Graf-Wellhausen view is only a working hypothesis, which can be abandoned with alacrity when a more satisfying view is found, but which cannot with profit be abandoned until then."

Description of the Four Documents of the Documentary Hypothesis

(The dates suggested are those proposed in Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*—first edition, pp. 111-123).

J—written about 850 B.C. by an unknown writer in the Southern Kingdom of Judah. He was especially interested in personal biography, characterized by vivid delineation of character. He often portrayed or referred to God in anthropomorphic terms (i.e., as if He possessed the body, parts, and passions of a human being). He also had a prophetlike interest in ethical and theological reflection.

E—written about 750 B.C. by an unknown writer in the Northern Kingdom of Israel. He was more objective than J in his narrative style, and was less consciously tinged with ethical and theological reflection. He tended rather to dwell upon concrete particulars.

About 650 B.C. an unknown redactor combined J and E into a single document: JE.

D—composed, possibly under the direction of the high priest Hilkiah, as an official program for the party of reform sponsored by King Josiah in the revival of 621 B.C. Its object was to compel all the subjects of the kingdom of Judah to abandon their local sanctuaries on the "high places" and bring all their sacrifices and religious contributions to the temple in Jerusalem. This document was strongly under the influence of the prophetic movement, particularly of Jeremiah. Members of this same Deuteronomic school later reworked the historical accounts recorded in Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings.

P—composed in various stages, all the way from Ezekiel, with his Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) ca. 570 (known as "H"), to Ezra, "the ready scribe in the Law of Moses" under whose guidance the latest priestly sections were added to the Torah. P is concerned with a systematic account of the origins and institutions of the Israelite theocracy. It shows a particular interest in origins, in genealogical lists, and details of sacrifice and ritual.

Summary of the Dialectical Development of the Documentary Hypothesis

1. Astruc: different divine name points to different source—J and E division; extended more thoroughly by Eichhorn. (E earlier than J.)

2. De Wette: defined D as a manufacture of Josiah's time (621 B.C.).

3. Hupfeld: divided up E into the earlier E^1 (or P) and the later E^2 (which more closely resembles J). Order of documents: PEJD.

4. Graf: the legal portions of P are Exilic, latest of all, even though historical portions may be early. Order of documents: P^1EJDP^2.

5. Kuenen: historical portions of P must be as late as the legal. Order of documents: JEDP.

6. Wellhausen: gave the Documentary Theory its classic expression, working out the JEDP sequence upon a systematic evolutionary pattern.

Observe the contradictions and reversals which characterize the development of this Documentary Theory. (1) A different divine name points to a different author (Astruc, Eichhorn), each with his own circle of interest, style and vocabulary. (2) Same divine name (Elohim), nevertheless different authors (Hupfeld); whereas some E passages really do not greatly differ from J in circle of interest, style or vocabulary. (3) That Elohist (P) which most differs from J in interest and style must be the earliest (Jahweh being a later name for God than Elohim). (4) No, on the contrary this P must be latest instead of earliest (for this fits in better with evolutionary theory about the development of Hebrew religion from the primitive polytheistic to the priest-ridden monotheistic). (5) J is of course later than E (all the critics up to Graf); but no, J is really earlier than E (Kuenen and Wellhausen).

The most thoroughgoing refutation of the Wellhausen hypothesis to appear at the end of the nineteenth century in America was furnished by William Henry Green of Princeton, in his *Unity of the Book of Genesis* (1895) and *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1896). With great erudition and skill he showed how inadequately the hypothesis explained the actual data of the Biblical text, and upon what illogical and self-contradictory bases the critical criteria rested.

A general discussion of the fallacies in the Documentary Theory which render it logically untenable will be found in Chapter 8. The various criteria used by the documentarians to prove diverse authorship will be discussed more in detail in Chapters 9 and 10. Refutation of specific arguments dealing with particular books in the Pentateuch will be found in the chapters (14-18) which deal with those books.

7

HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

PERHAPS THE MOST HELPFUL WAY to present the trends of Old Testament scholarship between 1890 and 1950 is to arrange the effect of their contributions upon the structure of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. Hence the order followed will be topical rather than strictly chronological.

As we have already indicated, much of modern scholarship has remained loyal to the methods of Documentary analysis, and their innovations have been limited more or less to isolating a few more "documents" beyond the time-honored four, JEPD. Thus, for example, Otto Eissfeldt in his *Hexateuchsynopse* (1922) thought he discerned within J a Lay Source (L)—more or less equivalent to Julius Smend's J^1 (*Die Erzählung des Hexateuchs auf ihre Quellen untersucht,* 1912)—a component of J for which Walter Eichrodt had eloquently argued (*Die Quellen der Genesis,* 1916). This *Laienschrift* (as Eissfeldt called it) reflected a nomadic, Rechabite ideal (cf. the reference to Rechab in II Kings 10) which was completely hostile to the Canaanite way of life. He concluded that L arose in the time of Elijah (ca. 860) and found its way into Judges and Samuel as well.

Somewhat similar to L was the new Document K (for "Kenite") discovered by Julius Morgenstern (*The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch,* 1927), and which he supposed was used as the basis for the reforms of King Asa (ca. 890) as recorded in I Kings 15:9-15. Even Robert H. Pfeiffer (as already mentioned) announced in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1941) the discovery of a Document S (for Mount Seir, the most prominent landmark in Edom) which appeared in the J and E sections of Genesis 1—11 and also in J and E portions of Genesis 14—38. This supposedly appeared in the reign of Solomon (ca. 950), but later additions (made from 600 to 400 B.C.) composed an S^2. Thus we have as a result of the industry of the post-Wellhausians the additional letters K, L and S, largely drawn off from J or E.

For the most part, however, the trend of twentieth century scholar-

ship has been toward the repudiation of the Graf-Wellhausen theory, either in whole or in part. In order to sort out these attacks and arrange them in a systematic fashion, we may imagine the Documentary Hypothesis in the form of a beautiful Grecian portico supported by five pillars: (1) the criterion of divine names (Jahweh and Elohim) as an indication of diverse authorship; (2) the origin of J, E and P as separate written documents, composed at different periods of time; (3) the priority of J to E in time of composition; (4) the separate origin of E as distinct from J; (5) the origin of D in the reign of Josiah (621 B.C.). Let us consider the criticisms leveled at each of these pillars in the above-mentioned order.

Against the Validity of Divine Names as a Criterion of Source

A. As early as 1893 August Klostermann (*Der Pentateuch*) rejected the inerrancy of the Masoretic Hebrew text in the transmission of the divine names, and criticized their use as a means of identifying documentary sources. But the first scholar to make a thoroughgoing investigation of the relationship of the MT to the LXX was Johannes Dahse in his "Textkritische Bedenken gegen den Ausgangspunkt der Pentateuchkritik" ("Textual-Critical Doubts about the Initial Premise of Pentateuchal Criticism") in a 1903 issue of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*. Here he showed that the LXX has a non-corresponding name (e.g., *theos* for *Yahweh* or *kyrios* for *Elohim*) in no less than 180 instances. This means that the MT is not sufficiently inerrant in the textual transmission of the names to serve as the basis for such subtle and precise source division as the documentarians have attempted. (This appeal to the LXX was all the more damaging because of the high prestige it enjoyed as over against the MT in matters of textual emendation. Because the documentarians themselves had been using it so freely for correction of the Hebrew text, it was more than embarrassing for them to be exposed as naively assuming the inerrancy of the transmission of the divine names in the Hebrew Torah.)

B. In England a Jewish attorney named Harold M. Wiener began a series of studies in 1909 which dealt with this same troublesome discrepancy between the LXX and the MT. He argued that this uncertainty as to the correct name in so many different passages rendered the use of names impractical and unsafe for the purposes of source division. Wiener also discussed the alleged discrepancies between the various laws of the Pentateuchal legislation, showing that these so-called disagreements were capable of easy reconciliation and required no diversity of authorship. While he conceded the presence of some non-Mosaic elements, he insisted upon the essential Mosaicity of the Pentateuch.

C. The eminent successor of Kuenen at the University of Leiden, B. D. Eerdmans, also admitted the force of this argument derived from Sep-

tuagintal data, and definitely asserted the impossibility of using the divine names as a clue to separate documents (*Die Komposition der Genesis,* 1908). In this same work he attacked Wellhausian source division from an entirely different approach, that of comparative religions. He felt he could trace a primitive polytheistic background behind many of the sagas in Genesis, indicating a far greater antiquity in origin than either an 850 B.C. J or a 750 E. Even the ritual elements embodied in P were much older than the final codification of the laws themselves, because they reflected ideas belonging to a very early stage of religious development. The codifying priests included provisions of such antiquity that they themselves no longer fully understood their significance.

The Mosaic era should be recognized as the time when much of the Levitical ritual had its origin, rather than in the Exilic or post-Exilic age (as the documentarians had supposed). Moreover, from the standpoint of literary criticism, the fundamental unity of the Genesis sagas was flagrantly violated by the artificial source division practiced by the Graf-Wellhausen school. He therefore withdrew from the Documentary school altogether and denied the validity of the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen theory in the preface of the above-mentioned work.[1] He felt that the earliest written unit in the Pentateuch was a polytheistic Book of Adam (commencing at Gen. 5:1) which originated sometime before 700 B.C. (although of course the oral tradition upon which it was based was many centuries old). Later there was united with this another polytheistic work which he called an Israel recension. But after the "discovery" of Deuteronomy these earlier writings were re-edited according to a monotheistic reinterpretation, and after the Exile this entire work received some further expansions. In this alternative to the Graf-Wellhausen theory we see a revival of the old Supplementary approach, combined with an exaggerated dependence upon comparative religion techniques. But at least Eerdmans showed how flimsy were the "assured results" of Wellhausen scholarship under the impact of a fresh investigation of the data of the Hebrew text. The revered triad of J, E and P was no longer so secure upon its pedestal.

D. The attack of Sigmund Mowinckel, a Norwegian scholar, against the JE source division was from a different standpoint, that of Form Criticism (see next section). In two articles published in the *Zeitschrift für Altertumswissenschaft* (1930) he denied the independence of the J and E traditions from each other, and denied also that E was of North Israelite origin. He asserted that E was simply a religious adaptation of J from the standpoint of a Judahite school. The stories of ancient times contained in E always depend upon the narratives contained in J, and E quite often employs Jahweh as a name for God. In this connection he denied that Exodus 3:14 represented a promulgation of Jahweh as a new

[1]See also his *Altestamentliche Studien,* II-IV, 1908-14.

name for God, but on the contrary it presupposed that Jahweh was already known to the Hebrews. (In *The Two Sources of the Pre-Deuteronomic Primeval History in Genesis 1–11,* 1937, he shows from Josh. 24:2-4, an E passage, that the author knew that Abraham had lived in Mesopotamia, even though all of this account in Gen. 11 had been assigned to J.) Mowinckel concluded that E was really not an author at all, but an oral tradition which continued the same body of material as that which found an earlier written form in J. E then signifies a long drawn-out process between the period when J found written form and the final inscripturation of the E material after the fall of the Jewish monarchy.[2]

Against the Origin of J, E and P as Separate Documents

A. Hermann Gunkel was associated with Hugo Gressmann as a founder of the new school of *Formgeschichte* or Form Criticism. His most important contributions in the field of Pentateuchal criticism were *Die Sagen der Genesis* (*The Sagas of Genesis*), 1901; a fifty-page contribution to Hinneberg's *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* entitled "Die altisraelitische Literatur" ("The Ancient Israelite Literature") published in 1906; and his 1911 work, *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments.*

Form Criticism, according to his formulation of it, maintains: (1) No accurate literary history is possible for the older period. Attempts to reconstruct the sequence of the development of written documents have broken down under the impact of contrary data from the texts themselves, and we really know nothing for certain about these hypothetical documents of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. (2) The only practical approach to the Pentateuchal literature is the synthetic creative (rather than the analytic critical of the documentarians), whereby we must define the various types of categories (*Gattungen*) to which the original material belonged in its oral stage, and then follow through the probable course of the development of each of these oral units until the final written form which they assumed in the Exilic period or thereafter. (Note how completely this approach erases the fine distinctions which Wellhausen had drawn between J, E and P.) (3) As a practitioner of the methods of the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (the comparative religionist school), Gunkel paid strict attention to the parallel phenomena of the religion and literature of ancient Israel's pagan neighbors, where the development of these *Gattungen* (literary genres) could be more clearly discerned and illustrated. In the light of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian materials it was possible, he felt, to ascertain with fair precision the *Sitz im Leben* (life situation) of each example of these different types and see through what process they evolved in their subsequent history. Thus, Genesis was really a compilation of sagas, for the most part, and all these were handed

[2]Aage Bentzen has a good discussion of Mowinckel's approach in his *Introduction to the Old Testament,* 1948, Vol. II, p. 48.

down in a fairly fluid oral form until final reduction to written form at a late period.

It will be observed that this *Formgeschichte* approach throws the JEP analysis into discard as an artificial and unhistorical attempt at analysis by men who simply did not understand how ancient literature like the Torah originated. Insofar as it demonstrates the artificiality of the Wellhausian source analysis, Gunkel's treatment of the Pentateuch represents a certain gain, from the conservative viewpoint. He should likewise be credited for recognizing the great antiquity of much of the oral tradition material which lay behind the text of the Torah.

But Gunkel's assumption that the books of Moses found written form only as late as the Exile seems to fly in the face of cumulative evidence that the Hebrews were a highly literate people from the time of Moses onward. To be sure, the earliest scrap of written Hebrew thus far discovered by archaeology is the schoolboy's exercise known as the Gezer Calendar (ca. 925 B.C.), but nearly all of Israel's neighbors were recording all types of literature in written form for many centuries before that period, and even the underprivileged Semitic miners at the turquoise mines in the Sinai Peninsula were scrawling their alphabetic inscriptions as early as 1500 B.C., if not earlier. Even up at the northernmost tip of the Canaanite area, at Ugarit, the contemporaries of Moses were recording their pagan scriptures in alphabetic characters. It requires an excessive credulity to believe that the Hebrews alone were so backward that they did not know how to reduce to writing their most important legal and religious institutions until after 600 B.C. The Pentateuchal record itself abounds in references to writing, and portrays Moses as a man of letters. Even a common term for "officer," repeatedly used in Exodus 5 (a J passage) and elsewhere in the Pentateuch, is the Hebrew *shōṭēr,* which is derived from the same root as the common Babylonian verb "to write" (*shaṭāru*). Therefore this feature in Gunkel's theory seems to be beset with insuperable difficulty in view of the evidence.

It should be pointed out, moreover, that the comparative literature of the ancient Near East serves to render highly questionable some of the basic presuppositions of Form Criticism. Thus, the doctrinaire premise of the *Gattungsforschung* methodology is to look for small fragments and scattered utterances as being the original form which the oral tradition took at the very beginning. But in so early an Egyptian work as the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* (now dated at 2200 B.C.) we find long and extended tirades, rather than the short, disconnected apothegms which Form Criticism would lead us to expect. In the Babylonian oracles also (as Sidney Smith points out in *Isaiah XL-LV*, 1944, pp. 6-16) occur long connected passages. Kenneth A. Kitchen says in *The New Bible Dictionary* (p. 349 b): The practitioners of *Formgeschichte* "have failed entirely to dis-

tinguish between the complementary functions of written transmission (i.e., down through time) and oral dissemination (i.e., making it known over a wide area to contemporaries), and have confused the two as 'oral tradition,' wrongly overstressing the oral element in Near Eastern transmission."

B. In 1924 Max Löhr published the first of his series on "Investigations of the Problem of the Hexateuch" entitled *Der Priestercodex in der Genesis* (*The Priestly Code in Genesis*). By means of minute exegetical study of the so-called P passages in Genesis he showed that no independent existence of such a source could be established. Its material was so inextricably involved in the J and E sections that it could never have stood alone. Löhr even went on to reject the Graf-Wellhausen analysis altogether, and came to the conclusion that the Pentateuch in general was composed by Ezra and his assistants in Babylon, drawing upon a heterogeneous store of written materials from the pre-Exilic period. These materials included sacrificial laws and other ritual directions, religious and secular narratives of various sorts, and sundry prophecies and genealogical lists. But these prior written materials were incapable of identification with any large, specific documents such as Wellhausen's J and E.

C. In 1931 Johannes Pedersen of Copenhagen came out with a radical critique of the Documentary Theory entitled *Die Auffassung vom Alten Testament* (*The Composition of the Old Testament*). In this work he rejected Wellhausian source criticism as inadequate to describe the culture of the ancient Hebrews. He made four specific points.

1. In such J and E stories as the communications between Jahweh and Abraham, the cycle connected with Sodom, the Jacob and Esau narrative, the Tamar and Judah episode—all accounts of this sort are of very ancient origin, even though they did not receive their present written form until after the Exile. (This meant that J and E components of this category were both much more ancient than the 850 and 750 dates of the documentarians, and also much later, i.e., contemporaneous with the Priestly contributions.)

2. It must be said that in general J and E cannot be maintained as separate narratives without artificially imposing an Occidental viewpoint upon the ancient Semitic narrative techniques and doing violence to Israelite psychology.

3. In Document D it is impossible to make out a clear distinction (as the documentarians had attempted to do) between older and newer elements. On the contrary, the anti-Canaanite bias which pervades Deuteronomy shows it to be the product of post-Exilic conditions (for only after the return could such a self-contained Israelite community have arisen such as D depicts). This means that we must abandon the older date of Josiah's reign for the composition of Deuteronomy.

4. As to Document P, it shows post-Exilic composition clearly enough

from its schematic arrangement and its style of diction; but on the other hand it contains many legal regulations which point to pre-Exilic conditions. Particularly is this true of the social laws. In other words, all the "sources" in the Torah are both pre-Exilic and post-Exilic. We cannot make out the 850 B.C. document and the 750 E document which Wellhausen tried to isolate in the Mosaic material. We can only conjecture that the earliest nucleus of the Torah was the Moses saga and the Passover legend contained in Exodus 1–15.

D. In 1945, in Uppsala, Sweden, appeared a work by Ivan Engnell called *Gamla testamentet, en traditionshistorisk inledning* (*The Old Testament, a Traditio-Historical Introduction*), which more or less followed the line which Pedersen had taken. Engnell boldly condemned the Wellhausian fabric of criticism as representing a modern, anachronistic book view, a purely artificial interpretation in modern categories which do not apply to ancient Semitic material. He asserted that an adequate treatment of this Hebrew literature required a radical break with that whole approach. He then made the following points.

1. There never were any parallel, continuous documents of prior origin from which the Torah was finally composed in its post-Exilic form.

2. The evidence of the LXX text shows the unsoundness of the criterion of divine names for source division; and even as they have been marked off by Wellhausen these supposed sources are by no means consistent in their use of the names for God. We must understand that the true explanation for the usage of these names is to be found in the context in which they occur, for it is the context that determines which name is most appropriate.

3. Rather than being of Judahite origin, Deuteronomy more strongly suggests North Israelite background. It is most unlikely that D could ever have been concocted in the Jerusalem temple.

4. The only safe division that can be made of the Pentateuchal material is (a) a P work extending from Genesis through Numbers and evidencing characteristics which point to a P type school of tradition; (b) a D work (Deuteronomy through II Kings) which shows a different style of treatment and points to a definite D circle of traditionists. The legal material in Exodus through Numbers originated from the oracle-giving and judicial functions of the various local sanctuaries, where along with oral tradition some early written traditions were cultivated. Genesis is made up of an Abraham cycle, a Jacob cycle and a Joseph complex. Gunkel's analyses of the individual stories and legend cycles are trustworthy. These were originally cultic legends connected with different sanctuaries. Doubtless the book of the covenant (Exod. 20:23–23:19) was one such collection; Exodus 34:17-26 (the so-called Ritual Decalogue) was another; and the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) represents still another complex. P represents a southern tradition, whereas the

Deuteronomic work (Deuteronomy through Kings) represents a northern tradition, although the final form imposed on it reflects the viewpoint of those who wished the cultus to be centralized in Jerusalem.

5. Oral tradition played a major role in all this until the final reduction to writing. We must therefore reckon, not with written sources and redactors, but with units of oral tradition, circles of tradition, and schools within these traditionist circles. Continuous written documents would necessarily have exhibited consistent differences of style and purely linguistic constants which would occur only in the document concerned. But as it is, no consistent distinctives of this sort can be made out, and those which the documentarians claim to have discovered can be maintained only by question-begging devices such as redactors and glosses and later emendations. (This of course implied that the elaborate word lists and tables such as are drawn up in Driver's ILOT must be discarded as unsound.)

E. Another interesting writer who perhaps could be listed in this group is Wilhelm Moeller, who was originally a convinced adherent of the Wellhausen school. But after a careful re-examination of the evidence he became impressed with the inadequacy of the Documentary Hypothesis in the light of the actual data. His first attack was published in 1899 under the title (in German) of *Historico-critical Considerations in Opposition to the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis by a Former Adherent.* A more powerful onslaught appeared in 1912: *Wider den Bann der Quellenscheidung* (*Against the Curse of Source Division*). Here he demonstrated the weakness of the arguments for the Documentary Hypothesis and cogently argued the case for the unity of the Pentateuch. In his 1925 work, *Rückbeziehungen des fünften Buches Mosis auf die vier ersten Bücher* (*Backward References of the Fifth Book of Moses to the First Four Books*), he showed that Deuteronomy contains numerous references to Genesis through Numbers which presuppose their existence prior to the composition of Deuteronomy and their availability to the author himself. But perhaps Moeller should not be listed with these other critics, since his investigations led him back to the position of the historic Christian church in regard to the authorship of the Pentateuch, and he thereby became an adherent of the conservative cause. All the others, of course, were (or are) liberals.

Against the Priority of J to E

A. In his 1920 work entitled *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue,* R. H. Kennett advanced the argument that E was really the earliest of the written documents rather than J, and was composed about 650 B.C. for the mixed or hybrid population of North Israel (subsequent to the deportation of the ten tribes in 722 B.C.). J was written a few decades later, down in the Hebron area as a sort of counterblast to Josiah's re-

forms (with his insistence on the sole legitimacy of the Jerusalem temple); its date was about 615. This J was probably the document referred to by Jeremiah 8:8 ("But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely").[3]

B. It goes without saying that the views of Pedersen (p. 88) belong also in this division, for if all the materials of the Pentateuch are post-Exilic in their final written form, there can be no more talk of the priority of J to E. The same is true of Engnell (p. 89). If all of Genesis was made up of legend cycles preserved at the various local sanctuaries, and if all of Exodus through Numbers belongs to a P school of tradition, then there is no room for a J prior to E, nor indeed for any separate written J and E at all.

Against the Independent Existence of E as a Document Later Than J

A. Paul Volz and Wilhelm Rudolph co-operated in 1933 in the publication of a study entitled *Der Elohist als Erzähler: ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik?* (*The Elohist as a Narrator: a Mistake in Pentateuchal Criticism?*). After a careful re-examination of the E passages, these scholars drew the conclusion that there were really no good grounds for making out a separate, coherent E source. They were simply parts of J or supplements to it. Volz proposed to do away with separate J and E sources and return to something comparable to the old Supplement Hypothesis. In Genesis we have only a single story writer (J), and E was no more than a later editor of this J work who may possibly have inserted a few sections of his own. As for P, no stories at all emanate from him; he was only the recorder of legislation and the composer of doctrinal sections such as Genesis 1 and 17.

B. The contribution of Mowinckel (p. 85) may be referred to here. E was to him no separate document from J, but simply a Judahite religious adaptation of the Jehovistic material. E was more of a process than a document. Likewise Pedersen's approach (p. 88) involved a complete denial of the separate existence of J and E. Both represent oral material going back to the earliest time, and together they received written form after the Exile.

Against the Josianic Date for Deuteronomy

Ever since De Wette's identification of Deuteronomy as the Book of the Law which was discovered by Hilkiah in the temple and read aloud to King Josiah in 621 B.C., the Josianic date for D was considered one of the surest of the "assured results of modern scholarship" by the whole Wellhausen school. As Wellhausen himself declared in his *Prolegomena* (1885, p. 9): "About the origin of Deuteronomy there is still less dispute;

[3]Kennett's views on Deuteronomy are discussed on p. 93

in all circles where appreciation of scientific results can be looked for at all, it is recognized that it was composed in the same age as that in which it was discovered, and that it was made the rule of Josiah's reformation, which took place about a generation before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans."

Against the background of this confidence it is interesting to compare the treatment of the Josianic date (so pivotal to the whole Documentary Hypothesis) accorded by the twentieth century critics from 1919 and onward. Some of these insurgents shifted the date of D's origin to a much earlier period than 621 B.C., while others preferred to transfer it to the post-Exilic age. But both groups were unanimous in condemning the Josianic date as altogether unthinkable in view of the data of the text itself and of the historical conditions known to have prevailed at that time.

Critics Preferring an Earlier Date for Deuteronomy

A. In 1919 Martin Kegel produced his *Die Kultusreformation des Josias* (*Josiah's Reformation of the Cultus*) in which he gave his grounds for considering the 621 date unsound for D. Since even those influential leaders (such as the priesthood of the high places and the pro-idolatrous nobility) did not raise the issue of the genuineness of Deuteronomy as an authentic work of the great lawgiver Moses (even though they had every incentive to challenge its authenticity), it follows that D must have been a very ancient book indeed by Josiah's time, and must have been known as such. (Kegel was even inclined to doubt the identification of the discovered Book of the Law with Deuteronomy alone; he felt that the evidence pointed toward the inclusion of all the other parts of the Pentateuch which were already in writing.) Furthermore, the oft-repeated assertion that the main purpose of Josiah's reform was to enforce worship at the central sanctuary (the Jerusalem temple) was not at all borne out by the evidence of II Kings and II Chronicles; they show that his chief concern was the cleansing of Jehovah worship from idolatry.

B. In 1924 Adam C. Welch of Edinburgh produced *The Code of Deuteronomy*, in which he pointed out that a "law of the single sanctuary" would have been quite impractical for the seventh century B.C., for it did not reflect conditions which prevailed at that time. Furthermore, he showed that many of the legal regulations in D were much too primitive in character to fit in with the late Jewish monarchy. Rather than showing a Judahite provenance, some of the laws indicated a North Israelite origin. It was therefore far more justifiable to look to the age of Solomon (tenth century B.C.) as the time when the main core, at least, of the Deuteronomic legislation was written down. One insertion only was definitely assignable to Josiah's time, and that was Deuteronomy 12:1-7 which made the central sanctuary mandatory (a passage which was used

by Josiah to sanction his reform program). But the primary purpose of the book in its original form was to purify the cultus at all the various local sanctuaries and thus to combat the contaminating influence of Caananite theology and practice.

C. In the following decade a series of articles was issued from the pen of Edward Robertson in the *Bulletin of John Rylands Library,* in 1936, 1941, 1942 and 1944, in which he defended the thesis that at the time of the Conquest the Hebrews must have entered Palestine as an organized community possessing a nucleus of law, including the Decalogue and the book of the covenant (Exod. 20–23). After their settlement in Canaan they split up into various religious communes, each with its own special sanctuary. These various local traditions of Mosaic law were combined by Samuel (cf. I Sam. 10:25) on the threshold of the establishment of the united monarchy. This background satisfactorily accounts for the diverse elements and inconsistencies of the background material of the Tetrateuch. As for Deuteronomy, it was composed shortly thereafter, about 1000 B.C., in order to cement together the new political unity. This work then was lost and not rediscovered until the reign of Josiah.

Critics Preferring a Later Date for Deuteronomy

A. R. H. Kennett's work on *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue* has already been referred to (p. 90). It was his thesis that the legislation of D presupposes not only J and E, but also H (which according to the Wellhausen scheme did not arise until 570 B.C. under Ezekiel's influence). Particularly is this true of Deuteronomy 12. The inference is, then, that D must have been late Exilic at the very earliest. (According to Kennett, the order of the documents was EJHDP, i.e., E–650, J–615, H–570, D–500, P–450. Contrast this with Wellhausen's JEDHP.)

B. In 1922 Gustav Hölscher produced his *Komposition and Ursprung des Deuteronomiums* (*The Composition and Origin of Deuteronomy*). In this work Hölscher quite decisively denies that D could have constituted the Book of the Law which Hilkiah found. The characteristic legislation of Deuteronomy does not at all conform to the contemporary conditions prevalent in Josiah's time. For example, the enforcement of a single sanctuary law would have been utterly impractical idealism before the tragedy of the fall of Jerusalem and the restoration of the exiles from Babylon to make a new beginning in the land. During the centuries preceding the Exile, how could even a visionary reformer seriously expect that whole communities in Israel which had embraced the worship of false gods or the worship of Jehovah with images could be put to the sword by the central government (as Deut. 13 and 17 required)? Kings and Chronicles testified to the fact that almost every municipality in Judah was infected with this idolatry, not excluding Jerusalem itself.

It would never have occurred to a lawmaker after the population of Israel had settled down along the whole tract of Palestine, all the way from Dan to Beersheba, to enact a provision that all the male inhabitants had to forsake their homes and farms for days or weeks at a time no less than three times a year, just to participate in religious rites at some central sanctuary. The only sensible conclusion to draw is that Deuteronomy was drawn up when the Jewish remnant under Zerubbabel and Jeshua had newly resettled the land. (At this point it would be appropriate to suggest that if Deuteronomy does so clearly point to a time when the Hebrews had newly settled the land and were still grouped closely together, these specifications admirably accord with the time and setting the book of Deuteronomy gives for itself [1:1-4], that is, when Israel was all assembled on the plains of Moab just prior to the Conquest [ca. 1400 B.C.]. But Hölscher does not even discuss this possibility.)

C. With this conclusion of Hölscher's Johannes Pedersen (cf. p. 88) was in general agreement. He felt that the pervasive anti-Canaanite bias in Deuteronomy pointed to the anti-foreign spirit which prevailed in the age of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. (But Pedersen likewise failed to consider the possibility that such an anti-Caananite spirit characterized the age of Moses and Joshua, when the whole corrupt culture of the Caananites lay under the condemnation of God.)[4]

* * * *

How shall we characterize the trend of twentieth century scholarship in its treatment of Pentateuchal criticism and of the Wellhausen hypothesis? At the very least it must be regarded as a period of reaction against the neat, tight structure erected by the Documentary Theory of the nineteenth century. Almost every supporting pillar has been shaken and shattered by a generation of scholars who were brought up on the Graf-Wellhausen system and yet have found it inadequate to explain the data of the Pentateuch. At the same time it must be recognized that for the most part, even those scholars who have repudiated Wellhausen have shown no tendency to embrace a more conservative view of the origin of the books of Moses. They have undermined the defenses and torn down the bastions which buttressed the Documentary Hypothesis, but they have gravitated quite definitely into an even more implausible position than that occupied by their predecessors. Despite the analogy of Israel's pagan neighbors and contemporaries (who embodied their religious beliefs in written scriptures long before Moses' time), the Hebrews never got around to inscripturating the records of their faith until 500 B.C. or later. It requires a tremendous willingness to believe the unlikely for an investigator to come up with a conclusion like that.

We close with an apt quotation from H. F. Hahn:[5] "This review of

[4]A discussion of the evidence for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy may be found in Chap. 18.

[5]*Old Testament in Modern Research* (1954), p. 41.

activity in the field of Old Testament criticism during the last quarter-century has revealed a chaos of conflicting trends, ending in contradictory results, which create an impression of ineffectivness in this type of research. The conclusion seems unavoidable that the higher criticism has long since passed the age of constructive achievement."

8

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH

CHAPTERS 6 and 7 have traced the development of the theories of liberal scholarship as to the authorship of the Pentateuch. Beginning with the triumph of deism in the 1790's and continuing through the age of Hegelian dialecticism and Darwinian evolutionism in the nineteenth century, the verdict has been against Mosaic authorship. The earliest written portions of the literary hodgepodge known as the books of Moses did not antedate the ninth or eighth century B.C. In the present century some concessions have been made by various scholars as to possible Mosaicity of certain ancient strands of oral tradition, but so far as the written form is concerned, the tendency has been to make the whole Pentateuch post-Exilic. By and large, however, Mosaic authorship has not even been a live option for twentieth century liberal scholarship; that battle was fought and won back in the early 1800's and it was principally the architects of the Documentary Theory who deserved the credit for banishing Moses into the illiterate mists of oral tradition. On the basis of the brief description of the rise of the Documentary Hypothesis given in the two preceding chapters we are in a position to indicate, at least in cursory fashion, the most obvious weaknesses and fallacies which have vitiated the whole Wellhausian approach from its very inception.

Weaknesses and Fallacies of the Wellhausian Theory

1. The Documentary Theory has been characterized by a subtle species of circular reasoning; it tends to posit its conclusion ("the Bible is no supernatural revelation") as its underlying premise ("there can be no such thing as supernatural revelation"). That premise, of course, was an article of faith with all Western intelligentsia back in the eighteenth century Enlightenment (*l'Éclaircissement* in France, *die Aufklärung* in Germany); it was implicit in the prevailing philosophy of deism. Unfortunately, however, it rendered impossible any fair consideration of the evidences presented by the Scripture of supernatural revelation. Furthermore, it made it absolutely obligatory to find rationalistic, humanistic explanations of every miraculous or God-manifesting feature or episode

in the text of Scripture. But this attempt to deal objectively with literary data from an antisupernaturalistic bias was foredoomed to failure. It is like the attempt of persons who are color blind to judge the masterpieces of Turner or Gainsborough. The first fallacy, then, was *petitio principii* (begging the question).

2. The Wellhausen theory was allegedly based upon the evidence of the text itself, and yet the evidence of the text is consistently evaded whenever it happens to go counter to the theory. For example, the documentarians insisted, "The historical books of the Old Testament show no recognition of the existence of P legislation or a written Mosaic code until after the Exile." When in reply to this claim numerous references to the Mosaic Law and P provisions were discovered in the historical books, the reply was made: "Oh, well, all those references were later insertions made by priestly scribes who reworked these books after the Exile." This means that the same body of evidence which is relied upon to prove the theory is rejected when it conflicts with the theory. Or to put it in another way, whenever the theory is opposed by the very data it is supposed to explain, the trouble-shooting team of Redactor and Interpolator, Inc. is called to the rescue. Elusive tactics like these hardly beget justifiable confidence in the soundness of the result.

3. The documentarians assume that Hebrew authors differ from any other writers known in the history of literature in that they alone were incapable of using more than one name for God; more than one style of writing, no matter what the difference in subject matter; more than one of several possible synonyms for a single idea; more than one theme-type or circle of interest. According to these theorists (to use an illustration from English literature), a single author like Milton could not possibly have written merry poems such as *L'Allegro,* lofty epic poetry such as *Paradise Lost,* and scintillating prose essays such as *Areopagitica.* If he had been an ancient Hebrew, at least, he would have been speedily carved up into the ABC multiple-source hypothesis! The whole structure of source division has been erected upon exclusivist assumptions demonstrable for the literature of no other nation or period.[1]

4. Subjective bias was shown in the treatment of the Hebrew Scriptures as archaeological evidence. All too frequently the tendency has been to regard any Biblical statement as unreliable and suspect, though the very antiquity of the Old Testament (even by the critics' own dating) should commend it for consideration as an archaeological document. In case of any discrepancy with a pagan document, even one of a later age, the heathen source has been automatically given the preference as a historical witness. Where there happens to be no corroborative evidence at hand from non-Israelite sources or archaeological discoveries of some sort, the

[1]For a critique of this artificial methodology from the standpoint of a classical scholar, cf. Chap. 9, p. 122 and the reference to Dornseiff.

Biblical statement is not to be trusted unless it happens to fall in with the theory. It makes no difference how many Biblical notices, rejected as unhistorical by nineteenth century pundits, have been confirmed by later archaeological evidence (such as the historicity of Belshazzar, the Hittites and the Horites), the same attitude of skeptical prejudice toward the Bible has persisted, without any logical justification. (It would be naive to suppose that pagan Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian records —in contrast to the Hebrew Scriptures with their lofty ethical standards— were free from propagandistic *Tendenz* or party bias.) It is to the credit of W. F. Albright that much of his scholarly endeavor has been directed toward rehabilitating the reputation of the Old Testament as a reliable record of the past. In numerous books and articles he has shown again and again that the Biblical record has been vindicated against its critics by recent archaeological discovery.

5. The Wellhausen school started with the pure assumption (which they have hardly bothered to demonstrate) that Israel's religion was of merely human origin like any other, and that it was to be explained as a mere product of evolution. It made no difference to them that no other religion known (apart from offshoots of the Hebrew faith) has ever eventuated in genuine monotheism; the Israelites too must have begun with animism and crude polytheism just like all the other ancient cultures. The overwhelming contrary evidence from Genesis to Malachi that the Israelite religion was monotheistic from start to finish has been evaded in the interests of a preconceived dogma: that there can be no such thing as a supernaturally revealed religion. Therefore all the straightforward accounts in Genesis and the rest of the Torah relating the experiences of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses have been subjected to a cynical reanalysis intended to show that a monotheistic veneer has been applied to those old polytheistic worthies by so-called "Deuteronomists" or the late Priestly school.[2]

6. Whenever by ingenious manipulation of the text a "discrepancy" can be made out by interpreting a passage out of context, no reconciling explanation is to be accepted, but the supposed discrepancy must be exploited to "prove" diversity of sources. (Cf. Pfeiffer's imagined discrepancy [IOT 328] between the two accounts of the slaying of Sisera. Judges 5:25-27 is alleged to represent Jael as having slain him with her hammer and tent peg while he was drinking milk; Judges 4:21 says she did it while he was asleep. Actually, 5:25-27 does not state that he was drinking at the moment of impact; but it would be useless to point this out to Pfeiffer,

[2]An excellent refutation of this comparative religionist approach comes from G. E. Wright in his *The Old Testament Against Its Environment* (1950). Although a moderate advocate of the Documentary Theory, he has been convinced by archaeological data that the Hebrews were truly unique in their early espousal of monotheism and clung to it in the teeth of the opposition of idol-worshiping neighbors.

for he has already divided up the "discrepant accounts" between J and E.)

7. Although other ancient Semitic literatures show multiplied instances of repetition and duplication by the same author in their narrative technique, Hebrew literature alone cannot show any such repetitions or duplications without betraying diverse authorship.[3] It is instructive to study the sectarian literature from the Qumran caves and see how long the Israelites continued to employ repetition for purposes of emphasis. For example, compare Plate I and Plate IV of the *Manual of Discipline*[4] where the requirements for entering the monastic community are set forth in such a way as to invite the attention of the Documentarian source divider.

8. With highly questionable self-confidence, the Wellhausen school has assumed that modern European critics, who have no other ancient Hebrew literature with which to compare (for the Biblical period, at least), can with scientific reliability fix the date of composition of each document. They also assume that they can freely amend the text by substituting more common words for the rare or unusual words preserved in the Masoretic Text but which they do not understand or do not expect in the given context. As foreigners living in an entirely different age and culture, they have felt themselves competent to discard or reshuffle phrases or even entire verses whenever their Occidental concepts of consistency or style have been offended.

9. They have also assumed that scholars living more than 3,400 years after the event can (largely on the basis of philosophical theories) more reliably reconstruct the way things really happened than could the ancient authors themselves (who were removed from the events in question by no more than 600 or 1000 years even by the critic's own dating).

To sum up, it is very doubtful whether the Wellhausen hypothesis is entitled to the status of scientific respectability. There is so much of special pleading, circular reasoning, questionable deductions from unsubstantiated premises that it is absolutely certain that its methodology would never stand up in a court of law. Scarcely any of the laws of evidence respected in legal proceedings are honored by the architects of this Documentary Theory. Any attorney who attempted to interpret a will or statute or deed of conveyance in the bizarre and irresponsible fashion of the source-critics of the Pentateuch would find his case thrown out of court without delay. Compare for example this statement by Judge William Dixon of Pasadena, Calif., relative to a proposed constitution for a new church merger (*Pilgrim Frontier*, June, 1960, p. 4): "It is elementary that in the interpretation of a written contract all of the writing

[3]See reference in Chap. 6, p. 75 to Ewald's comparison of Hebrew narrative techniques and those of the Arabians.

[4]Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (1955), pp. 371, 376.

must be read together and every part interpreted with reference to the whole, so that each provision therein will be effective for its general purpose." Surely this principle has a relevance even for the non-legal portions of the works of Moses. Had it been followed in Pentateuchal analysis the JEDP Hypothesis would have been an impossibility.

Positive Evidences of Mosaic Authorship

When all the data of the Pentateuchal text have been carefully considered, and all the evidence, both internal and external, has been fairly weighed, the impression is all but irresistible that Mosaic authorship is the one theory which best accords with the facts. For the purposes of a convenient survey, and without elaborate demonstration or illustration at this point, we shall list the various areas of evidence which point to this conclusion.

A. THE WITNESS OF THE SCRIPTURES TO MOSES' AUTHORSHIP

1. The Pentateuch itself testifies to Moses as having composed it. We find these explicit statements (in ASV): Exodus 17:14: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in a book . . . that I will utterly blot out the remembrance of Amalek. . . ." Exodus 24:4: "And Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah . . ."; and verse 7: "And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people. . . ." Exodus 34:27: "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write thou these words: for after the tenor of these words I have made a covenant with thee and with Israel." Numbers 33:1, 2: "These are the journeys of the children of Israel. . . . And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys." Deuteronomy 31:9: "And Moses wrote this law, and delivered it unto the priests . . ."; and verse 11: "When all Israel is come to appear before Jehovah thy God . . . thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing."

2. In other Old Testament books we find such references as these: Joshua 1:8: "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate thereon . . . that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein. . . ." (In v. 7 this was described as "the law which Moses my servant commanded thee.") Joshua 8:31: ". . . as it is written in the book of the law of Moses, an altar of unhewn stones . . ." (i.e., Exod. 20:25). In verse 32: "And he [Joshua] wrote there upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses. . . ." I Kings 2:3: "And keep the charge of Jehovah . . . according to that which is written in the law of Moses . . ." (David being the speaker here). II Kings 14:6 (referring to King Amaziah): "But the children of the murderers he put not to death; according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses, as Jehovah commanded, saying, The fathers, etc." (quoting Deut. 24:16). (The date of this episode was ca. 796 B.C.) II Kings 21:8 (referring to the reign of

Manasseh, 696-642): ". . . if only they will observe to do . . . according to all the law that my servant Moses commanded them." Other references are found in the Old Testament record from the time of Josiah and onward (when, of course, Deuteronomy had been published, and possibly also JE, according to the Wellhausen hypothesis). Always the authorship of the Torah is attributed personally to Moses. Such references are: Ezra 6:18; Nehemiah 13:1; Daniel 9:11-13; Malachi 4:4.

3. The New Testament also witnesses to the Mosaic authorship. Apart from the numerous references to the Torah as "Moses," we select the following quotations which emphasize the personality of the historical Moses. Matthew 19:8: "Moses for your hardness of heart suffered you to put away your wives. . . ." John 5:46, 47: "For if ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings, how shall ye believe my words?" John 7:19: "Did not Moses give you the law, and yet none of you doeth the law?" Acts 3:22: "Moses indeed said, A prophet shall the Lord God raise up unto you . . ." (quoting from Deut. 18:15). Romans 10:5: "For Moses writeth that the man that doeth the righteousness . . ." (quoting Lev. 18:5). It is hard to see how anyone can embrace the Documentary Theory (that Moses wrote not a word of the Law) without attributing either falsehood or error to Christ and the apostles.

B. OTHER INTERNAL EVIDENCES

But now we pass from the direct statements of Scripture itself concerning Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch to another line of evidence which is more indirect, but none the less almost as compelling. The most objective method of dating the composition of any written document is to examine its internal evidences. That is to say, by taking note of the incidental or casual allusions to contemporary historical events, to current issues, geographical or climatic conditions, to the prevalent flora (plant life) and fauna (animal life), and to indications of eyewitness participation, it is possible to come to a very accurate estimate of the place and date of composition. Judging therefore by the internal evidences of the Pentateuchal text we are driven to the conclusion that the author must have been originally a resident of Egypt (not of Palestine), a contemporary eyewitness of the Exodus and wilderness wandering, and possessed of a very high degree of education, learning and literary skill. No one else conforms to these qualifications as closely as Moses the son of Amram. We submit a brief summary of these evidences.

1. Eyewitness details appear in the account of the Exodus which suggest an actual participant in the events, but which would be altogether beyond the ken of an author who lived centuries after the event. For example, in Exodus 15:27 the narrator recalls the exact number of fountains (twelve) and of palm trees (seventy) at Elim. Numbers 11:7, 8

gives the appearance and taste of the manna with which Jehovah fed Israel (doubtless for the benefit of coming generations in conquered Canaan, where Moses knew no manna would fall).

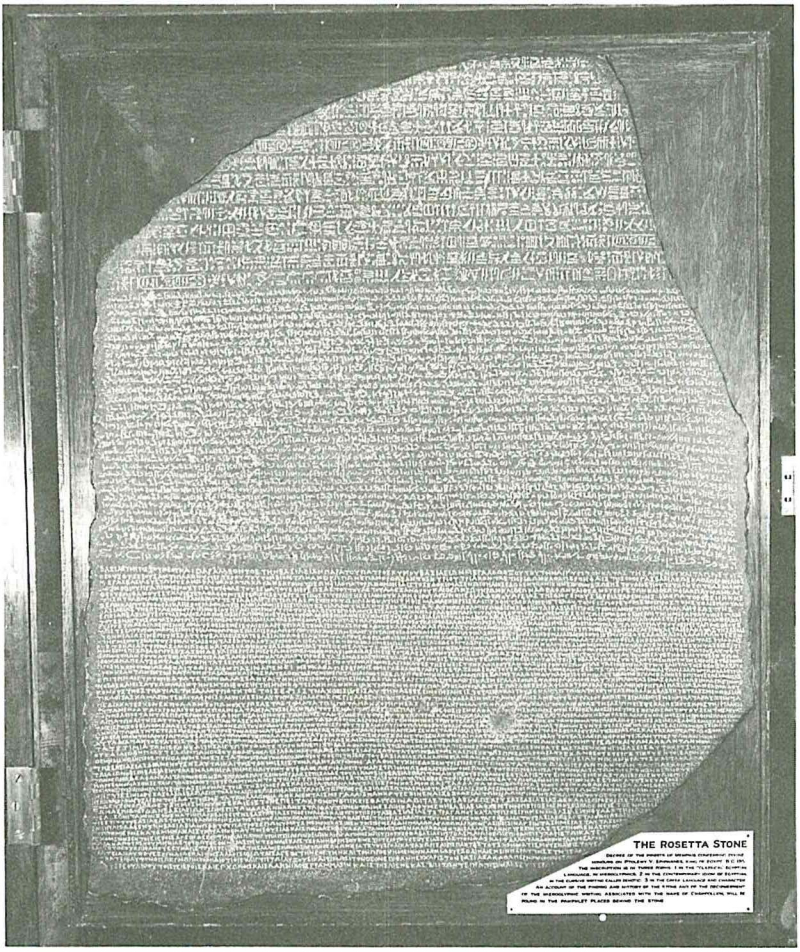
2. The author of Genesis and Exodus shows a thorough acquaintance with Egypt, as one would expect of a participant in the Exodus. (1) He is familiar with Egyptian names, such as (a) *On* as the native name (hieroglyphic *'wnw*) for Heliopolis; (b) Pithom for *Pr-ꜥtm* ("The House of Atum"—a god); (c) Potiphera' for *Pꜥ-d'-pꜥ-R'* ("The Gift of Ra'"—the sun-god); (d) Asenath for *Ns-N't* ("The Favorite of Neith"—a goddess), Joseph's wife; (e) Moses for *Mw-sꜥ*[5] ("Water-son"), or possibly a short form of Thutmose or Ahmose (since Egyptian subjects were often named after the reigning Pharaoh); (f) the special title of honor bestowed on Joseph by Pharaoh: *Zaphenath-pa'neaḥ* (Gen. 41:45), which probably represents the Egyptian *ḏfꜥ w n tꜥ pꜥ 'nḫ*—"Nourisher of the land of the living one" (Pharaoh). (This explanation by Sayce and Yahuda, similar to that of Lieblein, accounts perfectly for all the Hebrew consonants: ṢPNTP'NḤ. Furthermore, names compounded with this same *ḏfꜥ* are known to have been common in Joseph's period.[6] The interpretation favored by Mallon, Steindorff, Barton and Albright: *ḏd pꜥ nṯr 'w·f 'nḫ*—"The god speaks, he lives"—involves major deviations from the Hebrew consonants and does not make as good sense in the context of the situation.)[7]

(2) He uses a greater percentage of Egyptian words than elsewhere in the Old Testament. For example: (a) the expression *'abrēk* (Gen. 41:43—translated, "bow the knee") is apparently the Egyptian *'b rk* (O heart, bow down!"), although many other explanations have been offered for this; (b) weights and measures, such as *zeret* ("a span") from *ḏrt*—"hand"; *'ēphah* ("tenth of a homer") from *'pt; hīn* (about five quarts volume) from *hnw;* (c) *gōme'* ("papyrus") from *ḳmyt;* (d) *qemaḥ* ("flour") from *ḳmḥw* (a type of bread); (e) *šēš* ("fine linen") from *šš*

[5]Yahuda prefers *mw-s* ("water of a lake/sea"), but this hardly makes sense. The traditional Arabic pronunciation, Mūsā, certainly favors *Mw-sꜥ* . (Cf. Chap. 16, p. 211.

[6]For example, in the Fourteenth Dynasty (a century and a half after Joseph's time) we meet with three royal names containing this same term, *ḏfꜥw: Mr-ḏfꜥw-R'* (#186 in Ernest A. T. W. Budge's King-List), *Nb-ḏfꜥw-R'* I (#188) and *Nb-ḏfꜥw-R'* II (#190). That *pꜥ 'nḫ* ("the Living One") was used to refer to the Pharaoh is attested by the name of the Twenty-first Dynasty prince, *Pꜥy 'nḫ*, son of King *Ḥr-Ḥr sꜥ-'mn* (#328 in Budge's list).

[7]Albright points to the names of members of Aaron's family as decisive evidence of authentic Egyptian connection (H. C. Alleman and E. E. Flack, *Old Testament Commentary*, 1948, p. 141). Thus, Phinehas is *p; Nhsy* ("The Nubian"); Ḥophni is probably from *ḫfn(r)* ("tadpole"); Pashḥur from *pš* (or *pšš.t) Ḥr* ("The portion of Horus"); Merari is probably from *mrry* ("Continually beloved"). But at the same time Albright feels that the Egyptian names like Potiphar and Zaphenath-paaneah come from a later period than the Twelfth Dynasty or Hyksos period (when Joseph would have had his career in Egypt). If his identifications are accepted, it must be conceded that the Egyptian definite article *pꜥ*, which appears in these two words, would hardly be expected before the Eighteenth Dynasty (the time of Moses). But we have already indicated that Joseph's Egyptian title is to be otherwise construed, retaining only the *pꜥ* in front of *'nh*, and pointing to the Pharaoh as "that Living One" —a genuine demonstrative use of *pꜥ*, which would be admissible for Twelfth Dynasty.



The Rosetta Stone, key to the decipherment of Egyptian. The decipherment of Near Eastern languages has done much to provide illumination and confirmation of the Biblical text.

(Courtesy of the British Museum)

("linen"); (f) *y^{e}'ōr* ("Nile, river") from *'trw*—"river" (which becomes *eioor* in Coptic).[8]

[8]These examples have been carefully selected so as to avoid two common pitfalls into which some writers have fallen in their discussion of Egyptian loanwords in the Torah. First, they have inadvertently slipped in legitimate loanwords from Egyptian, but which do not occur until the post-Mosaic books of the Old Testament. Secondly, they have included words from Egyptian which were actually borrowed by Egyptian from Semitic dialects (mostly during the Hyksos period or thereafter). Furthermore, they have cited words possessed in common by Egyptian and Hebrew, but which came into both languages from prehistoric times and involved no borrowing from either direction (e.g., such a word as Egyptian *ḥšb*—"reckon," Hebrew *ḥāšab*—"reckon, think," and which exists in Arabic, Ethiopic and Aramaic as well). A fairly complete listing of all Hebrew words having an Egyptian relationship in any of these above-mentioned categories may be found in Erman and Grapow's *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache,* Vol. 6, pp. 243, 244.

One of the most ambitious modern works discussing the Egyptian background of the portion of the Pentateuch which deals with Joseph and Moses in Egypt is Abraham S. Yahuda's *The Language of the Pentateuch in Its Relationship to Egyptian* (1933). Not confining himself to mere loanwords, Yahuda discusses a large number of idioms and turns of speech which are characteristically Egyptian in origin, even though translated into Hebrew. Thus in the strange expression of Genesis 41:40 which the AV renders, "According unto thy word shall all my people be ruled," but which literally says, "According to thy utterance all my people shall kiss" (Hebrew verb *nāšaq*)—Yahuda finds a clarification in the Egyptian use of *śn* ("to kiss") which is used before "food" to indicate eating the food. The titles of the court officials, the polite language used in the interviews with Pharaoh, and the like, are all shown to be true to Egyptian usage.[9]

Another writer, Garrow Duncan, in his *New Light on Hebrew Origins* (1936), devotes pages 73-179 to a demonstration of the minute accuracy and authentic local coloring of the author of the Torah. He remarks: "Thus we cannot but admit that the writer of these two narratives [i.e., of Joseph and of the Exodus] . . . was thoroughly well acquainted with the Egyptian language, customs, belief, court life, etiquette and officialdom; and not only so, but the readers must have been just as familiar with things Egyptian" (p. 176).[10]

[9]It should be added that Yahuda, while very well versed in both Hebrew and Egyptian, leaves himself open to criticism in the matter of methodology. All too often he is content to point to a resemblance between Egyptian usage and that of Moses, without going on to clinch his case by showing that this usage occurs most characteristically in the Pentateuch, rather than in post-Mosaic books of the Old Testament; and that it does not occur in cognate Semitic languages. Thus he adduces the Hebrew *lipney Par'oh* ("in the presence of Pharaoh") as a translation of Egyptian *m ḥr ḥm.f* ("in the presence of his majesty"); but he does not deal with the somewhat similar idiom in Aramaic (*qᵉdom malkā*—"in the presence of the king"). It is true, however, that only Hebrew and Egyptian use the word "face" (Hebrew *pānīm*, Egyptian *ḥr*) in expressing this idiom. Again, he refers (p. 21) to the king's entrusting his signet to Joseph as his vizier; but he does not go on to prove (as he really should) that this was never done by sovereigns in other ancient countries as well. Moreover, some of his Egyptian etymologies require a little more proof than he gives; e.g., that *'ḥ'w* ("time") really was derived from *'ḥ'* "to stand"—hence "the standing," meaning "the term of life." This he connects with the Hebrew *he'ᵉmīd*, "cause to stand" or "raise up," which is used with reference to Pharaoh in Exodus 9:16. The logical connection of all this is a bit tenuous, to say the least. Yet in general it should be recognized that an ample number of pertinent examples are included in Yahuda's discussion to establish his thesis: ". . . a close intimacy between Hebrews and Egyptians prevailed in no other period than that of Israel's sojourn in Egypt; it is only in the Egyptian epoch of Israel that Hebrew would gradually have begun to develop into a literary language, until it reached the perfection which we encounter in the Pentateuch" (p. xxxii).

[10]Duncan's lectures were delivered at Glasgow University. Nevertheless he is to be regarded as a well-read student rather than as an independent scholar. He leaned quite heavily upon Yahuda in this book, for he apparently lacked Yahuda's thorough training in Egyptian. Some of Duncan's sources were antiquated, it would seem, for he refers (on p. 107) to the common title *'my-r* ("overseer") as *mer* (a pronunciation largely abandoned by 1910). However, his argument is in the main well supported and advocates a Mosaic date with cumulative evidence which is impossible to explain away.

Some eminent Egyptologists of Wellhausian persuasion have appealed to Egyptian evidence to prove a late date for the Hebrew narrative. For example, Steindorff (*Aufenthalt Israels,* p. 15) has argued that a more contemporary author would surely have known and mentioned the names of these various Egyptian kings. But Yahuda[11] furnishes a plausible explanation for the fact that the Hebrew records do not mention the names of the Pharaohs until the time of Solomon and thereafter. While the Israelites resided in Egypt, they simply followed the usual custom of New Kingdom Egyptian official language by referring to the king simply as *pr-ʿ;* (Pharaoh)—"Great House," while refraining from mentioning his name in proximity to that particular title (however often they may have mentioned it in connection with other royal titles). Hence instead of being an evidence of lateness, this conformity to Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian usage turns out to be strong evidence of a Mosaic date of composition.

On the other hand, it should be noted that in the later period, for example in the tenth century, the name of the king of Egypt is given without the title of "Pharaoh" preceding it—still conforming to Egyptian usage. An example is the reference to Shishak (Egyptian *Sheshonq*) in I Kings 11:40. Not until the late seventh century and early sixth century does the Hebrew historiographer depart from correct Egyptian usage enough to append to the title "Pharaoh" the actual name of the king; e.g., "Pharaoh-necho" in II Kings 23:29 and "Pharaoh-hophra" in Jeremiah 44:30.

3. The author of the Torah shows a consistently foreign or extra-Palestinian viewpoint so far as Canaan is concerned. (1) The seasons and the weather referred to in the narrative are Egyptian, not Palestinian. (Cf. the reference to crop sequence in connection with the plague of hail, Exod. 9:31, 32. Delitzsch[12] states that this information pinpointed the incident as occurring late in January or early in February.)

(2) The flora and fauna referred to are Egyptian or Sinaitic, never distinctively Palestinian. Thus, the shittim or acacia tree is indigenous to Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula, but not to Palestine (except on the lower shore of the Dead Sea);[13] it is a distinctive desert tree. Out of this material the wood for the tabernacle furniture was to be made. The skins to be used as the outer covering of the tabernacle were to be *taḥash* skins (Exod. 25:5; 36:19), the *taḥash* being a dugong which is found in seas adjacent to Egypt and Sinai but foreign to Palestine.[14] The lists of clean and unclean birds and animals contained in Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14 include some which are peculiar to Sinai (such as the

[11]*Op. cit.,* p. 48.
[12]Keil and Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament, The Pentateuch,* Vol. I, pp. 492-493.
[13]E. W. G. Masterman, "Plant Zones in the Holy Land," ISBE 508b.
[14]See J. Free, *Archaeology and Bible History* (1956), p. 106.

pygarg or *dishōn* of Deut. 14:5 and the ostrich of Lev. 11:16), but none of which are peculiar to Canaan. The wild ox or antelope (Heb. *tᵉ'ō*) of Deuteronomy 14:5 is a native of Upper Egypt and Arabia, but not of Palestine. (Yet it has been reported in Syria, according to *Westminster Dictionary of the Bible,* p. 30a.) In this connection the coney or rock badger (Heb. *shāphān*) of Leviticus 11:5 has often been cited as peculiar to Sinai and Arabia. This is, however, disputed by H. B. Tristram, who claims to have found them as far north as North Galilee and Phoenicia.[15] In all these specific instances, of course, it should be remembered that the distribution of animals tends to become restricted in the course of time. Thus, lions were fairly abundant in the Near East in ancient times, but are in the present day restricted to India and Africa.

(3) Both Egypt and Sinai are very familiar to the author from the standpoint of geography. The narrative of the Exodus route is filled with authentic local references which have been verified by modern archaeology. But the geography of Palestine is comparatively unknown except by patriarchal tradition (in the Genesis narratives). But even in Genesis 13, when the author wishes to convey to his audience some notion of the lush verdure of the Jordan plain, he compares it to "the land of Egypt as thou goest unto Zoar" (v. 10). Again, in a so-called P passage (Gen. 23:2), Hebron is referred to by its pre-Israelite name, Kirjath-arba, and its founding date is explained to the author's public in Numbers 13:22 with reference to the building of Zoan in Egypt (with which they were perfectly familiar, it would seem). Similar is the reference to Shalem (ASV marg.), "a city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan" (Gen. 33:18)—a type of reference impossible to explain if the writer had lived in the post-Exilic generation, after Israel had already been settled in the land of Canaan for nine centuries or more. In general, the author of the Pentateuch seems to regard Palestine as a new, comparatively unknown territory into which the Israelites are going to enter at a future time.

4. The atmosphere of Exodus through Numbers is unmistakably that of the desert, not of an agricultural people settled in their ancestral possessions for nearly a thousand years (as Wellhausen supposed). The tremendous emphasis upon a tabernacle or large tent as the place of worship is altogether out of place for authors living centuries after the temple of Solomon has been built (a temple which differed from the appointments of the tabernacle in many important details). But it would be altogether relevant for a nomadic people constantly on the march through the desert. The materials of which it was to be made are most carefully specified over a large number of chapters. Its central location in the midst of the encampment and the exact location of the twelve tribes on the four sides of it (Num. 2:1-31) have a perfect appropriateness to the generation of Moses, but none whatsoever to any later generation.

[15]Cf. Tristram's *The Natural History of the Bible* (1867), p. 77.

The references to the desert crop up everywhere. The scapegoat is to be sent off into the desert (Lev. 16:10). Sanitary instructions are given for desert life (Deut. 23:12, 13). The exact order of march is specified in Numbers 10:14-20 in a way that would have significance only while the entire population of Israel was concentrated into one large group and was in a process of migration.

5. Particularly in the book of Genesis there are references to archaic customs which are demonstrable for the second millennium B.C., but which did not obtain during the first millennium. Notably in the legal documents discovered at Nuzi and dating from the fifteenth century we discover references to the custom of begetting legitimate children by handmaidens (as Abraham did with Hagar); to the validity of an oral, deathbed will (like Isaac's to Jacob); to the importance of the possession of the family teraphim for the claiming of inheritance rights (which gives point to Rachel's theft of Laban's teraphim in Gen. 31). From other sources comes confirmation of the historical accuracy of the transaction in Genesis 23 whereby Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah.[16]

6. There are significant archaisms in language, as well. For example, the word for the pronoun "she" is frequently spelled *HW'* instead of the regular HY'. We also meet with *N'R* instead of the feminine form *N'RH* for "young girl." Occasionally (i.e., twice in Genesis) *HLZH* (*hallazeh*) appears for demonstrative "that" instead of *hallaz,* the form in use in Judges, Samuel and thereafter. The verb "laugh" is spelled *ṢḤQ* (in Genesis and Exodus) instead of *ŚḤQ;* "lamb" is *KŚB* instead of the later *KBŚ* (*kebeś*). By some scholars it has been argued that there is too little difference between the Hebrew of the Torah and that of eighth century authors like Amos, to allow for the passage of over five centuries. Two factors must be borne in mind here.

(1) The possible changes in pronunciation and form are greatly obscured by the unvoweled, consonantal alphabet in which the Old Testament was preserved until Masoretic times. After all, even Old English would not look so very different from Elizabethan English if both were written in consonants only!

(2) The central importance of the Torah in the education of post-Mosaic youth must have exerted as decisive an influence upon the Hebrew they used as the Koran has had upon thirteen centuries of literary Arabic (which even today is still the same language essentially as that of Muhammad in A.D. 620). In both cases the ancient document furnished a unique divine revelation and an all-comprehensive constitution upon which the entire culture was built. Such a situation makes for extreme conservatism in the development of the literary language.

As for the objection that the Mosaic period was too early for the use of the definite article *ha-* (since other Semitic languages did not develop

[16]See Chap. 13, p. 161.

a word for "the" as early as that), this is easily explained from Israel's exposure to Egyptian influence. It was precisely during the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt that the definite article (*p;, t;, n;*) began to make its appearance even in literary texts, although sporadic occurrences appear even in Twelfth Dynasty texts such as the *Eloquent Peasant.*[17] Undoubtedly this reflected the customary usage in colloquial Egyptian during the age of Moses, and the Hebrews could hardly fail to have felt the need for a similar article in their own language. It is therefore not surprising to find full-fledged use of the article in the prose sections of the Torah (although of course the poetic passages used it very sparingly indeed—as was true of later Hebrew poetry).

All these features (1–6) are easily reconcilable with Mosaic authorship; they are virtually impossible to harmonize with the Wellhausen theory of stage-by-stage composition from the ninth to the fifth centuries. The laws of evidence would seem to demand a rejection of the Documentary Hypothesis as inadequate to account for the actual data. There are in addition two other considerations which point quite definitely in the direction of Moses.

7. There is a most remarkable unity of arrangement which underlies the entire Pentateuch and links it together into a progressive whole, even though successive stages in revelation (during Moses' writing career of four decades) result in a certain amount of overlapping and restatement. By implication even the documentarians are forced to concede this unity by resorting to a hypothetical redactor to explain the orderliness and harmony of arrangement in the final form of the Torah as it has come down to us.[18]

C. MOSES' QUALIFICATIONS

From all that has been recorded concerning Moses himself, it is evident that he had every qualification to be the author of just such a work as the Pentateuch. (1) He had the education and background for authorship, since he received from his ancestors that wealth of oral law which originated from the Mesopotamian cultures back in the time of Abraham (hence the remarkable resemblances to the eighteenth century Code of Hammurabi), and from his tutors in the Egyptian court he received training in those branches of learning in which Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt excelled the rest of the ancient world. (2) From his fore-

[17]See A. H. Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar* (1927), par. 112.

[18]A typical concession as to the remarkable unity of the Pentateuchal legislation is found in these words of Eduard Riehm (*Einleitung in das Alte Testament,* 1889, I, p. 202): "Most of the laws of the middle books of the Pentateuch form essentially a homogeneous whole. They do not indeed all come from one hand, and have not been written at one and the same time. . . . However, they are all ruled by the same principles and ideas, have the same setting, the like form of representation, and the same mode of expression. A multitude of definite terms appear again and again. In manifold ways also the laws refer to one another. Apart from isolated subordinate differences, they agree with one another, and so supplement each other as to give the impression of a single whole, worked out with a marvelous consistency in its details."

bears he would naturally have received an accurate oral tradition of the career of the patriarchs and those revelations which God had vouchsafed to them. (3) He would have a personal knowledge of the climate, agriculture and geography of Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula such as the author of the Pentateuch so patently displays. (4) He would have had every incentive to compose this monumental work, since he was the founding father of the Commonwealth of Israel, and it was upon these moral and religious foundations that his nation was to fulfill its destiny. (5) He certainly had plenty of time and leisure during the slow, tiresome forty years of wandering in the Sinai desert to compose a book several times the size of the Torah. Moreover, he had just come from a culture in which the art of writing was so widely cultivated that even the toilet articles employed by the women in the household contained an appropriate inscription. Writing in both hieroglyphic and hieratic characters was so widely prevalent in the Egypt of Moses' day that it seems absolutely incredible that he would have committed none of his records to writing (as even the twentieth century critics contend), when he had the grandest and most significant matters to record which are to be found in all of human literature. At a time when even the unschooled Semitic slaves employed at the Egyptian turquoise mines in Serabit el-Khadim were incising their records on the walls of their tunnels, it is quite unreasonable to suppose that a leader of Moses' background and education was too illiterate to commit a single word to writing. Thus it turns out that the modern theories which reject Mosaic authorship put more of a strain upon human credulity than can reasonably be borne.

9

VARIATIONS AND DOUBLETS AS CRITERIA FOR SOURCE DIVISION

The Variation between Yahweh and Elohim

As WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN in our review of the history of the Documentary Hypothesis (Chap. 6), the basic criterion for source division followed by the pioneers of this critical school was the occurrence of "Jehovah" (or *Yahweh*) and "God" (*Elohim*) as favorite or preferred names for God in Genesis. The argument was that the prevalence of *Elohim* in Genesis 1 marked it as originating from an author (E or P) who referred to God only by that term, and never employed any other title than this. Correspondingly the preponderance of *Yahweh* in Genesis 2 marked it as coming from a different author (J) who knew God only as Yahweh. It is necessary for us to examine the credibility of this diverse source theory as an adequate explanation for the distribution of these divine titles in Genesis and the rest of the Torah.

From the standpoint of comparative religions, it is very doubtful whether any pagan religious literature of Israel's contemporaries ever referred to a paramount god by one name only to the exclusion of all others. Sometimes the plurality of names was acquired by syncretism of two different pantheons, as in Mesopotamia, where the principal deities were referred to by both their Akkadian and Sumerian names (thus, Bel-Enlil, Anum-Ilu, Ishtar-Inanna, Sin-Nanna, Ea-Enki, Utu-Shamash, etc.). In Ugarit Baal was often referred to as Aliyan, and at Tyre as Melqart. Or else, as in Egypt, equations were made between gods worshiped at different localities, as in the case of Horus, the falcon-headed deity who was son of Osiris, and who presided over the morning phase of the sun; in time he came to be identified with the sun-god Ra or Re as Re-Harakhti. Osiris himself was known as Wennefer as well as by other titles. In the Greek pantheon we find the pairs of titles like Pallas-Athene and Phoebus-Apollo and Zeus-Kronion, which appear side by side in Homer's epics without any suspicion on the part of scholars

that they indicate diverse literary sources. It is difficult to see why only the Hebrews should have been incapable of variety in referring to their supreme Deity.

A most impressive parallel to the irregular distribution of the two divine names in the Torah is furnished by the sacred scriptures of the Muslims, the Koran. No one can question the unity of authorship of the Koran, and yet we meet with a similar phenomenon in this Arabic text. The name *Allahu* corresponds to *Elohim,* and *Rabbu* (*"lord"*) is equivalent to the *Adonay* ("Lord") which the later Jews used in referring to Yahweh. In some suras (chapters) of the Koran we find the two terms intermingled, but in others only the one or the other appears. For example, in the following suras the name Rabbu never occurs: 4, 9,. 24, 33, 48, 49, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 86, 88, 95, 101, 102, 103, 104, 107, 109, 111, 112. On the other hand, the following suras never use the name Allahu: 15, 32, 54, 55, 56, 68, 75, 78, 83, 87, 89, 92, 93, 94, 99, 100, 105, 106, 108, 113, 114. Here we have indisputable evidence that ancient Semitic literature was capable of selective use of divine names even though composed by the same author.

One remarkable feature of the Wellhausian source division is the occasional appearance of the wrong name in the "Jehovistic" and "Elohistic" portions of the Pentateuch. Early in the development of this multiple-document theory an effort was made to bolster the case for diversity of authorship by drawing up lists of near synonyms which were supposed to occur only in the one "source" or the other. (For example, of the two words for "female slave," *shiphah* was assigned exclusively to J and *amah* to E[1]; the name *Sinai* was assigned to J and P, the name *Horeb* was reserved for E and D.)

Despite the effort to keep these "characteristic words" and their appropriate divine names in their separate water-tight compartments, occasional leaks have occurred, so to speak. Thus we discover that Elohim occurs in such J passages as Genesis 3:1-5 (where the serpent thus refers to God); Genesis 16:13 (where Hagar calls the name of Jehovah: "Thou art an *El* that seeth"); Genesis 32:28, 29 (Jacob at Peniel is said to have striven with Elohim, and received the name *Yiśra-El,* or Israel). On the

[1]In regard to this assignment of *amah* to E and *shiphah* to J, it should be noted that Genesis 20, the first considerable portion of E appearing in Genesis, uses *shiphah* in verse 14 (the alleged J word), and *amah* in verse 17. In order to salvage the situation, critics like Holzinger in his commentary on Genesis are constrained to delete *shiphah* from verse 14 on the ground that "E does not use the word." (Cf. G. C. Aalders, SIP 39.) He does the same thing to *shiphah* in Genesis 30:18, another E passage, with the assertion, "This word in the text of E cannot be original." Here we have a striking example of circular reasoning. Because this word occurs in J passages, it must have been used only by J; but wherever it was used in E sections it must be a J insertion, or a blunder by a later redactor. By this methodology one can prove anything one likes, so far as vocabulary is concerned. But it should hardly masquerade as a scientific handling of the textual evidence.

other hand, *Yahweh* occurs in such E passages as Genesis 22:11 (where the angel of Jehovah restrains Abraham from plunging the knife into Isaac) and verse 14 (where Abraham calls the place "Jehovah-jireh"); Genesis 28:17-22 (where Jacob makes a vow, saying, "Jehovah will be my God"). Yahweh also occurs in such P passages as Genesis 7:16; 14:22; and 17:1. Despite all the vigilance of the source critics with their scissors and paste, a few slips like these have occurred, even though the general practice was to slice a verse in two where the compound name Yahweh-Elohim occurs (e.g., Gen. 2:4, where 4a is assigned to P and 4b to J), rather than allow the wrong name to appear and thus embarrass the theory.

It has already been pointed out[2] that serious objection was raised against using the names as a criterion for source division on the ground of the numerous discrepancies which occur between the name appearing in the MT and that employed in the LXX translation. This threw doubt upon the soundness of any process of separation which depended so completely upon the infallibility of the MT in the transmission of *Yahweh* and *Elohim,* when inaccuracy was charged against it by those same critics in practically all the rest of the Torah. The actual data of the Hebrew documents themselves do not well sustain the old Astruc theory that a different name necessarily indicates a different author.

What explanation does account for the distribution of *Yahweh* and *Elohim* throughout the Torah? A careful study of the etymology and usage of the two names indicates that the name chosen depended upon the context of the situation. *Elohim* (which is perhaps derived from a root meaning "powerful," "strong" or "foremost") is used to refer to God as the Almighty Creator of the universe and Lord over nature and mankind in general. Hence only *Elohim* is appropriate in Genesis 1, since the subject there dealt with is creation. *Yahweh,* on the other hand, is the covenant name of God, which is reserved for situations in which some covenant engagement of God is involved. Thus in Genesis 2 this name is almost exclusively used, because the subject matter is God's gracious dealing with Adam and Eve under the covenant of works. In Genesis 3 it is the serpent, as the agent or embodiment of Satan, who stands in no covenant relationship with God, and hence refers to Him as *Elohim*—an example which Eve also follows as long as she is talking with the serpent. But it is *Jehovah* God who calls out to Adam (3:9) and reproves Eve (3:13), and who also, as covenant-keeping God of the repentant couple, lays a curse upon the serpent (3:14).

This distinction between the two names of God was clearly perceived and defined by Rabbi Jehuda Hallevi as long ago as the twelfth century A.D., when he defined *Elohim* as the divine name in general, whereas

[2]See Chap. 7, p. 84.

Adonay specified the God of revelation and covenant. Even Kuenen felt constrained to concede: "The original distinction between Jahweh and Elohim very often accounts for the use of one of these appellations in preference to the other."[3] A little later he comments:[4] "The history of critical investigation has shown that far too much weight has often been laid on agreement in the use of the divine names. . . . It is well, therefore, to utter a warning against laying an exaggerated stress on this one phenomenon." An admission like this would seem to indicate qualms as to the validity of the most fundamental of all the criteria for source division, even on the part of a principal architect of the Documentary Hypothesis.

Although the documentarians belong to a school of thought that scornfully rejects any attempt to establish Christian doctrines by proof texts, they have occasionally become stalwart champions of the proof-text method themselves; that is, insisting on a literal interpretation of the words of a single verse or two quite irrespective of context or of the analogy of Scriptural teaching elsewhere. In no instance is this more striking than in their treatment of Exodus 6:2, 3 ("I am Yahweh: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as El Shaddai; but by my name *Yahweh* I was not known *[lō nōʷdaʿtī]* to them"). This is pressed to mean that according to this author (E) the name *Jehovah* was first revealed to Moses. (J, however, did not know about this later tradition and assumed that *Jehovah* was appropriate for the pre-Mosaic narrative as well.) But this involves a very superficial analysis of the Hebrew verb "to know" (*yāda*ʿ), and of the implications in Hebrew of knowing a person's *name*. That it could not be meant in a baldly literal sense is shown by the absurdity of supposing that the entire ten plagues were necessary to convince the Egyptians (Exod. 14:4: " . . . and the Egyptians shall know that I am Jehovah") that the God of the Hebrews was named Yahweh. Obviously both in Exodus 6:7 ("Ye shall know that I am Jehovah your God, who bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians") and in 14:4 the implication is that they shall witness God's covenant faithfulness in delivering His people and destroying or punishing their foes. They will thus come to know Him by experience as Jehovah, the covenant God. The expression "to know that I am Jehovah" occurs at least twenty-six times in the Old Testament, and in every instance it conveys this same idea. Hebrew usage therefore indicates clearly enough that Exodus 6:3 teaches that God, who in earlier generations had revealed Himself as El Shaddai (God Almighty) by deeds of power and mercy, would now in Moses' generation reveal Himself as the covenant-keeping Jehovah by His marvelous deliverance of the whole

[3]Abraham Kuenen, *Hexateuch* (1886), p. 56.
[4]*Ibid.* p. 61.

nation of Israel. As Orr points out,[5] the "name" (Heb. *shēm*) denotes the revelation side of God's being.[6]

It is quite significant that in recent years even some of the leading liberal scholars in Europe have surrendered the traditional Wellhausian exegesis of Exodus 6:3. Thus Ivan Engnell (*Gamla Testamentet,* 1955): "The different divine names have different ideological associations and therewith different import. Thus, Yahweh is readily used when it is a question of Israel's national God, indicated as such over against foreign gods, and where the history of the patriarchs is concerned, while on the other hand Elohim, 'God,' gives more expression to a 'theological' and abstract-cosmic picture of God in larger and more moving contexts. . . . So then, it is the traditionist, *the same* traditionist, who varies in the use of the divine names, not the 'documents.'"[7] So also Sigmund Mowinckel:[8] "It is not E's view that Yahweh is here revealing a hitherto unknown name to Moses. Yahweh is not telling his name to one who does not know it. Moses asks for some 'control' evidence that his countrymen may know, when he returns to them, that it is really the God of their fathers

[5]James Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament* (1907), p. 225.

[6]At this point a word should be said about the etymological significance of the name *Yahweh.* It is usually inferred from Exodus 3:14 that it meant "He is." "I am that I am" is the Hebrew *'ehyeh 'ašer 'ehyeh,* which comes from the verb *hayah,* "to become or be." From the Aramaic equivalent, *hᵃwa',* we may infer that the Hebrew verb was originally pronounced *hawah.* Therefore in Moses' day *'ᵉhyeh* may have been pronounced *'ᵃhweh.* If Moses, then, went down to Egypt and declared of God "He is" (rather than adhering to the first person "I am"), he would have said *Yahweh.* But if *Yahweh* means "He is," are we to understand this as an affirmation of God's eternal existence? (So even Orr interprets it: "The Self-Existent One"; the French version construes it as *l'Eternel.*)

There are two objections to this: (a) the verb *hayah* never expresses mere ontological existence, but rather the notion of "happen, become, enter into a new condition or state or relationship"; (b) the name *Yahweh* is never used in contexts which affirm God's eternal existence as such, but rather (as we have seen) in a covenantal context. This accords perfectly with the characteristic affirmation of the covenant: "I shall be—*'ehyeh*—their God and they shall be—*yihyū*—my people." Thus in Exodus 6:7: "I *will be* to you a God; and ye shall know that I am Jehovah"; i.e., He is (the covenant God of His covenant people).

Other suggestions have been made, however, which deny the interpretation "He is" in either sense. W. F. Albright (SAC 16) and D. N. Freedman (JBL 79, II, 1960, 151-156) construe Yahweh as a *hiphil* form, *yahyeh*: "He causes to be." This they derive from the phrase "Yahweh Ṣebaoth" (AV's "Lord of Hosts"), which they understand to have meant originally: "He causes hosts to come into existence." This would accord better with the *a*-vowel in *Yahweh* than would the above-mentioned explanation, "He is" (which theoretically ought to have been *yihweh* rather than *yahweh*). But a well-nigh fatal objection to this interpretation is found in the fact that *Yahweh* is never actually used in the Old Testament to emphasize God's role as Creator, but rather as God of the covenant. Moreover, this particular verb never occurs in the *hiphil* anywhere in the Old Testament.

Still others have denied any connection at all with the verb "to be" (*hāyah*), feeling that it would hardly have existed in an earlier form, *hāwah.* Theophile J. Meek of Toronto (*Hebrew Origins,* 1960 ed., p. 116) insists that it comes from a verb existing in Arabic as *hawav,* "to blow." Therefore "He blows" would be the name of a storm-god of the Sinai desert. This of course imputes a polytheistic origin to Israel's religion, and utterly fails to account for the covenantal frame of reference exhibited by the name *Yahweh* as actually used in the Old Testament.

[7]Apud *Old Testament and Modern Study,* p. 66.

[8]Quoted in *Old Testament and Modern Study,* p. 54.

that has sent him . . . the whole conversation presupposes that the Israelites knew the name already."

Other Variations in Diction and Style

It has already been suggested that from the earliest days of the Documentary Hypothesis, in the time of Astruc and Eichhorn, an effort was made to bolster the theory of separate sources by drawing up lists of distinctive words which were alleged to have been used only by J or E, as the case might be, and not by the other source. Examples have been given earlier in this chapter; for instance, the synonyms for "female slave" (*shiphah* and *amah,* assigned to J and E respectively) and the variant geographical terms Horeb (E or D) and Sinai (J or P). Yet these lists seem to have been made out by very dubious, question-begging methods which tend to vitiate the whole procedure. These methods are as follows.

1. The various types of subject matter have been strictly segregated and parceled out to the various "sources" on a compartmentalized basis. Thus, vivid biographical narrative has all been assigned to J, etiological legends are usually attributed to E, and statistics or genealogical lists or ritual prescriptions to P. Naturally each type of subject matter tends toward a specialized vocabulary, and this would account for the preference for certain words or idioms in one genre as over against another. The style and vocabulary employed in a newspaper editorial are apt to differ quite markedly from those of a sports write-up, even though the same author may have composed them both. One could draw up similar lists of specialized terms appearing in Milton's essay *Areopagitica* as over against his tractate on divorce; yet they were both by the same author.

2. In selecting characteristic words for each list, the critics have been forced to resort to interpolations in order to explain the occurrence of a P word in a J passage, or a J word in an E passage. It is necessary, for example, to assign to P all of the occurrences of "and Aaron" in Exodus 8, even the J passages such as verses 1-4 and 8-15. This is because of the critical dogma that Aaron was an unhistorical personage not invented until the time of the composition of the Priestly Code. Similarly, when Padan-aram (a P name) occurs in Genesis 31:18 (an E section) the second half of verse 18 is awarded to P, leaving the rest of verses 4-45 to E (thus salvaging the dictum that Padan-aram occurs only in P, as over against Aram-naharaim, which is employed by JE and D). But this is a question-begging procedure. The initial contention was that the Hebrew text itself could only be accounted for by diverse sources using specialized vocabulary; but wherever the Hebrew text embarrasses the theory by coming up with the "wrong" word, that offending word must straightway be dealt with as an interpolation from another "source." By such methods as these it would be possible to take any literary composition

ever written and divide it up into diverse sources, explaining away all inconvenient discrepancies as mere interpolations.

The documentarians have also assumed without proof that ancient Hebrew authors were incapable of variety in their modes of expression; variety in the Biblical text can only be explained by diversity of authorship. Yet it is well known that in the literature of other nations the accomplished writer was very apt to employ variety of phrase in order to avoid monotony. This is particularly apparent in parallelistic poetry, such as Genesis 30:23, 24: "And she conceived, and bore a son: and said, 'Elohim has taken away my reproach'; and she called his name Joseph (Yōsēp), saying, 'May Jehovah add (*yōsēp*) to me another son.'" While this statement of Rachel's is not poetry in the technical sense, it partakes of the parallelistic flavor of poetic style. It is obvious from the word play—*Yōsēp, yōsēp*—that this verse is a single unit. Yet because of the artificial criterion followed by Wellhausians, they feel constrained to parcel out the first clause to E and the second to J.

A similiar example is in Genesis 21:1, 2: (a) "And Jehovah visited Sarah as He had said, (b) and Jehovah did to Sarah as He had spoken. (c) And Sarah conceived, and bore Abraham a son in his old age, (d) at the set time of which Elohim had spoken to him." Under the constraint of their theory, the critics have assigned (a) and (c) to J, and (b) and (d) to P. Yet the fact that even (b) contains "Jehovah" occasions them considerable embarrassment, since a P passage prior to Exodus 6:3 should read "Elohim." (The LXX here reads *Kyrios,* or the equivalent of "Jehovah," in all three instances.)

It should also be recognized that variety may be used by a single author for the sake of emphasis or vividness. For example, in the Exodus account of Pharaoh's refusal to release the Israelite population, three different verbs are used to refer to his obstinacy in the face of the ten plagues: *ḥāzaq* ("become strong or bold") or *ḥizzēq* ("to make strong or bold"), *hiqshah* ("make hard"), and *hikbīd* ("make heavy or insensible"). The critics assign the first to P and E, the second to P alone, and the third to J. But actually these are used with a fine discrimination by the Hebrew author to describe the progressive hardening of the king's heart, first as a result of his own willful refusal, and then as a result of God's judicial blinding of His stubborn foe. Thus in Exodus 7:13 we read that Pharaoh's heart "became bold" (*ḥāzaq*) (a P verse); the next verse (14) quotes Jehovah as remarking on the new condition of Pharaoh's heart as being "heavy" or "stubborn" (*kābēd*), which is a very natural sequence psychologically. This alternation between *ḥāzaq* and *hikbīd* (Pharaoh's voluntary response and God's judicial hardening of his heart) continues throughout the narrative (Exod. 7–9) according to a deliberate plan on the part of the author. Critics have completely overlooked this in their artificial parceling up between P and J.

In other cases the variety of phrasing may be employed to emphasize or amplify some statement of particular importance. Thus, in the death notices of women such as Deborah, Rebekah's nurse (Gen. 35:8), or Rachel (35:19), it is described in simple terms: "She died and was buried." But in the case of the patriarchs, such as Abraham (Gen. 25:8), Isaac (35:29) and Jacob (49:33), the formula is more solemn and elaborate: "He gave up the ghost (*gāwa'*) and died, and was gathered to his people, and his sons buried him." Yet the documentarians, ignoring this obvious distinction, assign the obituaries of the women to E and the patriarchal obituaries to P, after a mechanical and artificial type of dissection. On the other hand, they leave many other passages undisturbed, even though they show precisely similar variety in the wording; for example, verses like Exodus 1:7 ("And the children of Israel were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty; and the land was filled with them"– all of which is assigned to P); or chapters like Genesis 24, with its four different designations of Rebekah ("damsel," "woman," "virgin," and "maiden")—all assigned to J (cf. Allis, FBM 63, 64).

The critics have always regarded the longer form of the pronoun "I" (*ānōkī*) as earlier in usage than the shorter form (*ᵃnī*), and therefore a criterion for source division. Hence the formula "I am Jehovah" (*ānōkī Yahweh*) in Exodus 20:2, 5 is assigned to JE, and its occurrence in Deuteronomy 5:6, 9 would presumably be a repetition from this earlier (JE) tradition. Actually, however, the choice between *ᵃnī* and *ānōkī* is partly governed by convention or cliché; the usual phrasing for "I am Jehovah" is *ᵃnī Yahweh,* and it occurs also in J (Gen. 28:13; Exod. 7:17), even in contexts that freely employ *ānōki* for "I." The argument of the critics based on the high preponderance of *ᵃnī* in an Exilic author like Ezekiel overlooks the fact that sixty of its occurrences in Ezekiel (as well as nearly fifty in P) consist in this same stereotyped expression, *ᵃnī Yahweh* (cf. Allis, FBM 65). But the whole argument has more recently been rendered ridiculous by the discovery of both forms of the pronoun almost side by side in the fifteenth century Ugaritic inscriptions.[9] This is a striking instance of how untrustworthy are the lines of argument used to buttress the Documentary Theory. Post-Wellhausian archaeological discovery overthrows the "assured results" of Wellhausian scholarship and demonstrates the unreliability of deductions based upon ignorance.

Supposed Doublets and Parallel Accounts

From the earliest days of the Documentary Theory a principal line of argument resorted to for proving the existence of diverse sources in the Pentateuch has been the asserted existence of doublets and parallel accounts. The two creation accounts, the differing strands in the Flood

[9]See Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Handbook* (1947), §49, II, 15-21.

narrative, the three namings of Isaac, and the like, have assertedly resulted from a clumsy combination of diverse traditions of the same event. Some later editor or redactor has gathered these all together in such a way as to leave many of the discrepancies still in the text, making possible a scientific disassembling of the parts by a discerning critic. This type of analytic dissection has its principal appeal to those who are already committed to the theory of multiple authorship. Those who come to the text with an open mind fail to note any such divergencies as they read it through.

1. In the case of the supposed pair of creation accounts, Genesis 1 stemming from P in Exilic or post-Exilic times, and Genesis 2 from J in the ninth century, it should be observed that Genesis 2 does not even purport to be an account of the creation of the world. It has only to do with the creation of Adam and the environment (Eden) in which he was set. Most scholars agree that Genesis 2:4 ("These are the generations *[tōlᵉdōt]* of the heavens and of the earth in the day that Jehovah Elohim made earth and heaven") constitutes the heading of the section which ensues (even though the two names for God compel source critics to parcel the verse up between J and P). But *tōlᵉdōt* nowhere else expresses the idea of creation. In the nine other occurrences of this formula ("these are the generations") found in the Torah it always introduces an ensuing account of the offspring of an ancestor through the successive generations descended from him. Obviously therefore we are dealing in Genesis 2 with an account of the offspring of heaven and earth (in this case, principally Adam and Eve) after the initial creation has already taken place.

There is, however, an element of recapitulation involved, for the creation of the human race is related all over again (cf. Gen. 2:7 and 1:26, 27). But this technique of recapitulation was widely practiced in ancient Semitic literature. The author would first introduce his account with a short statement summarizing the whole transaction, and then he would follow it up with a more detailed and circumstantial account when dealing with matters of special importance. To the author of Genesis 1, 2 the human race was obviously the crowning or climactic product of creation, and it was only to be expected that he would devote a more extensive treatment to Adam after he had placed him in his historical setting (the sixth creative day). It is a mistake to suppose that Genesis 2 indicates the creation of the animal order as taking place after the origin of man. It only states that the particular individuals brought before Adam for naming had been especially fashioned by God for this purpose. (It does not imply that there were no animals anywhere else in the world prior to this time.) Or else, as Aalders suggests (SIP 44), the word "formed" (in Gen. 2:19) can equally well be translated "had formed" (since the He-

brew perfect tense does double duty for both past tense and past perfect). This would mean that God brought before Adam every beast and fowl which He had *previously* formed out of the earth. Lastly, the obvious fact should be noted that no genuine creation account would ever omit mention of the creation of the sun, moon, stars, earth and seas, as Genesis 2 does.

2. As to the diverse Flood narratives (Gen. 6–8 being parceled out between J and P), it should be observed that the unbiased reader is unable to detect any diverse elements in these three chapters as they stand in the MT, and that divergencies are made possible only by an artificial process of dissection. It is only an unproved assumption to insist, as Wellhausen did, that the general command to take two of every species into the ark (P) is incompatible with the exceptional provision to take seven of every "clean" species (J). To the ordinary reader the basis for the distinction is plain enough, and by no means involves irreconcilable viewpoints. The same thing is true concerning the number of days during which the Flood lasted. It is contended that J makes out the Flood to be forty days in length (Gen. 7:12, 17; 8:6—plus two more weeks for the sending out of the dove), where P makes it 150 days (Gen. 7:24). But a consecutive reading of the whole narrative makes it apparent that the author put the length of the downpour itself at forty days, whereas the prevalence of the water level above the highest portions of the land surface endured for 150 days (for 7:24 does not say that it rained during that entire period).

Allis points out (FBM 95-97) that only in the three major points of emphasis in the Flood narrative is it possible to make out "parallel accounts," namely: the sinfulness of man as the cause of the Flood; the destruction of all flesh as the purpose of the Flood; the rescuing of a representative remnant of man and beast from the destruction of the Flood. These three elements are stressed by the characteristic Hebrew device of restatement in slightly different terms after suitable intervals in between. But outside these three elements it is almost impossible to make out parallel accounts which do not depend upon each other for missing details. For example, according to the critical analysis, J makes reference to the ark without any explanation as to its construction. Only P records the entering of Noah and his family into the ark (Gen. 7:13-16a), except that J states Jehovah shut them in the ark (even though the author of J apparently does not state how they got in there). Only J knows about the sending forth of the birds for reconnoitering purposes (8:6-12); P says nothing about it.

It is fair to say, therefore, that the actual data of the text are easily reconcilable with unity of authorship, but furnish serious obstacles to a division into two divergent sources. It is also peculiar, if the Genesis

Flood narrative is made up of two strata separated by nearly four centuries in origin, that the Babylonian account of the Flood (found in the Gilgamesh Epic) includes both J elements and P elements in its version of the episode. Thus, it speaks of the measurements of the ark (a P element), and of the sending forth of the birds (a detail from J), and of the offering up of a sacrifice of thanksgiving after the Flood was over (likewise from J). The Babylonian parallels make the conclusion almost unavoidable that both the J portion and the P portion of Genesis 6–8 are of equal antiquity, and go back ultimately to the same oral tradition as did the Utnapishtim episode in the Gilgamesh Epic. The Babylonian account in turn shows noteworthy dependence upon a centuries-older Sumerian account (Pritchard, ANET 42-44).

3. Other alleged doublets in Genesis may be discussed more briefly. There are said to be three accounts of the naming of Isaac (Gen. 17:17—P; 18:12—J; and 21:6—E). But there is no particular reason why both Abraham and Sarah should not have laughed with incredulity, as each in turn heard the prediction of his birth, and then at last laughed with joy.

4. As for the two accounts of Joseph's abduction to Egypt, the J account that the Ishmaelites bought him (Gen. 37:25), and the E account that the Midianites took him (37:28), this duality of names simply points to a fact well known to the author's contemporaries, that the Midianites were accounted a sub-tribe of the Ishmaelites. In Judges 8:24 we read concerning the kings of Midian, Zebah and Zalmunna, and their followers: "For they had golden earrings, because they were Ishmaelites." Originally, to be sure, Midian was descended from Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25:2), but the Ishmaelite tribes and Keturah tribes seem to have become interrelated in north Arabia because of their common descent from Abraham.

5. The two episodes where Abraham passed off Sarah as his sister, before Pharaoh (Gen. 12:10-20), and before Abimelech of Gerar (Gen. 20:1-18), are alleged to be variant forms of the same original legend. But the supposition that men never make the same mistake twice, or yield to the same temptation more than once, is, to say the least, naive, especially when we consider the fact that Abraham came out financially better off on both occasions.

6. As for the episode in Genesis 26:6-11 where Isaac resorted to the same subterfuge in regard to his wife Rebekah, and did so moreover at Gerar at a time when an Abimelech was king of the Philistines, it is to be conceded that there are remarkable points of resemblance with the E account in Genesis 20 (where Abraham and Sarah are involved). But before we resort to the Wellhausian explanation of a garbled version of the same tradition (Gen. 26 being attributed to J), we must satisfy our-

selves on these several points: (1) that sons never repeat the bad example of their parents; (2) that the inhabitants of Gerar must necessarily have improved their sexual morals by the time Isaac settled among them; (3) that Philistine dynasties never handed on the same name from ruler to ruler (i.e., Abimelech I, Abimelech II, etc.), even though this was demonstrably the practice in Egypt (whose Dynasty XII showed such a series as Amenemhat I, II and III, and also Senwosret I, II and III) and in Phoenicia (where a succession of Hirams or Ahirams ruled at Tyre and Byblos). It ought to be pointed out, incidentally, that both the Egyptian adventure of Abraham in Genesis 12 (where he denied that Sarah was his wife) and the Gerar episode of Isaac (Gen. 26) are attributed to J by the documentarians. Here, then, is an instance where a doublet does not indicate necessarily a difference in source. The same is true of Jacob's second visit to Bethel (when he gives it the name Bethel a second time); E records this second visit (Gen. 35:1-8) as distinct from the first (Gen. 28:18-22). Here again is a "parallel account" which is conceded to stem from the same source.

7. There are two accounts of the flight of Hagar from Abraham's home. The one in Genesis 16:4-14 is attributed to J (relating how she fled before Ishmael was born) and the E account, Genesis 21:9-21, relates how she fled again when Ishmael was already a young lad. But considering the tensions existing between Sarah and Hagar over the years, was it not reasonable for two such incidents to occur at different times and under dissimilar circumstances? Does not history abound in such repeated episodes in the lives of other important personages, such as Bishop Athanasius and his three banishments (in A.D. 335, 339 and 356)? (Would not the same type of divisive literary criticism have to parcel out these three banishments to three different "sources" whose several traditions have later been combined by a redactor?)

8. As for the two namings of the well at Beersheba, the first time under Abraham in Genesis 21:31 (attributed to E), and the second time under Isaac in Genesis 26:33 (attributed to J), there is no compelling necessity for regarding these as variant traditions of the same original episode. Considering the nomadic habits of Abraham and his immediate descendants, it is altogether likely that the hostile inhabitants of the locality would have stopped up the well after the Hebrew sheikh had moved away. Upon Isaac's return to the old familiar rangeland would it not be quite natural for him to open the well again and piously to revive the old name which his father had given to it? Would it not be expedient for him also to confirm his right to the well by a renewed treaty (confirmed by a *shib'ah* or "oath") with the then ruler of the land? (Here it should be observed that the word "shib'ah" is but the feminine form of the word "sheba" in the name "Beersheba"; they both mean "oath.")

Hebrew Style One Answer to Doublets

Part of the answer to the theory of doublets may be found in the nature of Hebrew literary style. O. T. Allis has pointed out (FBM 94ff.) that there are three traits of Hebrew style which are well known to have been practiced by individual Hebrew authors but which can easily be exploited by modern division-minded critics for dissection into hypothetical "sources." These three traits are: paratactic sentence structure; repetition of elements of major importance; poetic parallelism. A few words of explanation are appropriate at this point.

1. Paratactic sentence structure refers to the characteristic technique of Hebrew rhetoric by which subordinate or interdependent ideas are linked together by the simple connective "and" (Heb. *w*^{e}-). For example, in Genesis 1:14, where the idea expressed in an Indo-European language would employ a purpose clause ("Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven *in order to* serve as signs and seasons, etc.") the Hebrew author says: "Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven . . . *and* they shall be for signs, and seasons, etc." Or again, Isaiah 6:7 literally reads: "Lo, this has touched thy lips; *and* thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin is being atoned for." But what Isaiah meant to convey here was: "Lo, this has touched thy lips *in order that* thine iniquity may be removed and thy sin be atoned for." This same Hebrew particle "and" may be used to convey the temporal idea of "when," or the circumstantial idea of "while," or the consequential idea of "then," or the epexegetic idea of "even" or "that is to say." This versatility of *w*^{e}- is universally conceded by Hebrew grammarians. But a dissection-minded critic may easily carve up these component elements of a Mosaic sentence on the supposition that fragments of diverse sources have been clumsily glued together by a later redactor who simply used an "and" to link them together. If a Hebrew author had written his material in classical Greek, for example, or in Latin, much of this divisive analysis of the Wellhausian school would have been well-nigh impossible, for in those languages subordinate conjunctions or participles are customarily employed to express the same ideas as Hebrew expresses in paratactic form.

2. The second trait is the tendency to repeat in slightly varied form those elements of the narrative which are of especial importance. One example of this technique has already been given in connection with the Flood narrative. It was there pointed out how the repetition of the three major points of emphasis has furnished divisionists with their only convenient material for dissection, whereas the rest of the account shows no evidence whatsoever of multiple sources. Somewhat similar is the series of chapters recounting the ten plagues (Exod. 7–11). In some cases a plague is fully described in five characteristic parts: threat, command, exe-

cution, supplication for removal, and cessation. For source critics it is a perfectly simple matter (although purely artificial) to parcel these out among hypothetical authors. Thus the threat and cessation are given to J, while the command and execution are assigned to P. But in the case of the less grievous plagues the description is briefer and they have to be distributed more or less intact to one source. Hence the plagues of lice and of boils are assigned to P without anything left over for J or E. By this arbitrary arrangement J knows only of seven plagues, P comes up with only five, and E with only four (plus a fifth which is only threatened but never carried out). Consequently no two of these sources agree as to the number or nature of the plagues, and each of them needs the information contained in the others in order to complete the series of ten.

3. A third characteristic of Hebrew style which lends itself to artificial source division is poetic parallelism. Parallelism is the term given to the balanced structure of paired clauses which is employed so extensively in Hebrew verse, such as Psalm 24:1: "The earth is Jehovah's and the fullness thereof;/The world, and they that dwell therein." As can be seen from this example, corresponding synonyms are employed in the two members of the parallelism: "earth" corresponds to "world," and "fullness" corresponds to "they that dwell therein." In parallelistic style it is most natural to employ different titles for God in order to avoid monotony. Thus in Genesis 30:23 we read: "*Elohim* has taken away (*āsaf*) my reproach," says Rachel; "May *Yahweh* add (*yōsef*) to me another son" (v. 24). The word play between *āsaf* and *yāsaf* links these two clauses together as a single utterance. But the dogma about divine names compels the documentarians to assign verse 23 to E and verse 24 to J. By so doing they violate the obvious parallelism which is such an integral part of exalted utterance in ancient Hebrew.

Careful examination of the alleged doublets and parallel accounts—so stressed by Kuenen and Wellhausen as criteria for source division—tends to show that these phenomena are capable of a far more natural and unforced explanation of the basis of single authorship than is possible on the theory of multiple sources. The JEDP Hypothesis does not really square with all the evidence, and it treats much of its allegedly supporting data in a way that would never be admissible in a court of law. Moreover, the methodology of this type of literary criticism is all the more suspect because it proves to be so facile an instrument for dividing up even compositions which are universally acknowledged to be of single authorship.

W. H. Green gave an excellent illustration on this in his "documentarian" analysis of the parable of the prodigal son in Luke 15.[10] In this parody of Wellhausen's technique, he points out that source "A" and source "B" agree that there were two sons, one of whom received a por-

[10]*Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1896), pp. 119-122.

tion of his father's property, and was subsequently reduced to penury through his own extravagance. But only "A" distinguishes the sons as elder and younger; "B" makes no mention of their relative ages. In "A" the younger obtained his share of the inheritance by solicitation, while his father retained the rest for himself; according to "B" the father divided up the inheritance between the two sons on his own initiative. "A" states that the prodigal remained in his father's neighborhood and reduced himself to penury by riotous living; in "B" he went to a distant country and spent all his property, but did not indulge in any unseemly excesses. Green carries this through exactly in the manner of S. R. Driver, complete with characteristic "A" words and "B" words which have been inserted in the wrong place by a bungling redactor. Green then proceeds to do the same thing with the parable of the Good Samaritan. Being thoroughly versed in the methodology of the Wellhausian school he handles his material as if he were an accredited member of the guild, and thus demonstrates its artificiality.

10

LATE WORDS AND ARAMAISMS AS CRITERIA FOR SOURCE DIVISION

ONE OF THE MOST IMPOSING CRITERIA resorted to by divisive criticism, in demonstrating the lateness of certain portions of the Pentateuch, consists in listing words occurring in the text which are seldom used otherwise in extant Hebrew literature, except in the post-Christian writings of the Talmud and Midrash. This method gives a most plausible impression of scientific objectivity and carries great weight with those who have heard only one side of the story. There is another side, however, which must also be considered by the thoughtful observer, and which robs this argument of much of its force. Briefly stated, the argument runs as follows: If a word occurring less than three or four times in the Old Testament recurs only in later Hebrew literature (the Talmud and Midrash), then the word is of late origin, and the Old Testament passage must be of late composition. Employing this criterion it has been possible for critics to bolster their contention that the Priestly Code (P) is of Exilic or post-Exilic origin, and also to separate large portions of Isaiah and other post-Mosaic books as later insertions from the Persian period or even from the Greek.

During the second decade of the twentieth century Robert Dick Wilson of Princeton took the trouble to make an exhaustive tabulation of all the so-called rare words in the Hebrew Scriptures, and he later published the resultant statistics.[1] Surprisingly enough, it turned out that such rare words occur in every book of the Old Testament and in almost every chapter. If this criterion is trustworthy, then *all* the books of the Old Testament are late and none are early. Compare the following figures, bearing in mind that the higher the percentage of "rare words" which recur in the same sense in the Talmud, the later in composition the Old Testament book must be—if this criterion is valid. The number of rare words (i.e., words occurring five times or less) is given in one column and the percentage of these appearing in the Talmud in the next column.

[1]Robert Dick Wilson, *Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament* (1926), p. 135.

	Critics' Dates	*Rare Words*	*Talmud*
Document P	550-450 B.C.	192	53.1%
Document D	621 B.C.	154	53.2%
Document H	570-550 B.C.	48	50.0%
Document E	750 B.C.	119	48.7%
Document J	850 B.C.	162	44.4%
Jeremiah	620-580 B.C.	278	32.1%
Isaiah 1–39	740-680 B.C.	121	22.3%
Isaiah 40–66	550-300 B.C.	62	25.8%
Daniel	168 B.C.	47	29.8%

From these statistics it is apparent that the latest of all, the book of Daniel (according to higher critical dating), has the third lowest percentage of the nine cited, i.e., 29.8 per cent, and that J (the earliest of them all) has a far higher percentage of rare words recurring in the Talmud, i.e., 44.4 per cent. Document E, allegedly earlier by two or three centuries than P, scores less than 5 per cent below P; whereas D (supposed to be more than a century earlier than P) totals up to just about the same percentage as P. From these figures it becomes apparent that the whole approach is unsound and the argument invalid. Post-Exilic Ezra 1–6 comes up with only 16.7 per cent, even though it is dated 450-370 B.C. by critics; Malachi (430 B.C.) also ranks low, with 23.1 per cent—as over against the 850 B.C. "Jehovist" with its 44.4 per cent. We must therefore abandon this type of investigation altogether, for it leads only to absurd results.

Why are these "rare words" so inconclusive as a time indicator? Principally because of the insufficiency of the data. We today possess in the Bible only a tiny fraction of all the literary output of the ancient Hebrews. There are a good three thousand words in the Old Testament which occur less than six times; fifteen hundred of them occur but once (*hapax legomena*). But this by no means indicates that they were uncommon in all other levels of Hebrew communication apart from the Bible itself. Mere fortuity may account for their infrequency in the Scriptures, just as some very common English words happen to occur only once in the English Bible, such as "invasion" (I Sam. 30:14), "jumping" (Nah. 3:2) and "lance" (Jer. 50:42). Every new discovery of ancient Canaanite and Aramaic inscriptions brings to light words which had hitherto been known only from documents centuries later in origin. D. W. Thomas of Cambridge[2] refers "to the re-emergence in late literature of words which themselves are very ancient, and which may or may not be, through pure accident, attested in earlier documents. Hebrew itself offers many interesting examples of this. If, for example, we had only Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus), should we not be tempted to argue that the word *'šwḥ* ("reser-

[2]*The Recovery of the Ancient Hebrew Language,* p. 18.

voir") in 50:3, not occurring elsewhere in Hebrew, is a late word? Yet it is to be found on the Moabite Stone (11.9, 23)! Since the ninth century B.C. this old Semitic word lay hid until it turned up again seven hundred years later in Ben Sira." Here we may add that it occurs no less than four times in the copper scroll of Qumran Cave 3[3] dated the first century A.D.

Aramaisms as a Criterion for Lateness

The architects of the Documentary Hypothesis assumed that the presence of an Aramaic word in a Biblical text was an indication of post-Exilic origin. It was not until the Babylonian Captivity that the Jews began to abandon their ancestral Hebrew and adopt the more widely spoken Aramaic language, which was used in commerce and international correspondence throughout a large portion of the Persian empire from the Tigris to the Nile. By Ezra's time (according to Neh. 8:8) the Hebrew Torah required interpreters for the congregation to understand its import, and very likely this explanation was given in Aramaic, which was now the household speech of the Jewish populace. Prior to the Exile, however, only the well-educated nobility and civil servants understood Aramaic, as we may gather from the incident in 701 B.C. when the Assyrian Rabshakeh was urged to keep his remarks in Aramaic, lest the Jewish soldiers nearby might understand his Hebrew (II Kings 18:26). Consequently it is unthinkable, argued the Wellhausians, that any authentic pre-Exilic Hebrew would have contained Aramaisms.

But this assumption of the preservation of Hebrew and Aramaic in watertight compartments prior to the Captivity has been quite discredited by more recent archaeological discoveries. For instance, the inscription of King Zakir of Hamath composed about 820 B.C. (Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 3:3) shows a most remarkable admixture of Canaanite (or Hebrew) in its Aramaic text. For example, it uses the Hebrew *'š* for "man" rather than the usual Aramaic *'nš;* it employs the Hebrew *nś'* for "lift up" rather than the Aramaic *nṭl.* Likewise also the Panammu Inscription from the first half of the eighth century, composed in the north Syrian principality of Ya'udi, shows the same intrusion of Hebrew or Canaanite forms; for example, *'nk* instead of *'n' for* "I," *ntn* instead of *yhb* for "give," *šm* instead of *tm'* for "there," and *yšb* instead of *ytb* for "sit, dwell."

It should be noted that these Hebraisms in Aramaic cannot be accounted for as peculiarities of Jewish Aramaic, since these inscriptions were composed by non-Jews in regions fairly remote from Palestine. That this intermingling of Canaanite and Aramaic was of very early origin is indicated by the Ugaritic literature of fifteenth century Ras Shamra. Ugaritic was a dialect of West Semitic closely related to Hebrew, and yet

[3]J. M. Allegro, *Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (1960), p. 30.

as early as the time of Moses we find such an intrusion of Aramaisms as to give some scholars grounds for arguing that Ugaritic was basically an Aramaic dialect which had absorbed many Canaanisms.

The Genesis record makes it clear that Aramaic influences were at work in Hebrew from its earliest stages. After his long sojourn in Aramaic-speaking Haran, Abraham and all his household must have been very fluent in that language before they migrated to Canaan and gradually adopted the tongue of its inhabitants. Isaac's bride, Rebekah, came to him from Aramaic-speaking Padan-aram; likewise both of Jacob's wives, Leah and Rachel. When Jacob's uncle Laban overtook him at Gilead, we are told in Genesis 31:47 that Laban called the witness cairn *Yegar-sāh^e^dūtā* ("the heap of witness"), whereas Jacob called it by the same thing in Canaanite: *Gal^e^-ʿad* (or Gilead). In the period between the Conquest and the reign of Saul (1400-1000 B.C.) the contacts with Aramaic-speaking peoples were doubtless minimal, but with the extension of Hebrew power under David and Solomon to the borders of Hamath and the west bank of the Euphrates, there must have been a rich exchange of cultural influences and linguistic contacts with Aramaic Damascus, Hadrach, Zobah and Hamath. These would have been particularly noticeable in the dialect of the northern Hebrew tribes contiguous to these Syrian principalities. During the united monarchy there would very naturally have been a broadening of Hebrew vocabulary to include Aramaic and north Israelite terms or grammatical traits, particularly in the language of poetry. Hence the comparative frequency of Aramaisms in some of the later Davidic psalms and in Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon.

These considerations furnish a good basis for concluding, first, that the presence of an Aramaism is no evidence for assigning a post-Exilic date to a Biblical document in which it occurs; second, that the literary genre makes a difference as to the frequency with which Aramaisms may occur in a given text. Of course if in narrative prose there is a consistent and sustained Aramaic influence at work, extending even to idioms and grammatical formations, then it may be validly deduced that the Hebrew author was equally at home in Aramaic. Yet such a situation is demonstrable only in books which purport to be Exilic or post-Exilic, such as the Hebrew section of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah and (to a certain extent) in Esther. (Interestingly enough, no such Aramaic influence is demonstrable for post-Exilic prophets, such as Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. For some reason they adhered to a relatively pure Hebrew diction, despite the prevalence of Aramaic in their day. They were probably so steeped in the language of the Torah that they were unconsciously biased in favor of Mosaic purity as they spoke in the name of the Lord.)

On the other hand, it should be emphasized that documentarian critics have tended to exaggerate the Aramaic elements discoverable in the

Hebrew Scriptures. A great number of Hebrew words which they have classified as Aramaisms turn out, on closer examination, to have a very good claim to the status of authentic Hebrew words, or else to be derivable from Phoenician, Babylonian or Arabic dialects, rather than from Aramaic. For example, many critics have carelessly assumed that Hebrew nouns ending in *-ōn* are necessarily Aramaic because the *-ān* ending is so common in Aramaic. Yet the fact of the matter is that this ending is also found with fair frequency in Babylonian and Arabic, and further proof is necessary to demonstrate that it could not have been native in Hebrew from Canaanite times;[4] and that it was derivable only from Aramaic and not from Babylonian (Akkadian) or Arabic. Of the sixty-three nouns ending in *-ōn* or *-ān* in the Pentateuch (and which are therefore asserted to be Aramaic) the Aramaic Targum of Onkelos renders only twelve by the same nouns ending in *-n;* it renders the remaining fifty-one by other nouns entirely (and most of them without any ending in *-n*). At the same time, in the entire Targum of the Torah Onkelos exhibits only sixty-three nouns in *-n*, whereas the Hebrew original itself has the same number, sixty-three. This seems to be rather tenuous evidence for the proposition that *-n* is indigenous only to Aramaic and necessarily an Aramaism in Hebrew! (Cf. Wilson SIOT 147, 148.)

In Kautzsch's *Die Aramäismen im Alten Testamente* he listed about 350 words in the Hebrew Old Testament as being certainly, probably, or possibly of Aramaic origin. Concerning these 350 words Wilson reports that 100 of them have never (as of 1926) been found in any Aramaic document, and of the remaining 250 a good 135 have never been found in an Aramaic document earlier than the second century A.D. Of the remaining 115 which have been found in documents from before that time, 75 are found in Babylonian, Arabic, Phoenician or Ethiopic (as well as in Hebrew and Aramaic)—which leaves the question open as to who borrowed from whom (or were they all derived from the same parent Semitic language?). (Cf. SIOT 155, 156.) Wilson goes on to point out that 50 out of Kautzsch's 350 "Aramaic" words are found in the Pentateuch; but of these 50 words, only 24 are employed by Onkelos in his Aramaic Targum of the Torah. It would be natural to expect that authentic Aramaic words would be eagerly embraced for the translation into Aramaic, but it turns out that less than half of them were. To be sure, some of these so-called Aramaic words might have become obsolete by the time of Onkelos, but a 54 per cent loss is well beyond the normal rate of vocabulary change in the course of six centuries or so. Moreover,

[4]It has been established with absolute certainty from Egyptian evidence that the *-n* ending did exist in the Canaanite language prior to the Israelite Conquest. In recording his conquests in Palestine the Egyptian Thutmose III lists no less than seventeen cities ending with *-n* (1475-1450 B.C.). In the Tell el-Amarna Letters (1400-1370 B.C.) there are twenty-six cities mentioned with names terminating in *-n*. There is no possibility of Aramaic borrowing here!

the roots of 16 out of these 24 words in Onkelos occur also in Babylonian or Arabic.

Considerable doubt must therefore attach to the great majority of these 350 "Aramaisms" listed by Kautszch.[5] In most cases these words occur in Hebrew books older by seven centuries than their earliest occurrence in extant Aramaic documents. To be sure there is a regrettable paucity of Aramaic materials from the pre-Christian centuries, but the classification of Hebrew words as Aramaisms ought to be established upon more solid grounds than mere scholarly conjecture. When we remember that critics have on the basis of Aramaism assigned about 1500 verses of pre-Exilic literature to a post-Exilic date, it is reasonable to demand written documentation to verify the Aramaic status of these words. To be sure, there are some linguistic tests by which a genuine Aramaism can be distinguished in Hebrew, even apart from such documentation. That is to say, if the word in question contains one of seven telltale consonants, and if that same root exists in other Semitic languages, it is usually possible to tell whether a word is authentically Aramaic and borrowed by the Hebrew author as a loanword.

The significant consonants are listed below in Arabic (which usually preserves the most primitive Semitic pronunciation), Hebrew and Aramaic, with a sample word to illustrate each shift. The meaning of the word is given at the commencement of the row. (*ḏ* represents the sound of *th* in "this"; *ś* is a dull *s* sound which does not exist in English; *s* is the sound in "so"; *š* is *sh* in "she"; *ṯ* is *th* in "thing"; *ẓ* is a deep-throated *z* sound which is close to a *th* in "this"; *ṣ* is an intense *s* that is close to a *ts* in quality; *ṭ* is a deep-throated *t* sound made slightly back of the position of ordinary *t* ; *ḍ* is a deep-throated sound resembling *d* followed by voiced *th* in a *-dth-* combination; ʿ is a sort of grunt or snarl which is made deep in the throat as the throat muscles are tightened up; *ḥ* is a deep-throated *kh* sound like *ch* in Loch Lomond.)

(1)	"to sacrifice"	Arabic: *ḏabaḥa*	/Hebrew: *zābaḥ*	/Aramaic: *dᵉbaḥ* (*ḏ*-z-d)
(2)	"to break"	Arabic: *ṯabara*	/Hebrew: *šābar*	/Aramaic: *tᵉbar* (*ṯ*-s-t)
(3)	"look at, guard"	Arabic: *naẓara*	/Hebrew: *nāṣar*	/Aramaic: *nᵉṭar* (*ẓ*-*ṣ*-*ṭ*)
(4)	"land, country"	Arabic: *ʾarḍun*	/Hebrew: *ʾereṣ*	/Aramaic: *ʾᵃraʿ* (*ḍ*-*ṣ*-ʿ)

[5]In Bauer-Leander's *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments,* Vol. I, §2, we meet this significant statement (translated): "Since we have only an inadequate knowledge of Hebrew vocabulary, owing to the meager extent of the literature of the Old Testament, it would be rash (*voreilig*) to regard immediately as Aramaic all words which only appear in later writings; after all they might just happen not to be instanced in the earlier writings. They can only be recognized as such with perfect assurance when their phonetic state shows them to be Aramaic. But in many cases there is no solid basis for judgment."

From this simplified chart it is apparent how a Hebrew word containing one of these four significant consonants can be detected as an Aramaic borrowing. Thus if a word which ought to show a *z* turns up with a *d* instead (1), or instead of a *š* it appears with a *t* (2), or instead of a *ṣ* it shows a *ṭ* or ʿ (3) (4), then it may be borrowed from Aramaic. Wilson (SIOT 142) calculates that there are 18 roots in Biblical Hebrew which also occur both in Arabic and Aramaic with consonant shift (1), 18 with consonant shift (2), 9 with (3), and 11 with (4). Yet of all these 56 instances, Wilson finds only five which pass the consonant-shift test for an Aramaism: *nādar* "to vow," *āṯar* "to abound," *ṭillēl* "to cover" (Neh. 3:15), *bᵉrōṯ* "fir tree" (Song of Sol. 1:17), and *mᵉdibat* "causing to flow" (Lev. 26:16)—although Wilson argues that even this word really comes from a root *dāʾab* "be weak" (and therefore it would not come under consonant shift #1). Only four or five roots may easily be accounted for on the grounds of intercultural relations, and there is no need to resort to post-Exilic dating for the four which occur in pre-Exilic books.

We close this discussion with this brief quotation from M. H. Segal's *Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927, p. 8): "It has been the fashion among writers on the subject to brand as an Aramaism any infrequent Hebrew word which happens to be found more or less frequently in Aramaic dialects. Most of these Aramaisms are as native in Hebrew as they are in Aramaic. Many of them are also found in other Semitic languages."

11

WELLHAUSEN'S RECONSTRUCTION OF HEBREW HISTORY IN THE PRE-PROPHETIC AND PROPHETIC PERIODS

IN ORDER TO SUPPLEMENT the rather brief indications of Chapter 6 as to the reinterpretation of Hebrew religious history developed by the documentarians in the nineteenth century, it will be appropriate here to examine it in somewhat greater detail and to analyze its weaknesses. This discussion will be divided into two chapters for convenience' sake; the treatment of the Priestly period will be deferred until Chapter 12.

It will be recalled that the Wellhausen school regarded the 850 J and 750 E as the earliest written portions of the Pentateuch. These represented the earlier phase of the Prophetic period (apart from the oral prophets who went back to Samuel's time). From the time of the Judges, of Moses and the patriarchs we have, according to this theory, only garbled traditions handed down by word of mouth over a period of many centuries, and which were finally committed to writing in J and E. How were these oral traditions to be sifted scientifically so as to separate the original fact from legendary or tendentious accretions? The documentarians found a ready method for this in the methodology of Hegelian philosophy and Darwinian evolutionism which were then at the very height of fashion in philosophical circles.

As A. Noordtzy of Utrecht pointed out in *The Old Testament Problem,*[1] the nineteenth century was dominated by an anthropocentric viewpoint. Man came to be regarded as an end in himself, and God existed only as a means to be used for man's benefit. The idea of evolution had captured the thinking of that day, and was thought to furnish the best key to the understanding of history as well as of nature. Religion was discussed only from the standpoint of its subjective benefits to man. All possibility of special revelation from a personal God was discounted, and the religious side of man was to be explained by a natural process

[1]Translated in *Bibliotheca Sacra,* 388-390, 1940-41.

of development as a mere expression of his cultural activity. Since a study of comparative religions showed a consistent pattern of progress, as they thought, from primitive animism or fetishism to polydemonism, then to polytheism, monolatry and finally monotheism, they concluded that Israel's religion must have developed along similar lines. The present form of the Hebrew text of the Torah does not testify to anything but a monotheistic viewpoint, but this is to be explained as the reworking of the ancient traditions by the Priestly school of the post-Exilic period, who imposed their fully evolved monotheistic viewpoint upon them. Even J and E belonged to an age dominated by the monotheism of the eighth century prophets (notably Amos in the vanguard of these), and the original animism and polytheism of the patriarchs were thus veneered over to conform to the later theology. But a keen-scented practitioner of comparative religions could nevertheless ferret out some of the traces of the more primitive belief by sluffing off all the monotheistic accretions. Proceeding upon the assumption that Israel's religion must have been of natural origin, not supernatural, these nineteenth century analysts (such as E. B. Taylor, Schultze, and W. Robertson Smith) exploited every slightest detail in the ancient record which might be reinterpreted to indicate a submonotheistic faith.[2]

Much dependence was laid upon the supposed analogy of the development of the religion of non-Israelite nations in the ancient Near East. In Egypt, for example, by a process of syncretism (explaining a group of similar gods as only manifestations or phases of the one basic god) the Egyptians ascended from the exuberant polytheism of an earlier age to a higher stage very close to monolatry by the Eighteenth Dynasty,

[2]In this connection it should be observed that some eminent anthropologists of the present century dissent from the evolutionistic assumption of original animism and polytheism, and find significant evidence of a purer form of religion in man's earliest stages. For example, Wilhelm Schmidt in *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1912-36) has demonstrated by dint of painstaking anthropological research that in some primitive cultures at least, there was an original monotheism which has greatly degenerated in subsequent ages, leaving its traces in the notion of supreme beings and "high" gods to bear witness to it in widely scattered areas of human population. Albright (*From Stone Age to Christianity,* 1957, pp. 170, 171) refers to these researches as quite conclusive, remarking, "There can no longer be any doubt that Fr. Schmidt has successfully disproved the simple evolutionary progression first set up by the Positivist Comte, fetishism-polytheism-monotheism, or Taylor's animism-polytheism-monotheism."

T. J. Meek (*Hebrew Origins,* 1960, pp. 188, 189) refers to the argument developed by Lagrange and Langdon that the Sumerian god An or Anum (later defined as the sky-god) was originally regarded as the one and only god, because only his name is preceded by no determinative sign for god (whereas the names of all other deities are preceded by the star sign which spells the name "An" itself). But as the Sumerians later fell away into polytheism, they thought of their new gods as simply forms or manifestations of the one true god, An, and only later conceived of them as entirely independent deities. Similarly Lagrange and Langdon argued that the Semites also had but one god, Ilu or El (a good Hebrew term for God), who later became defined as merely the sky-god, whereas each of the new gods added to the pantheon was another *El* or god. But all of this is more or less conjectural, Meek feels (p. 190), because in the earliest stage of writing both Sumerians and Akkadians wrote their god names without the An- or Ilu- determinative.

when Amon-Re' was exalted as the supreme deity of whom all lesser gods were but secondary phases. This in turn paved the way for the quasi-monotheism of King Akhnaton (1387-1366 B.C.), which represented the high point in Egyptian religion.[3] In Babylon we find a supposedly similar development in the elevation of the god Marduk to supremacy, subsuming all other deities under him. In Greece the colorful polytheism of Homer gave way in later centuries to the monotheistic philosophies of Xenophanes and Plato (who so often referred to *ho theos, "The* god"). Progress toward monotheism, then, was simply part of a general evolutionary process through which Israel must have passed, like any other nation.

The fact remains, however, that the actual data of comparative religions render this argument from analogy altogether untenable. It is an incontestable fact of history that no other nation (apart from those influenced by the Hebrew faith) ever did develop a true monotheistic religion which commanded the general allegiance of its people. Isolated figures may be pointed out like Akhnaton and Xenophanes (both of whom also spoke of "gods" in the plural number), but it remains incontrovertible that neither the Egyptians nor the Babylonians nor the Greeks ever embraced a monotheistic faith on a national basis. Right down to the days of Christ and the apostles the inhabitants of those lands and of all other nations of which we have any knowledge were firmly committed to a belief in many gods and goddesses, composing a pantheon of celestial government. They believed in sky-gods, water-gods, tree-gods, earth-gods and all the rest, just about as their forefathers had thousands of years before. While the philosophic schools may have reduced the gods to one impersonal essence (such as the Stoics), or denied the existence of God altogether (such as the Epicureans), or simply occupied the middle ground of agnosticism, the great masses of their countrymen still clung to a belief in the ancestral deities, along with an assortment of foreign gods (imported from Egypt and Asia) to give their religion a dash of exotic color.

This is the verdict of history: only Israel appeared with a monotheistic religion on a national basis. This is a fact that demands a reasonable explanation in face of the utter contrast which the Hebrew nation presented to all its ancient neighbors. It does not reduce the difficulty to hypothecate a polytheistic origin for Israel's religion, for this only accentuates the problem of explaining how in Israel—and only in Israel—polytheism gave way to monotheism. (Since both the Christian faith and the Mu-

[3]Actually, of course, the theory that the king of Egypt was the incarnation of the sun-god, and was therefore himself a god, continued in force even in Akhnaton's case, and that too after his religious reforms. From this standpoint, therefore, it is not quite accurate to speak of his theological position as "true monotheism," although it came very close to it.

hammadan religion developed directly from Hebrew monotheism, they furnish no exception to the uniqueness of Israel's religion.) So far as this writer is aware, there is no other reasonable explanation of this fact except that which is given by the Old Testament itself, that Israel derived this monotheistic faith by direct revelation from God. It was no product of the natural Hebrew "genius for religion" (as is often asserted), for the Scripture record witnesses rather to the natural Hebrew genius for irreligion and apostasy. It attests the readiness of the ancient Israelites to adopt the polytheism of their heathen neighbors and forsake their covenant relationship with Jehovah. At least until the time of the Exile (587 B.C.) the Hebrew Scriptures themselves affirm that the ten northern tribes first, and then the two tribes of the Southern Kingdom, were constantly straying off into the worship of degenerate foreign deities and attempting to break away from God's revealed Word. The fact that they did not permanently fall away is uniformly represented as being due to the hindering power of God's grace and of His continued message to them through the prophets.

The Pre-Prophetic Period According to Wellhausen

Following the guiding principles of comparative religions, it was possible for the architects of the Documentary Hypothesis to "discover" traces of lower religion in the faith of primitive Israel. Animism, for example, shimmers through the account of Jacob's sleeping on a stone pillow at Bethel (Gen. 28:18); of course this stone was actually a cult object, somewhat like the sacred black stone of the Kaabah in Mecca. Stone worship must also lie behind the account of the cairn erected by Jacob and Laban in Gilead (Gen. 31:47). Did not the idolatrous Canaanites set up a stone pillar beside their altars on the high places, in the belief that the local Baal would reside in that stone, and sally forth to feast upon their sacrifices? The fact that idolatrous Israelites followed the same practice when they took over the high places from the Canaanites testifies to their adherence to stone worship even in the last stages of the divided monarchy.

As for tree worship, even the idealized figure of Abraham, if he ever really existed (and some critics, like Nöldeke, were prepared to question this), had faith in sacred trees. Witness the reference to his sojourning by the "terebinth of Moreh" in Genesis 12:6 (*Moreh* in this case would signify "teacher," from *hōrah* "to teach," because the devout could hear the tree speak to them by the rustling of its leaves—just as the oaks of Zeus at Dodona). Later on we find him setting up his headquarters by the "oaks of Mamre" in Genesis 14:13; doubtless he worshiped these trees also. In post-Mosaic times we have the significant instance of the prophetess Deborah, who made her headquarters by a sacred palm tree

(Judg. 4:5). Other traces of animism are found in the legislation attributed to Moses. For example, Exodus 20:25 provides that any altar erected to Yahweh must be made of unhewn stone. Why unhewn? To avoid the possibility of engraving cult symbols on the altar (as we might naturally infer after a command against graven images), or was it to obviate offending the *daemon* who was superstitiously supposed to inhabit the stone in its natural, unhewn state? To comparative religionists of course only the latter explanation would commend itself. Likewise also in the injunction in Leviticus 19:9 to avoid mowing or gleaning the corners of the wheat field, the original reason was to avoid giving offense to the vegetable-spirit who was believed to reside in the standing grain; the ostensible reason given in P (to afford a little free grain to the destitute) was a later refinement.

As for idolatry, the documentary reconstruction of Hebrew history could find abundant evidence that the religion of early Israel was both idolatrous and polytheistic. We may feel certain, according to these critics, that the worship of the golden calf (Exod. 32) was endorsed by Moses (especially if we regard the image as a cultic representation of Yahweh Himself). Otherwise there would have been an energetic protest made in 930 B.C. when Jeroboam I of Israel set up the calf images at Bethel and Dan—a measure to which he never would have resorted had there been any written Mosaic law forbidding idolatry. It was only later, under the influence of the new monotheistic Prophetic school of the E period (and later on with the Priestly school, of course), that the original tradition was so altered as to make Moses disapprove of this calf worship, and the later invented figure of Aaron is charged with responsibility for having fashioned it in the first place. It is alleged that Elijah failed to utter any condemnation of these calves of Jeroboam (ca. 860-850 B.C.), showing that he was not scandalized by Jehovah worship carried on with the aid of images. (Since we have virtually no record of Elijah's preaching preserved to us, this is a very questionable assertion to make. We certainly do have a record of an outright condemnation of the image and altar of Jeroboam at Bethel by an anonymous Jewish prophet of an earlier generation than Elijah's, according to I Kings 13.) It is claimed that not even Amos condemned the calves.[4] Yet this assertion runs counter to the condemnation of the Ephraimite cultus found in Amos 3:14 ("On the day I punish Israel for his transgressions, I will punish the altars of Bethel, and the horns of the altar shall be cut off, etc." RSV). As for the brazen serpent of Moses (Num. 21:8, 9), preserved until Hezekiah's time in the national sanctuary (cf. II Kings 18:4), the Wellhausen school felt confident that this was a per-

[4]W. R. Smith in *Prophets of Israel,* p. 175: Amos "never speaks in condemnation of the calves."

fectly respected idol of the Serpent-god, patron of the tribe of Levi,[5] until the eighth century, when the prophetic monotheistic party gained dominance in Judah, and Hezekiah had it destroyed. But this is mere conjecture devoid of any objective evidence.

The same critics feel certain that infant sacrifice was sanctioned by the primitive faith of early Israel. The provision of Exodus 22:29 (JE) that a first-born son must be redeemed by a special offering presupposes that originally first-born sons were sacrificed on the altar, just like the firstlings of the livestock. Not until the time of D (it is claimed) was a clear distinction made between the two. (Yet compare Exod. 13:1, 2, a P passage, where no clearer distinction is made between first-born sons and firstlings than in Exod. 22:29.) The perfectly reasonable principle enunciated by the Hebrew text, that God challenged a special propriety in the first-born because of His having protected all the Hebrew first-born during the night of the Passover, is ignored completely as a mere "Priestly" rationalization.

Early Israel, according to these critics, had no written laws at all (even though the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Hittites codified their laws as early as the time of Moses or earlier), and the oldest legislation preserved to us in the Torah is the so-called "ritual decalogue" of J, in Exodus 34:11-26. Aside from the fact that this passage begins without any introductory formula as a decalogue, and that it really contains not ten commandments but eight, it remains extremely unlikely that the fundamental written law of the Hebrew people (as late as 850 B.C.) should omit all sanctions against murder, adultery, larceny, fraud and dishonor to parents. None of these offenses are mentioned in this so-called decalogue, even though stringent provisions on nearly all these subjects were codified in the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi (ca. 1700 B.C.) as well as in the Hittite and Sumerian codes. Chapter 125 of the Egyptian Book of the Dead lists virtually all these crimes in the negative confessions which the deceased was expected to make before the assembled judgment-gods of the netherworld. Is it credible that only the Hebrews were too backward to condemn such sins, when those pagan neighbors with whom they were most closely associated had written condemnations of them in their legal and religious literature for nearly fifteen hundred years previously? (The main nucleus of the Book of the Dead was at least that early.) This puts too great a strain upon the credulity of even the most partisan devotees of scientific naturalism.

The documentarians discerned in the pre-Prophetic period a development from the grosser polytheism of the Patriarchal period to a sort of monolatry whereby the Hebrew tribes came increasingly to devote their loyalty to Yahweh alone, as being their own national god. The plural background of this god was, however, betrayed by the plural state of

[5]T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (1960), pp. 122, 123.

their commonest word for "God," namely Elohim, with its plural *-im* ending. (Actually this is more properly to be regarded as the plural of majesty.[6]) In the period of the judges we find Jephthah negotiating with the Ammonites in these terms (Judg. 11:24): "Will you not possess what Chemosh your god gives you to possess? And all that Yahweh our God has dispossessed before us, we will possess." (But it is quite obvious from the situation that Jephthah is not speaking as a theologian but as a foreign diplomat, negotiating with them in terms which they could understand as he appealed to their sense of fair play.) Even King David concedes the existence of other gods in I Samuel 26:19: " . . . they have driven me out this day that I should have no share in the heritage of Jehovah, saying, Go, serve other gods." (But this expression was simply the ancient equivalent of "serving under another flag"; even the monotheistic Deuteronomist uses this type of language: "Jehovah will bring thee . . . unto a nation that thou hast not known, thou nor thy fathers; and there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone" [Deut. 28:36]. Here the service of foreign gods simply refers to servitude in a land dominated by a false heathen religion.)

The Wellhausians also insist that Hosea 3:4 ("For the children of Israel shall abide many years without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without [cultic] pillar, and without ephod or teraphim") implies that the idolatrous pillars and the teraphim (household gods) were regarded by Hosea as legitimate, since the king and sacrifice, and so forth were coupled with them in this clause. On the contrary, however, careful attention to context shows that everything cultic which is listed in this verse is regarded by the author as illegitimate and under the condemnation of God: the unsanctioned Israelite dynasty, the non-Levitical priesthood, the unacceptable sacrifice not offered at the Jerusalem altar, and all the rest. No legitimacy is implied in this verse, after all, for the next verse states that in the latter day the Israelites will return to their true God and to David, their proper king, and worship in all purity and holiness—as they were not then doing.

Such are the textual bases for the higher critical reconstruction of the religious history of Israel prior to the rise of the writing prophets. These arguments turn out to afford very tenuous support for the theory

[6]Cf. the comment of Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (1910), §124g: "The *pluralis excellentiae* or *maiestatis,* as has been remarked above, is properly a variety of the abstract plural, since it sums up the several characteristics belonging to the idea, besides possessing the secondary sense of an intensification of the original idea. . . . So especially *Elohim, Godhead, God* (to be distinguished from the numerical plural *gods,* Exod. 12:12, etc.). The supposition that *Elohim* is to be regarded as merely a remnant of earlier polytheistic views (i.e., as originally only a numerical plural) is at least highly improbable, and moreover would not explain the analogous plurals." The next section cites as other examples *qᵉdōshīm,* "the Most Holy" (only of Yahweh), Hosea 12:10; Proverbs 9:10; 30:3 . . . *ᵃdōnīm* (lordship, Lord), cf. Isaiah 19:4 (where *ᵃdōnīm* is accompanied by a singular adjective, *qāsheh*—"cruel"); and *beʿālim*—lord, master (of slaves, cattle or inanimate things), e.g., Exodus 21:29; Isaiah 1:3.

of primitivism and polytheism in the post-Abrahamic period, and all their alleged proof texts are capable of a far different interpretation which better accords with the rest of the evidence.

The Prophetic Period According to Wellhausen

Beginning with Amos, who is considered by the critics of this school to have been the earliest of the writing prophets, a revolutionary new change of direction is supposed to have taken place in the religious thinking of Israel. This creative thinker from the hill country of rural Judea came with an epoch-making new idea, the idea of monotheism: there is no God but Jehovah Himself, and all the gods of the heathen are imaginary! Those who followed Amos, men like Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, enthusiastically embraced this new emphasis on monotheism and contributed to its ultimate triumph in the religion of Israel. In Jeremiah's time this movement produced its classic manifesto in the book of Deuteronomy, in which the uniqueness and supremacy of Jehovah were proclaimed with prophetic fervor and then attributed to the venerable figure of Moses. In many respects, according to these critics, this Prophetic period (760-587 B.C.) represents the highest and purest achievement of the religion of Israel. As interpreted and expurgated by nineteenth century liberalism, these Hebrew prophets pretty largely hewed to the line of the liberal gospel, with its emphasis upon social justice and salvation by good works or noble character. From this standpoint the post-Prophetic movement initiated by Ezekiel and the Priestly school represented a retrogression into ritualism and formalism and emphasis upon such priestly functions as atoning sacrifices, and the like.

In this connection it is interesting (perhaps even amusing) to read this vivid description of the radical change between the pre-Prophetic period and the age of the prophets, as expressed by Lewis Browne:[7] The prophets of the eighth century "transformed a jealous demon who roared and belched fire from the crater of a volcano into a transcendent spirit of love. They took a bloody and remorseless protector of a desert people, and without realizing it, changed him into the merciful Father of all mankind. In fine, they destroyed Yahweh and created God!" This is surely a masterpiece of misstatement and misrepresentation, shot through with fallacies from beginning to end, but it illustrates the perverted notion of Hebrew religion taught in many quarters today as a popularization of the Wellhausen hypothesis. Suffice it to say that there is surely no parallel to this to be found anywhere else in human history, that neither the introducers of a radically new concept of God nor those to whom they introduced it realized that there was anything new about it. Both the prophets themselves and their audiences seemed to labor under the impression that it was the God of Moses whose message they were

[7]*This Believing World* (1926), p. 236.

transmitting. They claimed to be summoning their countrymen to return once more to the ancestral God of the patriarchs, to the God of Mount Sinai and the Exodus (cf. Hos. 11:1; 12:9, 13; Amos 2:10; 9:7; Micah 6:4; 7:15), not to any new, watered-down deity capable of nothing but sweetness and light. Lewis Browne would be well advised to reread Isaiah 24, 34 and 63 if he supposes that any of the thunder and smoke was removed from God's judicial wrath by the innovating prophets of the newer, more enlightened age.

In order to demonstrate this opposition to sacrifice as having been indeed the emphasis of the prophets, the architects of the Development Hypothesis felt that they had only to cite a few proof texts and to interpret them in their own special way (out of context). Thus it was possible to show that the great prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries rejected any system of blood sacrifice as a valid way of access to God, even denying that it had any Mosaic validity. There were four favorite passages which they used for this purpose.

Amos 5:21-26: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt-offerings and meal-offerings, I will not accept them. . . . But let justice roll down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream. Did ye bring unto me sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? Yea, ye have borne the tabernacle of your king [RSV: Sakkuth your king] and the shrine of your images [RSV: Kaiwan your star-god], the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves." (Actually the tense of "borne" can be rendered: "Ye were bearing," or even—although this is against the context—"Ye will bear.") The documentarians interpret this question to imply the answer: "No, we never did bring God sacrifices and offerings during the Exodus wanderings." Much more reasonably Amos' question may be taken at face value to mean: "Did you offer sacrifices to Me at that time? Yes, you did, but what impure and inacceptable sacrifices they were (just like those you offer Me in this corrupt generation), for you also carried on the clandestine worship of idols, even in the days of Moses!" This surely is the interpretation which best accords with the stream of the argument which Amos is developing in this chapter.

Micah 6:6-8: "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah . . . ? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams . . . ? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" This is construed to mean that Micah rejects the principle of sacrifice altogether, and that God desires only a virtuous life to satisfy His requirements for salvation. But this is to foist a modern liberal notion upon the teaching of the ancient prophet. It is obvious from the context that Micah was dealing with the problem of religious formalism accompanied by an un-

godly and immoral life on the part of the Jewish worshiper. Even the most lavish and extravagant offerings upon the altar cannot make up for the lack of heart submission and of a sincere purpose to obey the will of God in matters of practical ethics. Acceptable worship must proceed from a surrendered life. There is no rejection of the sacrificial cultus as such, but only as a hypocritical substitute for godliness.

Isaiah 1:11-17 is another prophetic utterance along the same line: "What unto me is the multitude of your sacrifices? saith Jehovah: I have had enough of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts. . . . Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek justice, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." This is interpreted by Wellhausians to be a plea to do away with the folderol of blood sacrifices and get down to the business of performing meritorious good works, thus earning their salvation (just as good liberals of our modern age are expected to do). But that this exegesis falls wide of the mark is sufficiently indicated by the statement in verse 15: "And when ye spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood." If the previous remarks amounted to a rejection of blood sacrifice *as such*, then it must logically follow here that prayer also is being rejected *as such*, since the same type of expression is used in both cases. But not even the most enlightened modern liberal would like to think that the prophet Isaiah was opposed to prayer; if only from the standpoint of subjective therapy, prayer must be regarded as both beneficial and praiseworthy. All parties would acknowledge that the prophet is not denying the validity of prayer, but only the prayer of bloody-handed, unrepentant miscreants who mock God by the very prayers they mouth. In other words, acceptable worship must be based upon a true and living faith as it finds expression in a God-fearing life. Hence it follows that the same principle governs in Isaiah's deprecatory remarks about sacrifices and feast days. By no means does he deny that they were ordained of God in the Law of Moses.

Jeremiah 7:22, 23: "For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the way that I command you, that it may be well with you." What could be more obvious, asks the critic, than that Jeremiah here is denying (ca. 600 B.C.) that God had ever spoken to Moses about the sacrificial cultus? Obviously the material of P had not yet been composed as an addendum to J, E and D, or else Jeremiah would never have made a statement like that. But if we analyze what the prophet is actually saying in this passage, we find that the words quoted come from Exodus 19, before even the first installment of the

Law was revealed to Moses by God, even before the promulgation of the Ten Commandments. It certainly was true that "in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt" God had not yet said anything to the Israelites about sacrifice or burnt offering. (Even the Passover lamb involved no altar, according to Exod. 12.) He first closed with them on the basis of a covenant engagement requiring absolute and unconditional obedience as a condition of the covenant. It was only afterward that the provisions concerning sacrifice were outlined to Moses. The point was that Jeremiah's contemporaries had been substituting ritual for genuine piety, and they needed to be reminded that historically God's first summons to Israel had been for absolute obedience to His moral law before ever He gave them a provision for sins in the atoning blood of the altar of sacrifice. Incidentally, it is instructive to note Jeremiah's cordial approval of the sacrificial system elsewhere in his prophecy: 17:19-27; 31:14; 33:11, 18.

Thus the documentarian critics assigned virtually all cultic regulations to the Priestly school of the post-Exilic period. But they regarded certain of the non-cultic legal provisions of the Torah as originating with E or JE, notably the book of the covenant (Exod. 21–23). This body of law was supposed to have evolved from the experience of Israel in the land of Canaan over a period of four or five centuries after the Conquest. This code did not suggest the unique legitimacy of one central sanctuary. On the contrary, it sanctioned any number of local sanctuaries, according to Exodus 20:24: "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings . . . in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee." Closer examination, however, shows that this passage is not referring to the possibility of multiple sanctuaries at all, but only to the type of altar to be used for God's worship, prior to the fashioning of the bronze altar for the tabernacle. Not until later (as is recorded in Exod. 40) was the tabernacle completed and the divinely prescribed altar dedicated. Doubtless also it was to serve as a principle to follow in situations where resort to the altar at the central sanctuary was impractical (as for example where Elijah built his altar on Mount Carmel, I Kings 18:31). Allis (FBM 176) suggests that the words of Exodus 20:24 translated, "in every place where I record my name," might be better rendered, "in all of the place" (*b^e^kol-hammāqōm*), i.e., in all of Palestine. The idea then would be that in all of the Holy Land, where God will cause His name to be remembered, He will come to His worshipers and bless them.

In general, the documentarians insist that the historical fact that many local sanctuaries were maintained in Israel prior to Josiah's reign is proof positive that there could have been no Mosaic laws in existence forbidding them. Had there been such laws, they would of course have been obeyed. But this reasoning is vitiated by the undeniable fact that

even after the reform of Josiah in 621 B.C. idolatrous high places continued to be maintained in Judah (cf. Ezek. 6:3). The critics acknowledge that "Mosaic" laws forbidding all other sanctuaries besides the local one were solemnly adopted in the reign of Josiah. Yet in the time of Zedekiah, Josiah's third successor, the high places were still in operation. In this case the Wellhausians themselves must acknowledge that this law was broken even after its enactment. If so, why may this not have been the case in preceding centuries as well, that local sanctuaries were maintained even after the temple of Solomon had been dedicated? In general we may say that the argument that laws could not have existed simply because they were ignored, is altogether too naive. On such a basis one would have to deny that there are any laws against adultery in existence in modern America!

So far as the Mosaic prohibition of local sanctuaries is concerned, it ought to be pointed out that not even Deuteronomy prohibits the erection of local altars to Jehovah until such time as God shall have indicated His choice of a holy capital city in which alone it would be permissible to present sacrifice. In Deuteronomy 12:10, 11 the regulation is made that after Jehovah has given His people rest from all their enemies round about—which did not take place until the reign of David—then God would choose a special place for worship to which all Israel should resort for cultic purposes. Hence there is no contradiction at all between E (in Exod. 20:24) and D (in Deut. 12:10, 11). Moreover, it should be observed that wherever the idolatrous high places, or even Jehovah-worshiping high places are referred to in the Hebrew record after the consecration of Solomon's temple, they are always spoken of as deviations from the Mosaic Law, and the successive kings of Judah are often judged as to their character by whether or not they removed the high places. On the other hand, even J offers considerable difficulty to the theory that no centrality of worship was cherished as an ideal at the time of the Exodus, for in Exodus 23:17 it is required that all Israelite males "appear before Jehovah" three times a year (that is, at the three great feasts of Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles). There would hardly be any point to this provision if all that was required was to put in an appearance at one's own local shrine. Thus even the earliest stratum of the Pentateuch (according to the JEDP Hypothesis) implies a central point of worship as prescribed by Jehovah.

In this connection it should be noted that the Wellhausen school tends to dismiss the Mosaic tabernacle as a figment of the imagination of the Priestly school. There never was any such structure as the tabernacle, they feel, but it was invented by the Priestly school to furnish a Mosaic sanction for the Jerusalem temple. In the interests of this theory, therefore, all references to the tabernacle are automatically assigned to P in the Pentateuch, and also those passages where reference is made to the

tabernacle in Joshua, Judges and Samuel. Having thus by definition assigned all mention of the tabernacle to the Priestly school, it becomes possible for these critics to come up with the triumphant conclusion that no pre-Exilic work ever makes any mention of the tabernacle. But this of course is a mere question-begging procedure, rather than an objective handling of the evidence.

Further embarrassment is furnished to this theory (that there was no central sanctuary regulation until Josiah's time) by the positive indications of the record of pre-Josianic times contained in Kings. Certainly the dedicatory prayer of Solomon (cf. especially I Kings 8:29, 30) implies the unique validity of this temple and its altar, as if already in Solomon's time it was the only lawful and proper place of worship for believing Israel. As for the period of Hezekiah, a good century before Josiah's reform, the Hebrew record declares that he enforced the unique claim of the Jerusalem temple by forcibly suppressing all sacrifice and worship at the local high places throughout his domain. It is very difficult to dispose of this Hezekiah reform as a fictitious prototype of the Josianic revival, as some critics attempt to do. The record of Sennacherib's attempt to capture Jerusalem by threats and negotiation is very circumstantial and convincing as to its historicity. In the course of his parley with the Jewish envoy, the Assyrian commander seeks to discourage the defenders of Jerusalem from looking to Jehovah for deliverance, saying: "But if ye say unto me, We trust in Jehovah our God; is not that he, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said unto Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar in Jerusalem?" (II Kings 18:22). This incidental reference to Hezekiah's enforcement of the unique claim of the Jerusalem temple is corroborative testimony of a very high order. It is hard to explain this away as a "Priestly" embellishment since the critics do not otherwise contest the authenticity of this account of Sennacherib's invasion.[8]

At this point we should mention some of the grave difficulties standing in the way of dating the legal provisions of JE and D between 850 and 600 B.C. As George Mendenhall points out:[9] "It is hard to conceive of a law code which could be more at variance from what we know of Canaanite culture than the Covenant Code (Exod. 21–23–JE). . . . The Canaanite cities were predominantly commerical, rigidly stratified in social structure. . . . The Covenant Code shows no social stratification, for the slaves mentioned are not members of the community, with the single exception of the daughter who is sold as an *amah* or slave-wife (who is

[8]Driver, ILOT 187, attributes this account to a writer living in the next generation after Isaiah, or within three decades after the episode took place in 701 B.C.
[9]*Law and Covenant in Israel* (1955), pp. 13, 14.

herself strongly protected by law). . . . The laws of the Covenant Code reflect the customs, morality and religious obligations of the Israelite community (or perhaps some specific Israelite community of the North) before the monarchy . . . since it exhibits just that mixture of case law and apodictic law (technique and policy respectively) which we find in covenants from the Hittite sources and in Mesopotamian codes as well; any study which assumes that it is a later, artificial composite from originally independent literary sources may be assigned rather to rational ingenuity than to historical fact." At the same time Mendenhall reasons that the Pentateuchal laws must have originated subsequently to the Conquest since they have in view a sedentary population rather than a desert nomad society. But this argument overlooks the obvious and announced purpose of the Mosaic code: that it was to serve for Israel's guidance after it had conquered and settled the Promised Land, not while it was on the march through the Sinai wilderness.

As to the familiar argument of the documentarians that the Mosaic Law could not have been in existence during the pre-Prophetic era since it is never referred to in the (carefully expurgated) Documents J and E, Mendenhall has another interesting observation to make.[10] The written law codes of the ancient Semites, he says, were of little importance in actual court procedures. Thus in the thousands of Old Babylonian legal documents subsequent to the inscribing of Hammurabi's Code, not once is that code explicitly referred to. "If, as we believe, the same was true in Israel, the lack of references to the codified law in the prophets and historical works proves nothing at all concerning the existence of a law code" (such as the book of the covenant, Exod. 21–23). Here, then, the argument from silence is demonstrably false, since the same reasoning would disprove the prior existence of Hammurabi's Code as well, even though that code has been preserved to us from Hammurabi's own time.

Lastly, it ought to be pointed out that neither J nor E betrays the slightest inkling of an awareness of the existence of a monarchy in Israel. Nowhere is there any suggestion whatsover that the twelve tribes were under the rule of a king, and the only prophetic indication that there would be such a thing as a human sovereign over Israel is found in Genesis 49:10 (J): "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet. . . ." This seems very hard to reconcile with the supposition that the nation had existed as a monarchy for three centuries before J found written form. Even D devotes only a few verses for the direction of a possible future king over Israel (Deut. 17:14-20), and even there gives the impression that the appointment of a king is a remote eventuality. Stranger yet, the assertedly post-Exilic Document

[10]*Op. cit.*, 11, 12.

P betrays no consciousness whatever of the institution of royalty.[11] This seems impossible to reconcile with the supposition that the chosen line of David had reigned for more than four centuries in the holy city of Jerusalem. Surely any author manufacturing a Mosaic warrant for the institutions of the priesthood would have attributed to the great lawgiver a very strong and explicit sanction for the kingship as well. It is hardly conceivable that any patriotic Jewish author, who believed in the divine authorization of the Davidic dynasty, could have passed it over in complete silence. All the legal codes of other ancient Near Eastern nations ruled over by monarchs have much to say concerning the duties and prerogatives of their kings. The only reasonable explanation for the fact that P and E are completely silent concerning Hebrew royalty is that there was not yet any king over Israel when they were written. The isolated predictions in J and D lead to a similar conclusion; if composed during the monarchical period, as the documentarians assert, regulations involving royalty would necessarily have been woven throughout the fabric of these "documents."

[11]About the only suggestion of monarchy in Israel to be found in P is the statement in Genesis 36:31: "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." But here again the appointment of a Hebrew king is regarded as a mere possibility, at best a remote future eventuality that would furnish a fulfillment of the promise made to Abraham in Genesis 17:6 (P): ". . . and kings shall come out of thee." In view of the fact that only the secondary line of Esau had achieved royal status, it was appropriate for a covenant-conscious author in the fifteenth century to note the fact that the posterity of Jacob had not yet attained to that dignity.

12

WELLHAUSEN'S RECONSTRUCTION OF HEBREW HISTORY IN THE PRIESTLY PERIOD

ACCORDING TO THE WELLHAUSEN HYPOTHESIS the decline and fall of the Jewish monarchy, with the subsequent deportation of the Israelites into captivity, compelled them to surrender political aspirations and look to their religious institutions as a basis for continuing existence as a nation. For this reason the professional priesthood of the tribe of Levi assumed increasing importance, and the ritual practices were elaborated into the form in which they were finally codified in Document P. Prior to the Exile, according to this theory, there had been no really standardized regulations binding upon all the faithful, but worship and sacrifice were conducted according to simple and flexible patterns. While this sounded all very well according to evolutionary theory, there were some nineteenth century researchers in the field of comparative religions who had misgivings. Even so staunch a Wellhausen supporter as W. Robertson Smith[1] felt that Wellhausen was mistaken in supposing that an anxious care to fulfill ritual requirements was post-Exilic only. On the contrary, it existed among all the Semites from the earliest stages of their cultural development. Rather than the antithetical epochs of the Wellhausian (Hegelian) doctrine, Smith felt that there was a continuous development through successive periods. For example, Smith believed that the atonement and communion type of sacrifice was early, because based upon the clan type of society; but that the meal offering and heave offering were later, because they were based upon a stage in society when property rights were recognized.[2]

According to the Documentary Theory, there was a clear line of development in the restriction of the priesthood to the family of Aaron. At first the priesthood was open to all Israelites ("And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests"—Exod. 19:6, a JE verse). Actually this statement

[1]*Religion of the Semites* (1889).
[2]See H. F. Hahn, *Old Testament in Modern Research* (1954), pp. 49-51.

in Exodus 19:6 refers to the role of Israel as a nation over against all the Gentile, heathen nations, who needed the mediatorship of the Hebrew people if they were ever going to learn of the one true God. Besides, there is a great difference between the statement: "Ye are a kingdom of priests" and the statement: "Any Israelite is eligible for the priesthood." It is asserted that JE does not even restrict the priesthood to the tribe of Levi. This, of course, is true, for by definition all references to the priesthood are automatically assigned to P even when they occur in the midst of a J or E passage. But certainly the documentarians are unable to point to a single passage in the Pentateuch *subsequent to* Aaron's ordination in Leviticus 8 that permits any non-Levite to become a priest. (Not even the Torah itself implies that the priesthood was restricted to Levi *prior to* Aaron's consecration.)

The next stage, according to Wellhausen, was represented by Deuteronomy (621 B.C.), which restricts the priesthood to the tribe of Levi in general, although not to the family of Aaron in particular. Any Levite may become a priest, according to D, and it was not until the time of the Priestly Code (550-450 B.C.) that this honor was confined to the descendants of Aaron alone. Yet actually it can be demonstrated that D was quite aware of a distinction between the family of Aaron and the rest of the Levites. For example, in Deuteronomy 27:12-14 it was ordained that the tribe of Levi stand with five other tribes on the slope of Mount Gerizim, while the other six tribes stand over against Mount Ebal. But in the valley between the two groups a select group of Levites was to stand, i.e., "the priests the Levites" (cf. v. 9), and they were the ones who were to recite a distinctive series of divine curses. It is difficult to avoid the inference that this select group in the valley were Aaronic priests. Likewise in I Kings 8:4, a passage attributed by Driver to a Deuteronomistic compiler (ILOT 181), there is a distinction implied between the priests and the Levites: "And they brought up the ark of Jehovah . . . even these [holy vessels] did the priests and the Levites bring up." (Kuenen felt constrained on dogmatic grounds to snip this verse out of its Deuteronomic context and assign it to P.)

The first stage of restriction of the priesthood came with the latter part of Ezekiel's ministry, it is claimed. For Ezekiel (44:7-16) was the first one to assign an inferior status to all Levites not of the family of Zadok (a contemporary of David descended from Aaron). But the context makes it clear that the special status of the family of Zadok was due to the fact that during the apostasy of the seventh and early sixth centuries only this division of Aaron's posterity steadfastly refused to co-operate with the idolatrous policies of the Jewish government. It is difficult to see, moreover, how this narrowing down of the priesthood to the descendants of Zadok alone furnished a basis for the extension of sacerdotal status

to the whole posterity of Aaron. Nevertheless, according to the Development Hypothesis, this is precisely what happened. From the earlier stage of accessibility to the whole tribe, the priesthood was narrowed down to one small subclan of the descendants of Aaron, and finally thrown open to all Aaronids without distinction. The logical progression here is difficult to see.

At any rate according to this theory, the final stage was the supremacy of the family of Aaron within the tribe of Levi, a development which took place during the Babylonian Exile. This theory is usually bolstered by the contention that Aaron himself was a fictitious character who had no place in the original traditions of Moses and the Exodus. But in order to sustain this contention it was necessary for these critics to deal with many J passages in which Aaron's name appeared (e.g., Exod. 4:14-16, 27-30), at least thirteen occurrences. Each of these had to be lifted out of the J context and branded as P insertions. By this procedure it became possible to come out triumphantly with the dictum: "Aaron is never mentioned in J." Also the deferral of the high-priestly office to the time of the Exile is somewhat embarrassed by the prominence of certain high priests mentioned in pre-Exilic Jewish history, men like Jehoiada (II Kings 12:9), Hilkiah (II Kings 22:4, 8) and Seraiah (II Kings 25:18).

The contention that the rise of the Priestly school was accompanied by an exaltation of the family of Aaron led quite naturally to the corollary that it was precisely in this same period (550-450 B.C.) that ritual came to the forefront in Judah. Hence the numerous passages in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers which deal with matters of ritual and sacrifice are to be regarded as belonging to the latest portion of the Torah, and the technical terms of sacrifice come largely from the vocabulary of the Exilic period. But as we have already pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, W. R. Smith dissented from the view that in the earlier stages of religion there was little concern for ritual requirements. He felt that the testimony of comparative religions pointed to the contrary, and that even quite primitive peoples lay great emphasis upon following prescribed procedure in offering sacrifice and other cultic observances. But this is no longer a mere matter of opinion, for with the unearthing of the extensive Ugaritic literature from Ras Shamra (dating back to 1400 B.C. or earlier), it has been discovered that some of the technical terms of sacrifice branded by Wellhausen as Exilic turn up in this early period. Even in so remote a corner of the Canaanite-speaking world as Ugarit we find such P terms as *ishsheh* (offering made by fire), whole burnt offering (*kālīl*), peace offerings (*shelāmīm*), and (probably) *āshām*—guilt offering.[3] It is hard to avoid the conclusion that these terms were already

[3]Cyrus H. Gordon denies that Ugaritic *aṯm* has any relation to the Hebrew *'āšām*. It occurs in Text 27:7-9 in fragmentary lines which Gordon leaves untranslated. Text 45:7 likewise has "(. . . . .) *lgd aṯm*," but this too is fragmentary. However, since

current in Palestine at the time of Moses and the Conquest, and that the whole line of reasoning which made out the terminology of the Levitical cultus to be late is devoid of foundation.

In order to support a late date for the Priestly Code it is usually asserted that none of its provisions or ordinances is mentioned in any of the pre-Exilic literature; the pre-Exilic authors seem to be quite ignorant of them. Therefore, it is urged, the material contained in Document P must have been composed after the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.). Driver says (ILOT 136): "The pre-Exilic period shows no indications of P being in operation." Again (p. 137): "Nor is the legislation of P presupposed in Deuteronomy." These assertions, however, are not supported by the textual evidence. The pre-Exilic historical books in general, and Deuteronomy in particular, do in fact refer to Levitical legislation as already in being and as binding upon the conscience of Israel.

In the first place, it is significant how even Driver himself is compelled to qualify the sweeping generalizations just quoted when he discusses Deuteronomy 14:3-20 (ILOT 137, 138): "Here is a long passage virtually identical in Deuteronomy and Leviticus [i.e., Lev. 11:2-23, concerning clean and unclean animals]; and that it is borrowed by D from P—or at least from a priestly collection of *toroth*—rather than conversely, appears from certain features of style which connect it with P and not with Deuteronomy. . . . If so, however, one part of P was in existence when Deuteronomy was written." But actually this is not the only such section in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy 15:1 refers to the year of release, just as it was ordained in Leviticus 25:2ff. Moreover Deuteronomy 23:9, 10 implies a knowledge of those laws of ceremonial impurity which are contained in Leviticus 15. Deuteronomy 24:8 expressly affirms the existence of a Mosaic law of leprosy which had been given to the priests (as in Lev. 13 and 14). Other references in Deuteronomy which point explicitly to P laws pertain to Leviticus 11, 13–15, 17–19 and Numbers 18:20ff. If these are really old laws (as Driver suggests) which existed prior to the codification of P, then (as Orr points out in POT 315) "these old laws must have been so extremely like those we possess in Leviticus that it is hardly worth disputing about the differences, and the argument against the pre-Exilian existence of the Levitical law goes for nothing."

But it is not only in Deuteronomy that these references to P legislation appear. In Amos 2:11, 12, we read: "And I raised up of your sons for prophets, and of your young men for Nazirites. . . . But ye gave the

Gordon offers no translation at all for either of these texts, it would seem to be going beyond the evidence to deny that *aṯm* might correspond to *'ăšăm*. Strangely enough, Gordon omits the word altogether from the glossary of his 1955 *Ugaritic Manual*, even though that glossary is supposed to contain all the complete words of the Ugaritic texts, whether or not their meaning is known.

Nazirites wine to drink." This passage implies a knowledge of Numbers 6:1-21 (P), the only place in the Old Testament where the order of Nazirites is established; the prohibition against their drinking wine is found in Numbers 6:3 (P). Again, in Amos 4:5 condemnation is voiced of those who "offer a sacrifice . . . of that which is leavened," which certainly alludes to the provision found in Leviticus 2:11 (P), where the use of leaven in sacrifice was forbidden. Such characteristic P terms as "burnt offering," "meal offering" and "peace offering" all occur in Amos 5:22 (cf. Lev. 7:11-14; 8:1-32, etc.). Likewise we meet with "free will offering" (*nᵉdābāh*) in Amos 4:5 (cf. Lev. 7:16-18; 22:18; Num. 15:3—P passages all), and "solemn assembly" (*ʿaṣārāh*) in Amos 5:21 (Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35).

The only reasonable inference from all these references (including those also which allude to Deuteronomy) is that already in 755 B.C. there was a written body of law, including both P and D, and labeled by the prophet himself as the Torah of Yahweh (Amos 2:4), and accepted by his public as an authentic and authoritative body of legislation binding upon them.[4] Nor is there the slightest hint or suggestion that either Amos himself or any other representatives of the Prophetic school were attempting any innovation or promulgating any new teaching in theology or in the cult. Pfeiffer and Eissfeldt have attempted to evade the impact of this evidence from Amos by asserting that all such allusions to the Torah are later insertions. But surely this is a counsel of desperation which contrasts markedly with the confident assertion of Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen that no traces of P legislation are to be found in any pre-Exilic Hebrew literature. This was an argument allegedly based upon the evidence of the Biblical text itself. When therefore the text itself refutes the claim, there is no reasonable alternative but to withdraw it as unfounded. Nor is this kind of evidence confined to Amos, for it is also found in Hosea. Compare Hosea 8:11, 12: "For Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning. . . . I wrote for him the ten thousand things of my law; but they are accounted as a strange thing." It is difficult to see in this expression, "ten thousand things of my law," a mere reference to J and E, in which the legislative element is quite negligible.

It should be borne in mind in this connection that a customary method for ascertaining the date when a document was written is to take stock of all references to contemporary conditions, social and political, which it contains; particularly the incidental allusions (for these are apt to betray the true date of even spurious works which pretend to have been written earlier than they really were). Applying this investigative method to the Priestly Code, we find the internal evidence points with almost overwhelming conclusiveness to a date long before the Exile; it is im-

[4]See Chap. 22, p. 308.

possible to square many features of P with what we know of post-Exilic conditions. For example:

1. The tabernacle of Exodus and Leviticus (regarded by Wellhausen as mere fiction, projected back to Moses' time to furnish a warrant for the temple at Jerusalem) had but one table of shewbread (whereas Solomon's temple had ten), and only one lampstand (Solomon's had ten), and measured only ten cubits by thirty (whereas the temple was twenty by sixty). The dimensions represent a 200 per cent increase, whereas the articles of furniture were multiplied 1000 per cent.

2. Note also that this allegedly fictitious tabernacle was stated by P to have been dedicated on the first of Nisan (Exod. 40:2), whereas the post-Exilic temple of Zerubbabel was dedicated on the third of Adar (Ezra 6:15) and the temple of Solomon sometime in the month of Ethanim, or Tishri (I Kings 8:2).

3. The post-Exilic temple apparently lacked the ark of the covenant and its two tables of the decalogue (for no mention is made of them after the fall of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.), and yet they figured very prominently in P's tabernacle.

4. The post-Exilic priesthood is never referred to as possessing the Urim and Thummim, or as wearing an ephod, in any purportedly post-Exilic record (although they may perhaps have done so).

5. Very striking is the contrast between P with its single fast (the Day of Atonement) and the three or four major fasts observed by the post-Exilic Jews (cf. Zech. 8:19). Certainly any Exilic or post-Exilic priests, seeking to manufacture Mosaic sanctions for all their cherished contemporary rites and institutions, would not have failed to include some sort of warrant for at least some extra fasts.

6. As regards the celebration of the Passover, P (Exod. 12:7, 46) permits the eating of the Passover meal in private homes— a license hardly compatible with a monopolistic priesthood—rather than insisting upon its celebration at the central sanctuary (as Deut. 16:5-12 ordains). Apparently the Exodus 12 provision had in view Israel's nomadic existence prior to the Conquest, whereas Deuteronomy looked forward to conditions obtaining in Palestine after its conquest and settlement.

7. As for the cities of refuge, mentioned so prominently in P (Num. 35:9-14), they are never mentioned as such in the post-Exilic records. Furthermore, most of them were situated well outside the boundaries of the Persian province of Judea in Ezra's time.

8. Elements in the Jewish ritual and temple service which figured very prominently in the post-Exilic period receive no mention whatsoever in this allegedly priest-inspired document, P. Thus, we find no reference whatsoever to (1) the Levitical guild of temple singers; (2) the scribes, of which Ezra himself was the acknowledged leader; (3) the temple servants known as the Nethinim; (4) the employment of musical instru-

ments. It is impossible to explain how a professional priestly group, manufacturing a spurious Law of Moses for the purpose of justifying and enforcing their claims to special authority, could have failed to include Mosaic sanctions for any of these items. Nor, for that matter, is it explicable how J and E and D could have failed to mention items (1), (3) and (4), if they were in fact composed later than the reign of Solomon (970-931 B.C.), under whom the temple singers, Nethinim and musical instruments were intimately involved in the temple cultus. It is therefore difficult to account for this astonishing silence about matters of peculiarly priestly interest, except upon the basis that P was in fact composed before Solomon's time.

In this connection it ought to be pointed out that the holy city of Jerusalem is never mentioned in the Mosaic legislation. There is a reference to Melchizedek, king of *Salem,* in Genesis 14; Mount Moriah is named as the scene of Isaac's near-sacrifice; and "the mountain of thine inheritance" is a phrase appearing in Exodus 15:17. But never once is Jerusalem referred to as such in the Torah. How is it possible that after five hundred years of existence as the religious and political capital of the Jewish commonwealth the assorted contributors to Document P neglected to include any slightest sanction for the Holy City? Not even by later interpolations (such as apparently crept into the Samaritan text of the Torah to establish the sanctity of their holy Mount Gerizim) were Zion and Jerusalem certified as the uniquely acceptable place in which to offer sacrifice according to either P or J or E. Even Deuteronomy leaves the "place Jehovah shall choose" (12:5, 14; 16:16) altogether anonymous, though it would have been very easy for a seventh century author to insert at least the name of Jerusalem, even if he hesitated to disturb the illusion of Mosaic origin by specifying its future importance. A large number of other Palestinian cities are referred to by name in Document D, but never Jerusalem.

Lastly it should be pointed out that one of the most frequent and characteristic titles of God employed by the post-Exilic prophets and authors is never once found in the entire Pentateuch. This title is "Jehovah of Hosts" (*Yahweh Ṣebā'ōt*), which occurs 67 times in Isaiah (in 66 chapters), 83 times in Jeremiah (in 52 chapters), 13 times in Haggai (two chapters), 51 times in Zechariah (14 chapters), and 25 times in Malachi (three or four chapters). This indicates a mounting frequency or popularity for this title culminating in the three post-Exilic prophets: Haggai (6.5 times per chapter), Zechariah (3.5 times per chapter), and Malachi 6 to 8 times per chapter). It is well-nigh impossible to explain how *Yahweh Ṣebā'ōt* could fail to appear in Document P, if in fact it was composed after the Exile. (While it is true that Ezekiel does not use this title either, the Documentary Theory attributes strong Ezekiel influence only to H, i.e., Leviticus 17–26, and dates the rest of P as arising between

550 and 450 B.C.) No other title for God approaches the frequency with which this one was used by the very prophets in whose generation this Priestly Code was supposedly being composed. (At the same time it should be recognized that the narrative authors, Ezra and Nehemiah, do not employ this expression except in Chronicles. For some reason it was not much used by the Jews dwelling in Babylonia.) It occurred 11 times in I and II Samuel, six times in Kings, but not once in the entire Pentateuch. The most natural inference to draw from these data is that *Yahweh Ṣebā'ōt* was not invented as a title for God until after the period of the Judges, and that P, along with J, E and D, was composed before the age of the Judges began.

13

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE ANTIQUITY OF THE PENTATEUCH

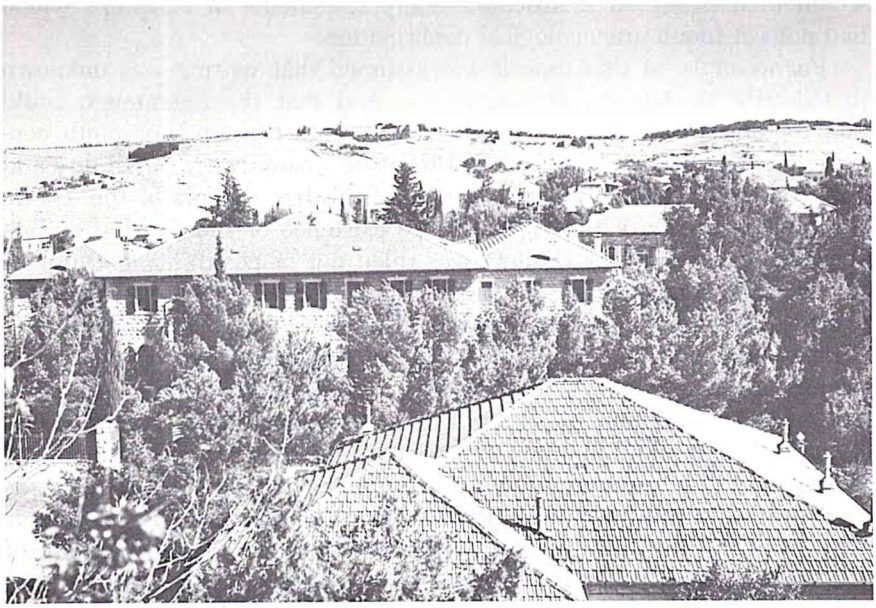
IT WAS ONLY NATURAL that the Wellhausen Hypothesis should base its judgments concerning the historicity of the Old Testament record upon the data of archaeology then available in the nineteenth century. Yet those data were regrettably meager during the formative period of the Documentary Theory, and it was possible on the basis of the ignorance which then prevailed to discount many statements in Scripture which had not yet found archaeological confirmation.

For example, at that time it was assumed that writing was unknown in Palestine during the Mosaic period, and that the Pentateuch could not, therefore, have found a written form until the tenth or ninth centuries B.C. The references to the Hittites were treated with incredulity and condemned as mere fiction on the part of the late authors of the Torah; the same was true of the Horites. The existence of such a king as Belshazzar (in the book of Daniel) was ruled out of possibility because no Greek author had mentioned him, and the Biblical record could be presumed to be wrong. Since the days of Hupfeld, Graf and Kuenen archaeological discovery has confirmed the use of alphabetic writing in the Canaanite-speaking cultures of 1500 B.C., and has contributed large numbers of documents to demonstrate the existence and major importance of both the Hittites and Horites (or Hurrians, as they are more commonly known), and also cuneiform tablets containing the name of Belshazzar.

In case after case where alleged historical inaccuracy was pointed to as proof of late and spurious authorship of the Biblical documents, the Hebrew record has been vindicated by the results of recent excavation, and the scornful judgments of the documentarian theorists have been proved without foundation. W. F. Albright, the foremost American archaeologist of this generation, and a man who was himself brought up on the Wellhausen theory, had this to say in *The American Scholar* (1941, p. 181): "Archaeological and inscriptional data have established the historicity of innumerable passages and statements of the Old Testament;

the number of such cases is many times greater than those where the reverse has been proved or has been made probable." Further on in the same article (p. 185) he said: "Wellhausen still ranks in our eyes as the greatest Biblical scholar of the nineteenth century. But his standpoint is antiquated and his picture of the early evolution of Israel is sadly distorted." A more recent author, John Elder, states:[1] "It is not too much to say that it was the rise of the science of archaeology that broke the deadlock between historians and the orthodox Christian. Little by little, one city after another, one civilization after another, one culture after another, whose memories were enshrined only in the Bible, were restored to their proper places in ancient history by the studies of archaeologists. . . . Contemporary records of Biblical events have been unearthed and the uniqueness of Biblical revelation has been emphasized by contrast and comparison to newly discovered religions of ancient peoples. Nowhere has archaeological discovery refuted the Bible as history."

This chapter cannot do justice to so extensive a subject as the entire field of Biblical archaeology, but can only bring out a few of the best known and most significant discoveries of the post-Wellhausen era. Standard works on this subject are:



The activities of archaeologists in the Near East have done much to answer the claims of the Wellhausen school of higher criticism. At the forefront of archaeological activity in Palestine is the American School of Oriental Research. Here is a view of the Jerusalem, Jordan, headquarters.
(*Photo by John C. Trever, courtesy of* The Biblical Archaeologist)

[1]*Prophets, Idols and Diggers* (1960), p. 16, a book endorsed by an editorial board consisting of American liberal clergymen.

Albright, W. F. *The Archaeology of Palestine* (reprinted, 1960)
Barton, G. A. *Archaeology and the Bible* (7th ed., 1937), a work consisting largely in translations of ancient pagan documents having a relevance for the Old Testament
Finegan, J. *Light from the Ancient Past* (2nd ed., 1959), which contains more extensive discussion and less actual translation
Free, J. P. *Archaeology and Bible History* (1956), a conservative treatment of the field on a semi-popular level
Price, I. M., and others. *The Monuments and the Old Testament* (1958), an extensive revision of an older work, which surveys the field on a semi-popular level from a moderately liberal standpoint
Pritchard, J. B. (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (1950), which is now the standard translation of almost all the ancient documents and literature having a bearing upon the Bible
Thomas, D. W. (ed.) *Documents from Old Testament Times* (1958), an excellent anthology of ancient non-Biblical texts in translation, with introductions and notes
Unger, M. F. *Archaeology and the Old Testament* (1954), a somewhat more thorough and up-to-date discussion from the conservative standpoint than Free's *Archaeology and Bible History*

In the following pages an attempt is made to group some of the foremost discoveries affecting erroneous criticisms leveled against the historical accuracy of the Pentateuch by adherents of the Documentary school. Each of these ill-founded allegations is followed by a list of archaeological data tending to refute it. No attempt is made to discuss these various discoveries in detail, but a brief summary is given of their importance relative to the allegation concerned.

Allegation: The art of writing was virtually unknown in Israel prior to the establishment of the Davidic monarchy; therefore there could have been no written records going back to the time of Moses.

Refutation: (1) The earliest Hebrew document thus far discovered is the Gezer Calendar, written about 925 B.C. (found by Macalister in the 1900's). But since it is obviously a mere schoolboy's exercise, it demonstrates that the art of writing was so well known and widely practiced in Israel during the tenth century that even the children were being taught this skill in the provinces.

(2) The Ugaritic or Ras Shamra Tablets (discovered by Schaeffer in 1929) date from about 1400 B.C. They are written in a thirty-letter alphabet and couched in a language more closely related to Hebrew than to any other known Semitic dialect. They principally consist in religious epic poetry referring to such deities as El, Baal, Anath, Asherat and Mot, and exhibit the depraved polytheism which characterized the Canaanites

at the time of the Israelite Conquest. (a) As already pointed out in Chapter 12, they feature several cultic terms which were alleged by Wellhausen to be post-Exilic P inventions. This surely establishes the fact that these technical terms for sacrifice were the common property of the whole Canaanite area nearly a thousand years before they were supposed to have arisen according to the Documentary Hypothesis. (b) They also furnish many parallels to poetic clichés and characteristic expressions found both in the poetic portions of the Pentateuch and in the Psalms. They refer to Baal's home as being situated "on the mountain of his inheritance," which comes very close to Exodus 15:17 with its phrase, "the mountain of thine inheritance" (which the critics formerly insisted was a reference to Mount Zion). Even some of the poetic forms and parallelisms in these Ugaritic epics show a close resemblance to Hebrew poetry. Compare, for example, the tricolonic parallelism used in the song of Miriam (Exod. 15) and in some of the psalms (e.g., Ps. 92:9), which reflects a style characteristic of the Ugaritic poems. Some of the rare and dubious words of the Hebrew poetry occur also in the Ras Shamra documents, which have therefore shed light upon their meaning. (Cf. Albright AP, 231-233.)

(3) Even earlier than the Ras Shamra literature was the assortment of alphabetic inscriptions found at the turquoise mines of Serabit el-Khadim (the ancient Dophkah), dating from 1500 B.C. at the very latest. These hieroglyphic inscriptions (discovered by Petrie in 1904) exhibit an alphabetic system which furnishes the ancestry for the letters of the Phoenician alphabet. Obviously the authors of these inscriptions were Semitic miners in the employ of Egypt. The natural inference is that writing was so widely diffused among the Semites of the pre-Mosaic age that even the lowest classes could read and write.

Allegation: The Genesis accounts of the career of Abraham and his descendants are untrustworthy and often unhistorical. Nöldeke even went so far as to deny the historical existence of Abraham altogether.

Refutation: The twentieth century has brought abundant confirmation of the Biblical record through the following archaelogical discoveries.

(1) The city of Ur in southern Sumeria was thoroughly excavated by Leonard Woolley (1922-34) and it proved to be a large and flourishing city which enjoyed an advanced civilization around 2000 B.C., which would have been precisely Abraham's period. The average middle-class citizens lived in well-appointed houses containing from ten to twenty rooms. Schools were maintained for the education of the young, for schoolboy tablets have been discovered which attest their training in reading, writing, and arithmetic and religion (Free, *Archaeology and Bible History*, pp. 49, 50). There has been some question in recent years as to whether it was the Sumerian Ur that was referred to, but the evidence for a more northerly city of the same name is still meager.

(2) The name *Abram* has been discovered in tablets dating from the sixteenth century B.C. Thus, an Akkadian tablet dated 1554 B.C., or the eleventh year of Amiṣadugga of Babylon (Barton, AB 344), records the hiring of an ox by a farmer named Abarama. Two other tablets refer to this same man as Abamrama.[2]

(3) As for Abraham's career in Palestine, the excavations at Shechem and Bethel show that they were inhabited in Abraham's time. A ninth century writer might well have represented the patriarch as stopping at cities which were not standing in the twentieth century B.C., although they may have become famous later.

(4) The older scholars criticized Genesis 13 as unhistorical, on the ground that the Jordan Valley was relatively uninhabited in Abraham's time. But Nelson Glueck has in recent decades uncovered more than seventy sites in the Jordan Valley, some of them as ancient as 3000 B.C.

(5) Genesis 14 was rejected by Nöldeke on the grounds (a) that the names of the Mesopotamian kings were fictional, (b) that there was no such extensive travel from Mesopotamia to Palestine in Abraham's day, and (c) that there was no such line of march east of the Jordan River. But as to (a) the likelihood of a Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, later discovery has shown that an Elamite dynasty did indeed establish a temporary overlordship in Sumer and Akkad, and that some of these kings had names beginning with "Kudur" (meaning "servant"), and that there was an Elamite goddess named Lagamar. Thus Kudur-lagamar might very well have participated in this invasion. It is stated in one tablet (Barton, AB[7] 349) that a king named Kudur-Mabug had a son named Eri-aku (or else his name could be read Arad-Sin, "Servant of the moon-god"), and that he was king of Larsa—very close to "Arioch king of Ellasar" (Gen. 14:1). The Mari Tablets also attest the currency of the name Ariyuk (so Albright in Rowley OTMS 6). A Babylonian wagon contract dating from a time shortly after Hammurabi stipulates that the wagon hired must not be driven to the coast of the Mediterranean (indicating that wagons often were driven to Palestine in those days). (Cf. Barton, AB 347.)

The net result of all this archaeological confirmation of the agreement of Genesis 14 with conditions obtaining in that period has been to convince Gunkel, Albright, and many others, that this episode rests upon authentic tradition perhaps going back to the twentieth century B.C. Albright concludes (in Alleman and Flack, *Old Testament Commentary*, p. 140): "In spite of our failure hitherto to fix the historical horizon of this chapter, we may be certain that its contents are very ancient. There are several words and expressions found nowhere else in the Bible and now known to belong to the second millennium. The names of the

[2]Following an older chronology, Barton dates the first tablet at 1965 B.C.; but according to Van der Meer's date in *The Ancient Chronology of Western Asia and Egypt* (1947), Ammiṣaduqa began his reign in 1565.

towns in Transjordania are also known to be very ancient." It should be pointed out, however, that the earlier identification of "Amraphel king of Shinar" with the celebrated Hammurabi of Babylon is now no longer tenable, for he flourished in the eighteenth century, whereas Abraham belonged to the twentieth or twenty-first century (according to the Biblical record). This revised date for Hammurabi's reign (ca. 1728-1676) has been established on the basis of diplomatic correspondence discovered at Mari between Zimri-Lim, the last king of Mari, and Hammurabi himself.[3] Since the time of Zimri-Lim has been fixed from other synchronisms, the later date for the famous lawgiver seems firmly grounded.

(6) The Mari Tablets were discovered by Parrot at Tell Hariri on the middle Euphrates in 1933. These twenty thousand tablets were written in Akkadian during the eighteenth century B.C., and confirm the existence of the city of Nakhur (named after Abraham's brother, Nahor, according to Gen. 24:10; cf. 11:27). They also refer to the name Ariyuk (Arioch) as current in the early second millennium. They even mention the Ḫabiru (which is probably the Akkadian form of the Canaanite term *'Ibriʸm or* "Hebrew"), a designation first applied to Abraham in the Genesis record, but which from the cuneiform evidence seems to have referred to certain groups of warlike "wanderers" or "people from the other side," who may or may not have been ethnically related to each other. Other names which occur in these documents from Mari are Banu-Yamina (note the similarity to "Benjamin"), a tribe of fierce nomads, and the designation for "chieftain" employed by the Banu-Yamina: *dawidum* (presumably connected with the name "David"). The early occurrence of these two words gives a background for their appearance in later Hebrew history.

(7) The Nuzu or Nuzi Tablets, found by Chiera and Speiser at Nuzi (near Kirkuk) on the Tigris in 1925, date from the fifteenth century, and betray a strong Hurrian influence in the type of Akkadian used in the several thousand tablets discovered. They serve to confirm the historicity of many of the customs and usages practiced by Abraham and the other patriarchs prior to the Egyptian sojourn. (a) Abraham's reference to his servant Eliezer as "son of his house" in Genesis 15:2 (prior to the birth of Ishmael and Isaac) indicated that he had adopted him as his legal heir. God's rejection of this arrangement (Gen. 15:4) might have occasioned Abraham embarrassment had it not been customary (as Nuzi texts show) to set aside the claims of an adopted son if a natural heir was subsequently born into the family. (b) The legitimacy of selling one's birthright (as Esau sold his to Jacob in Gen. 25:33) was established at Nuzi, for in one case the older brother was validly recompensed by a payment of three sheep for selling to his younger brother the rights of

[3]See BASOR No. 88, Dec. 1942, pp. 28-36.

primogeniture.[4] (c) The binding character of a deathbed will, such as was elicited from Isaac by Jacob, is attested by a case where a man named Tarmiya established his right to a woman he had married by proving that his father on his deathbed orally bestowed her on him. This was sufficient to win the lawsuit brought against him by his brothers. (d) A plausible motive for Rachel's theft of her father's teraphim (Gen. 31) is supplied by a Nuzi record of a case where a man was able in court to claim the estate of his father-in-law because he possessed the family teraphim (or household gods).[5] H. H. Rowley comes to this conclusion regarding the patriarchal narratives in Genesis: "Their accurate reflection of social conditions in the patriarchal age and in some parts of the Mesopotamia from which the patriarchs are said to have come, many centuries before the present documents were composed, is striking."[6]

(8) The Hittite Legal Code (discovered by Winckler at Ḫattušaš or Boghaz-köy 1906-1912 and dating from about 1300 B.C.) illuminates the transaction recorded in Genesis 23 where Abraham purchased the cave of Machpelah from Ephron the Hittite. Hittite law explains the reluctance of Abraham to buy the entire parcel, and his preference for acquiring only the cave itself and the territory immediately adjacent. The law required the owner of an entire tract to perform the duties of *ilḳu* or feudal service, a responsibility which doubtless included pagan religious observances. As a Jehovah-worshiper Abraham was alert enough to prefer avoiding this involvement by purchasing only a fraction of the parcel, thus leaving Ephron responsible to perform *ilḳu* as original owner of the tract. As Manfred Lehmann brings out,[7] the account in Genesis 23 exhibits such an intimate knowledge of Hittite procedure as to make it certain that the episode antedated the destruction of the Hittite power in the thirteenth century B.C.

Allegation: The legislation of the Priestly Code represents a late, post-Exilic stage in the development of Israel's religion; laws of this sort could never have been devised until the fifth century B.C.

Refutation: (1) The Babylonian Code of Hammurabi, discovered by de Morgan and Scheil at Susa in 1901, shows numerous similarities to the provisions in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers relative to the punishment of crimes and the imposition of damages for torts and breaches of contract. Many of these similar laws are included by Wellhausen in Document P. Generally speaking, the resemblances are found in the Israelite *mišpāṭīm* (civil laws of customary origin, generally having an "if . . . then . . ." type of structure). For example, (a) Leviticus 19:23-25 provides that after an orchard is planted, the cultivator of it may not eat of its fruit until the fifth year. Code of Hammurabi #60 stipulates that

[4]See C. H. Gordon in *The Biblical Archaeologist* III (1940), p. 5.
[5]Cf. C. H. Gordon in *Revue Biblique*, XLIV (1935), pp. 35 ff.
[6]*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, Sept. 1949, p. 76.
[7]BASOR No. 129, Feb. 1953, p. 18.

the tenant farmer who has planted an orchard may not eat of its fruit until the fifth year (at which time he must let the owner of the property take the better half of the crop). (b) Leviticus 20:10 provides the death penalty for both the adulterer and the adulteress. C. H. #129 provides that both parties to adultery are to be drowned, unless a pardon is secured from the king, or unless the wife is pardoned by her husband. (c) Numbers 5:11-28 describes a procedure for determining the guilt or innocence of a wife who has been suspected by her husband of infidelity: she is to drink a potion of "bitter water" upon which a curse has been invoked if she is guilty. C. H. #132 provides that a wife suspected of adultery (although not apprehended in the act) shall be cast into the river to see whether she will sink (if guilty) or float (if innocent). (d) Leviticus 20:12 requires the death penalty for both parties when a man commits adultery with his daughter-in-law. C. H. #155 exacts capital punishment only of the father-in-law in such a case, presumably on the ground that the woman would not dare to refuse the head of the household. (e) Leviticus 24:19, 20 fixes the damages for mayhem as the same injury to be inflicted on the offender ("an eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth"). C. H. #196, 197, 200 require the same penalty where both parties are of the same social class, but only monetary damages where the injured party is of a lower class.

The resemblances are so striking as to demonstrate that laws of the P type are by no means too advanced for the age of Moses, since they found a fairly close correspondence with the legal systems prevailing in Babylonia centuries before his time. It can hardly be objected that the Israelites were too primitive to be governed by laws such as these back in Moses' time, since according to their own explicit record they had been living in the midst of one of the most advanced civilizations of ancient times for over four hundred years, and would naturally have entertained more advanced concepts of jurisprudence than tribes indigenous to the desert. It might be expected that Egyptian regulations would have exerted a more profound influence upon the Hebrew code than did the Babylonian (which could only have survived as an oral tradition from Abrahamic days). But since no law codes have ever yet been discovered in Egypt (Pritchard, ANET 212), it is impossible to assess the Egyptian element one way or the other. It should be understood, of course, that the differences between the Torah and the Code of Hammurabi are far more striking than the resemblances. But the differences proceed largely from the entirely different ideology to which each of the two cultures adhered.

Most numerous, however, are the resemblances between the Babylonian code and the book of the covenant contained in Exodus 21–23. Compare, for example, Exodus 21:2-11 with #117; Exodus 21:15 with #195; Exodus 21:16 with #14; Exodus 21:22-25 with #209-213; Exodus 21:28-36 with #250-252; Exodus 22:7-9 with #120; Exodus 22:9 with

#267; Exodus 23:1-3 with #1-4. This evidence of course establishes the possibility of a Mosaic date for these regulations, rather than the 800 B.C. period assigned to them by the Documentarian school. The same is true of those provisions which show an affinity to the Deuteronomic legislation (Deut. 19:16-21 and #1; Deut. 22:23-27 and #130) which is not a mere restatement of laws in Exodus through Numbers. The legislation of eighteenth century Babylon establishes the possible antiquity of these supposedly Josianic (seventh century) provisions of Document D.

(2) The fifteenth century Ras Shamra Tablets, as before pointed out,[8] furnish a goodly number of technical terms for sacrifice which Wellhausen had declared to be of fifth century origin ("offering made by fire," "peace offering," "sin offering," "trespass offering" and possibly even *t*ᵉ*nūpah,* "heave offering"—cf. K-B Lexicon 1034a). In addition to cultic terms we find mention of the rite of boiling a kid in its mother's milk as an acceptable way to approach a god (Gordon: Text 52:14). This gives point to the prohibition of this superstitious heathen practice in Exodus 23:19; 34:26 and Deuteronomy 14:21.

Concerning this whole question of the late date assigned by critics to the Mosaic legislation, Millar Burrows of Yale had this to say:[9] "Scholars have sometimes supposed that the social and moral level of the laws attributed to Moses was too high for such an early age. The standards represented by the ancient law codes of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Hittites, as well as the high ideals found in the Egyptian Book of the Dead, and the early Wisdom Literature of the Egyptians, have effectively refuted this assumption."

Allegation: The whole account of the Hebrew conquest of Transjordan and Palestine as recorded in Numbers and Joshua is grossly unhistorical and out of harmony with conditions prevailing in the late second millennium.

Refutation: (1) The Egyptian Execration Texts of the Twelfth Dynasty serve to confirm the historicity of the political situation in Palestine as portrayed in the Pentateuch and in Joshua. These consist of two groups: a collection of inscribed bowls found by Sethe in 1926 (now in the Berlin Museum) dating from about 1920 B.C.; and a group of inscribed statuettes found by Posener in 1940 (now in the Brussels Museum) dating from about 1820 B.C. These objects were inscribed with the names of tributary cities and states in Palestine which were bound by oath to be loyal to Egypt. Their apparent purpose was voodooistic; i.e., if the people represented by these names should violate their oaths, the jars or statuettes were to be smashed, so as to bring a curse upon the rebels themselves. The significant factor is that the inscriptions in the second group indicate a perceptible decrease in the number of tribal units and an in-

[8]See Chap. 12, p. 149.
[9]*What Mean These Stones?* (1941), p. 56.

crease in the number of city-states in the land of Palestine—the situation reflected in the book of Joshua.[10]

(2) The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, discovered at Tell el-Amarna (ancient Akhetaten) in 1887, and dating from 1400-1370 B.C., consist of a file of correspondence written in Akkadian cuneiform to the Egyptian court by Palestinian and Syrian princelings. These letters contain for the most part alarming reports of the depredations of fierce invaders and urgent requests for Egyptian troops to help repel these dangerous incursions. They also report a condition of chaotic disunity among the various petty kings of Canaan, and a tendency to forsake their allegiance to Egypt in favor of an alliance with the invading *Ḫabiru* or *ʿApiru* (as Albright and Mendenhall transcribe the name). The towns mentioned by a correspondent from Megiddo as having fallen to the invaders are all in the region of Arad in the south, which was the first territory invaded by the Israelites, according to Numbers 21:1-3. Other cities listed as already fallen are those recorded in Joshua as having been captured early in the Israelite conquest: Gezer, Ashkelon and Lachish. There are no letters at all from Jericho, Beersheba, Bethel or Gibeon, which were the first to fall before Joshua's troops. More details concerning the Amarna correspondence will be given in Chapter 19, but from what has been already indicated it is safe to say that these tablets record the Hebrew conquest of Canaan in 1400-1380 from the standpoint of the Canaanites themselves.

(3) The "Israel" Stela of King Merneptah, found by Petrie at Thebes in 1896, dates from 1229 B.C., and contains the only extant Egyptian reference to the Hebrew nation as "Israel." In this encomium of praise to the Egyptian king (son of Rameses the Great) a list of nations and localities is given toward the close of the inscription, with the declaration that they were conquered or pillaged by Merneptah's irresistible troops. This list includes the land of the Hittites, Canaan itself, Ashkelon in Philistia, Gezer near the Valley of Aijalon, Yanoam up at the northern tip of Palestine (near Laish-Dan), Israel (with an ethnic determinative rather than a local city determinative), and the land of the Horites. Obviously, if Merneptah found Israelites in possession of portions of Palestine even up toward the northern frontier, the Israelite conquest must already have taken place substantially before 1229 B.C. Since this Palestinian campaign is dated in the fifth regnal year of Merneptah, he could not have been the Pharaoh of the Exodus, as the older exponents of the "late date theory" used to maintain. (The only way to avoid this conclusion is to allege, contrary to the Genesis record itself, that some Israelites never migrated to Egypt with the rest of the family of Jacob.) It would obvious-

[10]Cf. Albright AP 83. In this connection Albright also observes that a rare word for "henchmen" occurring in Gen. 14:14—*hᵃnikim*—has proved to be derived from the Egyptian *ḥnkw*, "henchmen" (KJV "trained servants"), which appears in these Execration Texts—cf. Rowley OTMS 6.

ly be difficult for Merneptah to have been the Pharaoh who permitted the Israelites to flee from Egypt, and then after their forty years of wilderness wandering and several more years of conquest, to find them settled in Palestine by his fifth year![11]

Many other archaeological discoveries tending to verify the accuracy of the Biblical record will be described in subsequent chapters, in which their evidence bears upon special details relevant to particular books in the Old Testament. It is because of the cumulative impact of all these findings that archaeologists like W. F. Albright have felt constrained to concede the essential accuracy of the Pentateuch. Albright puts it this way (AP 224): "The contents of our Pentateuch are, in general, very much older than the date at which they were finally edited; new discoveries continue to confirm the historical accuracy or the literary antiquity of detail after detail in it. . . . It is, accordingly, sheer hypercriticism to deny the substantially Mosaic character of the Pentateuchal tradition." In an earlier article ("Archaeology Confronts Biblical Criticism") he affirmed that the assumption that pious fraud and pseudepigraphy were common in Israel "is without parallel in the pre-Hellenistic Orient." On the contrary, he states, we find there a superstitious veneration for both written word and oral tradition.[12]

[11]A detailed discussion of the date of the Exodus will be found in Chap. 16.
[12]Cf. also the quotations from this article on pp. 155-156 of this chapter.

Part Two

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION

14

GENESIS (I)

THE TITLE *Genesis* (Greek for "beginning") was applied to this book by the Septuagint. The Hebrew title consists of the first word or two in the book, *bᵉrēʾšiʸt* ("in the beginning"). The main theme or subject matter consists of origins: the origin of the created world, of the human race, of the various nations of earth, and then particularly of the covenant family which composes the redeemed people of God.

As for the authorship of the book, it contains no express record as to who composed it. According to tradition, however, the author was Moses himself, and a specific ordinance like circumcision on the eighth day, which appears in Genesis 17:12, is referred to in the New Testament (John 7:23) as part of the Law of Moses. In support of this tradition is the circumstance that precisely the information needed to make the book of Exodus intelligible is supplied by the book of Genesis. It is in Genesis that the promises to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are spelled out, the promises so frequently referred to in the other books of the Torah as being fulfilled by the momentous events of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. Moreover, the fact that Exodus 1:1 begins with the word "and" (Hebrew) indicates that it was intended to follow some preceding book.

An additional consideration is found in the requirements of the situation confronting Moses as he sought to write out a constitution for the theocracy of Jehovah shortly to be established in the Promised Land. It was absolutely essential to national unity for the Israelite people to have an accurate record of their own national origin in Abraham and God's covenantal dealing with him and his seed. While materials which the author used for the composition of this book doubtless came to him from five to six centuries before his time, prior to Jacob's migration into Egypt, nevertheless Moses seems to have served as a Spirit-guided compiler and interpreter of the pre-existent material which had come to him from his forebears in oral and written form.

Outline of Genesis

I. The Beginning of Mankind, 1:1–11:32
   A. The creation of the world, 1:1–2:3
   B. The place of man in the world, 2:4-25
   C. The entry of sin and the resultant fall, 3:1–4:26
      (The covenant of grace instituted)
   D. The antediluvian races and patriarchs (Adam to Noah), 5:1-32
   E. The sinfulness of the world purged by the Flood, 6:1–9:29
   F. The posterity of Noah and the early races of the Near East, 10:1–11:32

II. The Life of Abraham, 12:1–25:18
   A. Abram's call, and his acceptance of the covenant by faith, 12:1–14:24
   B. Renewal and confirmation of the covenant, 15:1–17:27
   C. Deliverance of Lot from Sodom, 18:1–19:38
   D. Abraham and Abimelech, 20:1-18
   E. The birth and marriage of Isaac, the son of promise, 21:1–24:67
   F. The posterity of Abraham, 25:1-18

III. The Life of Isaac and His Family, 25:19–26:35
   A. Birth of Esau and Jacob, 25:19-28
   B. Sale of Esau's birthright to Jacob, 25:29-34
   C. Isaac and Abimelech II, 26:1-16
   D. The dispute at Beersheba, 26:17-33
   E. Esau's marriages, 26:34, 35

IV. The Life of Jacob, 27:1–37:1
   A. Jacob in his father's home, 27:1-46
   B. Jacob's exile and journey, 28:1-22
   C. Jacob with Laban in Syria, 29:1–33:15
   D. Jacob's return to the Promised Land, 33:16–35:20
   E. The posterity of Jacob and Esau, 35:21–37:1

V. The Life of Joseph, 37:2–50:26
   A. Joseph's boyhood, 37:2-36
   B. Judah and Tamar, 38:1-30
   C. Joseph's promotion in Egypt, 39:1–41:57
   D. Joseph and his brothers, 42:1–45:15
   E. Joseph's reception of Jacob in Egypt, 45:16–47:26
   F. Jacob's last days and final prophecies, 47:27–50:14
   G. Joseph's assurance to his brothers of complete forgiveness, 50:15-26

It will be observed from this outline how carefully and systematically the entire Patriarchal period has been dealt with by the author of Genesis. The guiding principle throughout the narrative is the covenant of grace, and God's gracious dealings with true believers from the time of Adam and onward. First there is the selective process whereby the covenant fellowship is narrowed down by stages to a single individual, Abraham; then the elective principle widens to include a large family, that of Jacob. Thus the stage is set for the nurturing of an entire nation in the favored refuge of Goshen in Egypt.

Two considerations reinforce this impression of single authorship in Genesis. The first is the significant use of the term *tōledōt* ("generations," "offspring," "descendants") to introduce most of the main sections indicated in the outline above. Thus, it occurs at 2:4; 5:1; 10:1; 11:10; 11:27; 25:12; 36:1. Usually what follows *tōledōt* is a genealogical list, although it may be a history of the development of that which has already been originated (as in the case of 2:4: "These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth when they were created"). In this last passage it should be emphasized that *tōledōt* always prefaces a list or account which is about to follow; it never serves as a terminal postscript to a list or account which has just been given. This means (as Aalders SIP 44 and Moeller GATE 15 point out) that the assignment of Genesis 2:4a to P (whose creation account has just been given in Gen. 1) is not justified according to the usage of this term *tōledōt* in other passages. It must serve as an introduction to the account of Adam and Eve in Eden, which is given in the rest of Genesis 2 (a J passage).

The second unitary consideration is found in the technique of the author in dealing with ancestral figures who are not of the chosen line. Moeller (GATE 15) points out that Cain's genealogy (4:17 ff.) is given before that of Seth (4:25 f.); those of Japheth and Ham (10:1 ff. and 10:6 ff.) are given before that of Shem (10:21 ff.), even though Ham was presumably the youngest of the three brothers. The genealogies of Lot (19:29 ff.) and Ishmael (25:12 ff.) appear before that of Isaac (25:19 ff.). So also Esau's descendants (36:1 ff.) are listed before those of Jacob (37:2 ff.). The author's motive in each case seems to dispose more briefly of the non-elect branches of the human line before taking up the genealogy of those patriarchs who had a genuine faith in Jehovah. Such systematic treatment hardly accords with a theory of heterogeneous and awkardly combined sources posited by the Wellhausen theory.

Genesis 1 and Modern Scientific Evidence

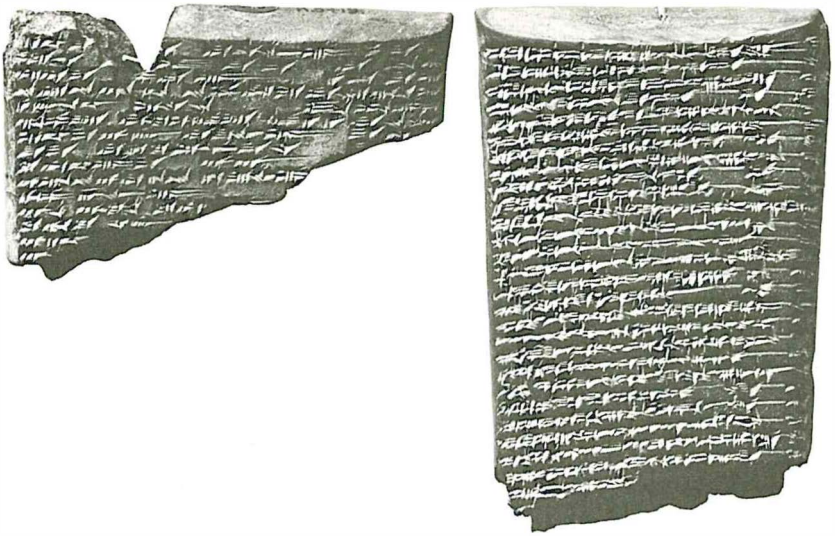
A. THE SIX CREATIVE DAYS AND THE AGE OF THE WORLD

From a superficial reading of Genesis 1 the impression received is that the entire creative process took place in six twenty-four-hour days. If this was the true intent of the Hebrew author (a questionable deduction,

as will be presently shown), this seems to run counter to modern scientific research, which indicates that the planet Earth was created several billion years ago. In the nineteenth century the chief evidence for this extreme antiquity (which was then, however, computed to be far less than is the case today) was found in the rate at which sediment is deposited by water action in modern times. In the Gulf of Mexico sediment is deposited at the rate of a few inches a year; yet successive layers of deposit as thick as 28,000 feet have been found, thus indicating the passage of well over 100,000 years in time. This, of course, is valid only upon a uniformitarian hypothesis, i.e., that natural forces have been operating through the processes of erosion, sedimentation, and magmatic (or volcanic) action in just the same manner throughout preceding ages as they do now. (Uniformitarianism has been vigorously challenged by some authorities on the evidence of the violent twisting and tilting and thermodynamic metamorphism exhibited in many mountainous, or once mountainous, regions.[1] The appearance of fossils, many of them left by species of animals no longer surviving, in these sedimentary strata served as a sort of geological time clock which strengthened the impression of a very great age for the earth. Most of the fossils represented genera which had disappeared long before the more recent strata had been deposited, and which therefore could not have been suddenly destroyed in a single catastrophe such as Noah's flood. (Especially the numerous fossil species of plant and animal living in the sea would remain unaffected by the Flood, unless of course the sudden intermingling of salt water with fresh would account for their extinction.)

The more recently expanded knowledge of nuclear physics has brought

[1]An impressive array of evidences tending to disprove the assumptions of uniformitarianism has been collected by Harold W. Clark in his *The New Diluvialism* (1946). Uniformitarianism teaches that all geologic processes in past ages proceeded in approximately the same way and at the same rate as they do today. He points out: (1) The lower sedimentary deposits in the region of the Gulf of Mexico show evidence of immense volumes of water sweeping northwestward across a shallow sea; whereas the higher strata show a reversal of currents, with great waves carrying sand, gravel and clay southwestward across the deeper sediments. These currents were of such vast extent as to sweep materials forward for several hundred miles. There is simply no such tremendous water action known anywhere in the world today. (2) The immense forces which formed the great mountain chains of the Alps, the Andes and the Rockies cannot be remotely paralleled by any phenomenon observable today. These mountain systems were developed along lines of ancient seas, which were long and narrow and apparently quite shallow, at first, but then burdened with thousands of feet of rapidly deposited sediment. Then came rapid movements of uplift accompanied by the erosive action of terrific streams of water which carved out the present mountain peaks. (3) Accompanying these upward movements were tremendous lateral pressures of inconceivable force. Thus, the whole middle and eastern portion of the Rocky Mountains has been thrust violently eastward, producing a series of gigantic folds which in some cases broke in two and thrust one range across the top of another one for great distances. The Alps have been so violently overturned that geological experts have been almost baffled to interpret the strata. One point that seems beyond dispute is that terrific forces surpassing anything now known (and therefore impossible to estimate as to length of time) have disturbed the earth's surface on a scale and at a rate altogether different from what is observable today. Estimates of time based upon present-day geologic processes are therefore quite valueless (*Ibid.*, pp. 12, 13).



Fragments of the Babylonian Creation Epic.
(Courtesy of the British Museum)

into play another type of evidence which seems to confirm the great antiquity of the earth, that is, the decay of radioactive minerals. According to the calculations of physicists, uranium 238 over a period of four and one-half billion years will decay through sixteen intermediate stages (thorium 234, etc.) to lead 206, which is a stable mineral and will not further decompose through radioactivity. Rubidium 87 takes sixty billion years to decay into strontium 87. By computing the proportion of the "daughter" product to the parent radioactive deposit it is possible to estimate the age of the specimen in question.

The most recent geochronologists have perfected techniques which eliminate to a large extent the possible factors of error (such as the presence of the "daughter" mineral at the time when the radioactive isotope itself was deposited, or else the leaching out of portions of the specimen by underground water action). They tend to use two or three different radioactive isotopes when present in the same deposit, and thus can check the accuracy of the results computed from each decayed specimen. Better known to the public is the carbon 14 method. All plants and animals receive into their tissues a certain amount of carbon 14 (a product of the decomposition of nitrogen under the impact of cosmic rays in the upper atmosphere). After the plant or animal dies, it can absorb no more of this carbon 14, and that which it already contains in its system gradually breaks down by radioactivity to form nitrogen 14. This process

takes place rather quickly, however, over a period of only 5,580 years, and hence is quite useless for any deposits 30,000 years old or older.[2]

Can such an enormous time interval (five billion years or more, according to some estimates—made, of course, on uniformitarian assumptions) be reconciled with the six creative days of Genesis 1? This all depends upon the significance of the Hebrew word *yōm* ("day"). There are three alternative theories currently advocated by Biblical scholars concerning these "days."

1. The word *yōm* represents a literal, twenty-four-hour day, and Genesis 1:3—2:3 gives us a record of an exact week in which God completely restored from chaos a creation (recorded in Gen. 1:1) which had suffered a cosmic catastrophe (possibly at the time Satan and his angels were cast out of God's presence). Support for this interpretation has assertedly been found in Isaiah 45:18 where God is stated not to have created the earth "void" (the Heb. *bōhū* being the same as the "void" of Gen. 1:2). Therefore Genesis 1:1 must indicate a complete and perfect creation prior to the chaotic state mentioned in Genesis 1:2, for this is the only possible deduction from Isaiah 45:18 when so interpreted. (Yet this interpretation encounters the difficulty that *bōhū* in v. 19 clearly means "in vain.") It should be noted in this connection that the verb "was" in Genesis 1:2 may quite possibly be rendered "became"[3] and be construed to mean: "And the earth became formless and void." Only a cosmic catastrophe could account for the introduction of chaotic confusion into the original perfection of God's creation. This interpretation certainly seems to be exegetically tenable, but it encounters at least two major difficulties. (a) It means that the whole magnificent achievement of the original creation is dismissed with the bare statement in Genesis 1:1, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." All attention is then devoted to a reconstruction of a recently disturbed world order, and events that took place five or six thousand years ago. (b) It means also that the inspired Book of Origins has nothing to say about the order of the creative process, or indeed about anything that pertains to geology.

[2]Cf. Herbert Feely in *Journal of the American Scientific Affiliation,* Sept., 1955, pp. 47, 48.

[3]Properly speaking, this verb *hāyāh* never has the meaning of static being like the copular verb "to be." Its basic notion is that of becoming or emerging as such and such, or of coming into being. It may signify "was" only in a derivative way from the idea of becoming, or of coming into the observer's view as such and such. Even the five examples of *hāyāh* as "be, exist" cited in Gesenius-Buhl's *Lexicon* (p. 178b) are capable of being interpreted nascently or by way of an occurrence. For example, Job 1:1: "There *was* a man named Job" implies more the notion of occurrence rather than of static being. Sometimes a distinction is attempted along the following lines: *hāyāh* means "become" only when it is followed by the preposition *l*^{e}; otherwise there is no explicit idea of becoming. But this distinction will not stand up under analysis. In Genesis 3:20 the proper rendering is: "And Adam called the name of his wife Eve, because she *became* the mother of all living." No *l*^{e} follows the verb in this case. So also in Genesis 4:20: "Jabal *became* the father of tent dwellers." Therefore there can be no grammatical objection raised to translating Genesis 1:2: "And the earth *became* a wasteness and desolation. . . ."

There is no more any need to harmonize geology and Genesis, for they deal—according to this interpretation—with entirely different subject matter.

Perhaps it should be added that advocates of this theory have often embellished it with highly questionable speculations concerning the original status of Satan as presiding over the worship of Jehovah in a pre-catastrophe Eden beautified with gem-laden trees (equating the "prince of Tyre" in Ezek. 28 with Satan himself). Jeremiah 4:23-26 has also been fitted into this catastrophe theory on the ground that it contains the expression *tōhū wabōhū* ("without form and void") found in Genesis 1:2. So construed, it indicates that prior to the catastrophe there must have been cities and men who were destroyed some time between Genesis 1:1 and 1:2 (even though Jer. 4:23-26 apparently sets forth a prophetic scene of a catastrophe which is yet to come). These aforesaid embellishments are included in G. H. Pember's *Earth's Earliest Ages* (first edition 1876), although they are not, of course, essential to the catastrophe theory.[4]

2. *Yōm* represents a revelational day. That is, in six literal days (or possibly in a vision which represented to Moses the whole drama of creation in six visionary days) God described to His prophet the mystery of how He had brought creation into being, and the stages by which He did so. These stages did not necessarily represent strictly chronological sequence (since the making of the heavenly bodies is delayed until the fourth day, after the creation of vegetation which requires sunlight to exist). They are only in part chronological, and in part topical. That is to say, the various stages or phases of creation are introduced in a logical order, as they bear upon the human observer living on the earth. It is therefore more logical to describe first the earth's surface upon which the observer must stand, before introducing the sun and moon which are to shine upon the earth and regulate the seasons.[5]

This interpretation is perhaps tenable without surrendering the inerrancy of the Bible record. But it encounters one serious difficulty (among others), that there is no hint or suggestion in the text of Genesis 1 that a mere vision is being described. It reads like perfectly straightforward history: In the beginning God created heaven and earth: on the first "day" He created light; on the second day He separated the waters into the upper and the lower, and so on. Since the initial creation spoken of in Genesis 1:1 is not apparently included in the first revelational "day," the question arises whether it was included in this supposed vision granted Moses, or whether this was communicated in some non-visionary manner. At any rate, if Genesis 1 was really only a vision (representing, of course, the actual events of primeval history) then almost any other apparently

[4]See B. Ramm's *The Christian View of Science and Scripture* (1954), pp. 195-210, for a fuller treatment.

[5]Exponents of this view include J. H. Kurtz, *Bible and Astronomy,* 3rd ed., 1857; and P. J. Wiseman, *Creation Revealed in Six Days,* 1948. It is the explanation favored by Ramm, op. cit., pp. 218-227.

historical account in Scripture could be interpreted as a vision—especially if it relates to transactions not naturally observable to a human investigator or historian.

3. *Yōm* represents a geologic age or stage in the creative process. This was the explanation resorted to by nineteenth century geologists who respected the authority of the Bible, notably J. W. Dawson (e.g., *The Origin of the World According to Revelation and Science,* 1877) and James Dana (*Manual of Geology,* 1875). According to this view the term *yōm* does not necessarily signify a literal twenty-four-hour day, but is simply equivalent to "stage." It has often been asserted that *yōm* could not bear this meaning, but could only have implied a literal day to the Hebrew mind according to Hebrew usage. Nevertheless, on the basis of internal evidence, it is the writer's conviction that *yōm* in Genesis 1 could not have been intended by the Hebrew author to mean a literal twenty-four-hour day.

In the first place, *yōm* is apparently used in Genesis 2:4 to refer to the whole creative process just described in Genesis 1 as taking up six days: "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth in the *day* that Jehovah God made earth and heaven." Since the stages in creating heaven and earth have just been described, it is legitimate to infer that the "day" here must refer to the whole process from day one through day six. In the second place, Genesis 1:27 states that after creating all the land animals on the sixth day, God created man, both male and female. Then, in the more detailed treatment of Genesis 2, we are told that God created Adam first, gave him the responsibility of tending the Garden of Eden for some length of time until He observed him to be lonely. He then granted him the fellowship of all the beasts and animals of earth, with opportunity to bestow names upon them all. Some undetermined period of time after that God observed that Adam was still lonely and finally fashioned a human wife for him by means of a rib removed from him during a "deep sleep." Then at last he brought Eve before Adam and presented her to him as his new life partner. Who can imagine that all of these transactions could possibly have taken place in 120 minutes of the sixth day (or even within twenty-four hours, for that matter)? And yet Genesis 1:27 states that both Adam and Eve were created at the very end of the final day of creation. Obviously the "days" of chapter 1 are intended to represent stages of unspecified length, not literal twenty-four-hour days.

As for the objection that the "days" of Genesis 1 are represented as consisting of an "evening" and a "morning," and therefore must be understood as literal, it may be replied that the formula "evening and morning" serves only to indicate that the term "day," albeit symbolical for a geological stage, is used in the sense of a twenty-four-hour cycle rather than "day" in contrast to "night" (as, for example, "day" is used in 1:5a). In

this connection it should be pointed out the New Testament references to Christ's entombment as lasting "three days and three nights" are to be explained as equivalent to "during a period of three twenty-four-hour days," rather than implying a literal three (daylight) days and three nights. In other words, Jesus died about 3:00 P.M. on Friday (a portion of the first twenty-four-hour day), remained in the tomb on Saturday, and rose early on Sunday (or during a third twenty-four-hour day). From the appearance of this expression in Genesis 1, "the evening and the morning," as the Hebrew way of indicating a twenty-four-hour day, it was a logical procedure to speak of three such days as "three days and three nights." (Thus we avoid the difficulties encountered by those who hold to a Wednesday theory of the crucifixion in the face of insurmountable evidence that it occurred on Friday.)

The age-day theory, then, accounts for the six creative days as indicating the broad outlines of the creative work of God in fashioning the earth and its inhabitants up until the appearance of Adam and Eve. Modern geologists agree with Genesis 1 in the following particulars: (a) The earth began in a confused and chaotic form, which subsequently gave way to a more orderly state. (b) The proper conditions for the maintenance of life were brought into being: the separation of the thick vapor surrounding the earth into clouds above and rivers and seas below, with the evaporation-precipitation cycle, and also with the increasing penetration of the sunlight (for the previous creation of the sun is suggested by the first command: "Let there be light!") to the surface of the earth. (c) The separation of land from sea (or the emergence of dry land above the receding water level) preceded the appearance of life upon the soil. (d) Vegetable life had already made its appearance before the first emergence of animal life in the Cambrian period. As a matter of fact, all the invertebrate phyla appear contemporaneously with remarkable suddenness in the Cambrian strata, with no indication in any of the pre-Cambrian deposits as to how these various phyla, classes and orders (represented by no less than 5,000 species) may have developed.[6] (e) Both Genesis and geology agree that the simpler forms appeared first and the more complex later. (f) Both agree that mankind appeared as the latest and highest product of the creative process.

Thus in its broad outlines the sequence set forth in the Hebrew account is in harmony with that indicated by the data of geology. It is true that the mention of the fashioning of the sun, moon and stars on the fourth creative day does not correspond with the quite conclusive evience that the planet earth appeared subsequently to the creation of the sun. But inasmuch as the creation of light on the first "day" indicates the priority of the sun even in the Mosaic account, we are to understand

[6]Cf. D. Dewar, "The Earliest Known Animals" in *The Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute,* 80:22-29.

on exegetical grounds that the emphasis on the fourth day was not the original creation of the heavenly bodies as such, but rather their becoming available for the purpose of regulating time and the cycles of the rotation and revolution of earth and moon. The specific verb for "create *ex nihilo*" (*bārā*) is not used in Genesis 1:16, but rather the more general term, "make" (*'āsāh*).[7] The fair inference is that a dense vapor encompassing the earth had hitherto precluded this possibility, even though sufficient diffused light may have previously penetrated to support the growth of plant life. (Note that the Hebrew of Gen. 1:14 may be rendered, "Let luminaries in the firmament of heaven be for the purpose of separating between day and night, in order that they may be for signs, etc.")

Advocates of the literal-day theory have often pointed to the sanction of Exodus 20:11 for confirmation of the literalness of the days. In confirming the sanctity of the sabbath, Jehovah states: "For in six days Jehovah made heaven and earth . . . and rested on the seventh day." But this does not necessarily presuppose literal, twenty-four-hour days, for the seventh day is explicitly hallowed in terms of the completion of the work of creation. For this purpose of memorial observance, the only possible way in which the seventh age (the age of completion, according to the age-day theory) could be hallowed would be a literal seventh day of a seven-day week. It would certainly be impractical to devote an entire geologic age to the commemoration of a geologic age!

B. BIBLICAL CREATIONISM AND MODERN EVOLUTIONISM

More fundamental an issue than the nature of the creative days is the question of the fact of divine creation as over against such competing theories of origin as Darwinian evolution. As formulated by Charles Darwin in his *Origin of Species* (1859), evolution sought to explain the origin of biological species by natural selection rather than by God's design. That is to say, the process by which plants and animals developed was not governed by any divine intelligence according to teleological principles, but rather according to a completely mechanical principle: the survival of the fittest. As the reproductive cycle progresses, taught Darwin, the following generation shows slight variations from the generation preceding. Over a long period of time, after hundreds and thousands of

[7]The verb *bārā'* is used for creation *ex nihilo* in Genesis 1:1 and in most other passages where it appears. In a weakened sense it may refer to the production of something new or unprecedented, such as a wonderful deed of power which God performs in the arena of history (Exod. 34:10; Num. 16:30; Jer. 31:22; Isa. 45:7, 8; 48:7). But always it is God who is the subject of *bārā'*, never man; and when it takes an object of the thing created, it never indicates any pre-existent material out of which it is made. (In Arabic, however, a related form, *baraγ*, means: to form or fashion by cutting. A Phoenician cognate, *bōrē'*, means something like "cutter" or "engraver." Yet Arabic also has a *bara'a*, "create"; Aramaic has *b*^{e}*rā'*, "create," and Akkadian *barū*, "make, create," and Sabaean [a dialect of Old South Arabic] has a *b-r-'* meaning "found, build." But the determining factor in Hebrew is the actual usage in those contexts of the Old Testament where the word occurs.)

generations, some of these variations become more or less fixed characteristics which are passed on to the descendants. These new characteristics contribute to the formation of varieties or subspecies, and finally to the emergence of new species. Those characteristics which enabled their possessors to compete more successfully in the ceaseless struggle with their environment insured their survival. But those who developed peculiarities which gave them no advantage, but only disadvantage, in coping with their competitors, naturally tended to die off. Hence only those that were fittest to survive were perpetuated and became a successful species. Thus the lower and simpler gradually became more advanced and complex, until finally *Homo sapiens* appeared as the climactic product of natural selection—presumably because man is the most fitted for survival and can most successfully cope with his environment.

As to the most fundamental question of all, the origin of matter itself, and the related question as to the origin of the earliest form of life to appear in the primeval ooze, Darwin had no answer to give, except possibly a deistic one (which dismisses God as a mere First Cause, who simply started the mechanism going and then completely removed Himself from the scene). "Therefore I should infer from analogy," he says in one passage, "that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived upon this earth have descended from one primordial form into which life was first breathed by the Creator." Therefore there is nothing completely atheistic about Darwin's formulation of evolution so far as the origin of matter is concerned (even though many of his followers have decided for the eternal existence of matter rather than concede the existence of God). Yet there remained no objective basis at all for the moral law or for spiritual values beyond materialistic considerations of survival, the survival of "the fittest." Furthermore, the Darwinian theory left no room for any meaningful divine activity in the process of "creation"; except for the supplying of primeval raw material, there really was no creation but only development according to natural selection. This represented almost a total contradiction of Genesis 1.

Space will not permit a detailed or adequate treatment of the theory of evolution in a book of this sort (even if its author had the equipment to handle it with competence). But it will perhaps be sufficient to point out by way of suggestion a few areas in which Darwin's theory does not seem to square with the evidence, and where it betrays such serious inadequacies as to relegate it increasingly to the status of a mere passing phenomenon in the history of scientific thought. We shall treat of these weaknesses under the following four headings.

1. From the standpoint of genetics (the science of heredity), the basic assumptions of natural selection run quite contrary to the evidence. Many decades of painstaking research have demonstrated that while it is true that individuals within a species do vary slightly from one another,

it is not true that these variations are specifically heritable by the next generation. The extensive experiments of Gregor J. Mendel showed that the range of variation possible within a species was strictly limited and afforded no progress whatsoever toward the development of a new species. Thus the individuals of a race of pure-bred tall peas might vary slightly in height, but the progeny of the tall ones was not on the average taller than the progeny of the short ones. It is true that by selective breeding certain characteristics possible within a single species may be emphasized to form a special strain (as in the case of the many different types of dog), but there is a strictly limited circle of possibilities beyond which no breeder can go. He is powerless, in other words, to develop a new species. Mendel's work proved conclusively that the "chance variations" by which Darwin had set so much store are quite predictable and cannot possibly contribute to the formation of new species.

The same verdict must be pronounced on Jean Baptiste de Lamarck's theory of the inheritability of acquired characteristics (a theory to which Darwin occasionally appealed when mere natural selection seemed inadequate to account for a set of facts). Despite the enormous number of experiments undertaken to prove Lamarckian "use inheritance" (as it is called), the end result has been altogether negative. Characteristics acquired by special effort on the part of a parent are not passed on to his children, for the simple reason that there is no possible way in which these acquired characteristics (such as a special athletic proficiency) can affect his genes. All of heredity (on the non-spiritual side, at least) seems to depend upon the chemistry of the genes themselves. So far as the form or structure of animals is concerned, there is not a single claim to have established the theory of use inheritance which has not subsequently been discredited.[8]

It should be added that while evidence is lacking for the heritability of individual variations, there are sudden changes or mutations which occasionally take place in the history of a species. For example, a new variety of plants when isolated in small colonies, as on a mountainside, may result from a sudden mutation (involving a slight alteration in the genes themselves). Yet the fact remains that even though thousands of mutations have been closely studied, not a single clear example has been demonstrated whereby a mutation has made an animal more complicated or brought any new structure into existence. No progress whatsoever has been made since Darwin's time in solving any of the fundamental problems of evolution. In a review of M. J. D. White's *Animal Cytology and Evolution* (1954), I. Manton remarked: "The fundamental causes of evolution on the grand scale, as it has occurred through geological time and in the fashioning of the great groups of animals and plants, cannot yet be described or explained" (*Nature*, 1946, 157, p. 713).

[8]Cf. Robert E. D. Clark, *Darwin: Before and After* (1958), p. 141.

2. Darwin's argument from the data of embryology has proved quite fallacious. He reasoned that in the development of the fetus in the womb it recapitulates its entire evolutionary past, as the fertilized ovum enlarges and produces more and more complicated organs and members. The visceral pouches in the human embryo, for example, were essentially the same organ as the gills of a fish, and therefore point back to man's emergence from a form of fish life. But this line of reasoning conveniently overlooks the undeniable fact that these structures never function as gills at any stage in embryonic life. Indeed, it is hard to see how the recapitulation theory can be squared with the actual sequence of development within the fetus. For example, the respiratory surface does not develop until very late in the formation of the embryo in the womb; yet it is inconceivable that in any prehuman stage the putative ancestor of man could have survived without any respiratory mechanism at all. Again, the size of the head in an embryo is simply enormous in proportion to the rest of the body, and yet the head of all the alleged prehuman ancestors was relatively small in proportion to the rest. Nor is it true that simple organs in the fetus slowly become more complicated. The eye, for example, results from the final fitting together of several different parts which appear to be formed separately at first and then are combined according to a predetermined pattern for which there is no ascertainable physical cause.

It is true enough, to be sure, that the embryos of all mammals develop from single-celled ova which appear to be quite identical, and that during the earlier stages this close resemblance continues. But does this fact require a theory that all mammals developed from the same common, premammalian ancestors? A far more obvious and plausible explanation is that in the development of any embryo from its initial stage as a one-celled ovum, its simpler parts must be formed before the more complicated parts can be developed. We can hardly expect fine adjustments and complicated organs to come into being before the main structure to which they are to be attached. But to explain the earlier similarities of form by common ancestral origin is as implausible (as Clark pungently puts it) as to imagine that raindrops are derived from pebbles because both are round. "The connection is real enough, but it is a mathematical connection, inherent in the nature of the universe, and is not due to any direct connection between the objects."[9]

It is safe to say that there is no datum from embryology which does not betray the operation of deliberate design and purpose by an all-wise Creator, rather than the mechanical operation of natural selection. Very occasionally in the growth of an embryo the mechanism of growth seems to malfunction. Then it is found that a totally new mechanism may take

[9]*Op. cit.*, 171, 172.

over and produce the desired structure. Sometimes two or three of these "double assurance" mechanisms are called into play in order to insure the proper development of the fetus; yet inexplicably enough, they go into action when needed. But since such malfunctions are exceedingly rare, it is almost impossible to account for them by any principle of the "survival of the fittest." It looks much more like the intervention of a divine intelligence. This, of course, is not to deny that some fetuses do develop improperly and turn out to be defective specimens which can scarcely survive or perform any useful function. In the case of human beings, the results can be quite tragic and difficult to explain. But on Darwinian presuppositions it is impossible to explain even the sense of pathos engendered by this example of dysteleology.[10] The consistent Darwinian can only shrug his shoulders and remark, "It is only surprising that there aren't more of these." For to the Darwinian there is no answer beyond mechanistic natural selection and the "survival of the fittest."

3. Natural selection is unable to explain innumerable instances of adaptation in which there was evidently no transitional stage. Natural selection would lead us to expect that ants and termites learned to associate together in colonies because they found from experience that this increased their chances of survival. But there are no fossil evidences whatever of either ants or termites prior to their organized life together in colonies. Or, to take an anatomical example, we have to consider how any supposed transitional stages toward the development of the organ of sight could possibly have conferred any advantage in the battle for survival until the eye had actually been fully formed. If the animal had possessed (in its transitional phase) a mere patch of skin especially sensitive to light, and then the process of natural selection had been brought to bear upon its successive mutations, how would anything short of actual sight have fitted the creature to survive more successfully than competitors who lacked such light-sensitive patches? And yet the Darwinian hypothesis necessarily implies that at every stage of the development of new and more complicated organisms, even before they were at all usable, the animal so developing must have enjoyed thereby some specific advantage over its competitors. As for the much-cited example of the growth cycle of the frog, the principle of natural selection is of only limited help. That is, it might conceivably explain why tadpoles learned to swim, feed, and run away from their enemies more efficiently than less capable ancestors. But how does it throw any light upon why they finally turned into frogs? Can it seriously be contended that frogs are more fitted to

[10]The term *dysteleology* applies to cases where the teleology (or intelligent purpose) is hard to see. It refers to instances where something seems to have gone wrong, such as misshapen or monstrous births, or long and excruciatingly painful fatal illness endured by people of godly convictions and exemplary life. It may even be applied to devastating plagues like the medieval Black Death, or widely destructive floods or earthquakes. Cases like these are very difficult to reconcile with the all-wise purpose of a loving and omnipotent God. Hence the term *dysteleology*.

survival than fish are? Clearly some more sophisticated explanation must be found than mere mechanistic natural selection.

In short, the Darwinian theory accounts for the data of biology far less adequately than does the sublimely simple affirmation of Genesis 1, that all species of plant and animal came into being in response to the creative will of an omnipotent and all-wise God, and that their development has in every stage been governed by His design. All the structural resemblances (such as the skeletal resemblances so relied upon to indicate a genetic relationship between man and the lower orders of vertebrates) may be satisfactorily accounted for by a directive force operating from without (or from above), rather than by mechanical forces operating from within living tissue as such. Even the phenomenon of apparently useless vestigial parts, such as the coccyx at the end of the human spine, does not demonstrate an ancestry tracing back to tail-bearing simians. Such vestiges only attest a general or basic plan followed by the creative force (or the Divine Intelligence) which fashioned the various vertebrate phyla.

A similar carry-over of engineering design is traceable in the year-by-year development of the modern automobile, from the 1901 Ford sedan (let us say) to the 1964 model. In some cases vestigial remains (like the retention of a crank opening at the base of the radiator for many years after self-starters had been introduced) marked the evolution of this make of car. The same thing is true of the "portholes" of the Buick models between the 1940's and 1950's (until the final token vestige of the 1957 model). But it can hardly be said that the earlier models made themselves more advanced or more complicated; this was the work of the designers and engineers who produced the new model for each successive year. There is nothing in the data of geology, or of biology in general, to indicate any essential difference in the procedure followed by the Creator Himself. Once the model, or species, had been set up, it then was ready for mass production through the built-in system of procreation and reproduction with which all animals are endowed—each species being controlled within Mendelian limits by its own particular set of genes.

4. The modern abandonment of the Darwinian theory of gradual differentiation as the mechanism by which all classes and orders of life have evolved has led to the substitution of a new type of evolution (the quantum theory of emergent evolution) which commands the allegiance of most foremost scientists today. But emergent evolution involves factors of sudden mutation or change so radical as to put it into the category of a mere philosophical credo incapable of verification by laboratory methods or of explanation on strictly mechanistic principles. In Darwin's generation it was confidently expected that more extended geological and biological research in subsequent decades would uncover the transitional

forms of life which would bridge the gap between the various orders and phyla. But most twentieth century scientists have completely despaired of this search.

Austin H. Clark (*The New Evolution,* 1930, p. 189), for example, remarked on "the entire lack of any intermediates between the major groups of animals—as, for instance, between the backboned animals or vertebrates, the echinoderms, the mollusks and the arthropods." He went on to say, "If we are willing to accept the facts, we must believe that there never were such intermediates, or, in other words, that these major groups have from the very first borne the same relationship to each other that they have today." Similarly G. G. Simpson pointed out that each of the thirty-two known orders of mammals appeared quite suddenly in the paleontological record. He stated, "The earliest and most primitive known members of every order already have the basic ordinal characters, and in no case is an approximately continuous sequence from one order to another known" (*Tempo and Mode in Evolution,* 1944, p. 106).[11]

Clark, Simpson, and their modern colleagues have therefore taken refuge in the theory of emergent evolution, which affirms that dramatic new forms arise by mere chance, or by some kind of creative response to new environmental factors which cannot be further analyzed or rationally described. But can such an explanation (which really is no explanation but only an appeal for faith) be considered a more reasonable alternative than the creative act of a superior intelligence? As Carl Henry puts it:[12] "Supposition of abrupt emergence falls outside the field of scientific analysis just as fully as the appeal to supernatural creative forces."

Despite the foregoing considerations, however (or perhaps in ignorance of them), there are many committed Christians who are prepared to accept the theory of evolution upon a theistic basis. That is to say, they profess adherence to the mechanistic process of natural selection (according to Darwin's formulation), or even to the newer emergent theory of evolution; but they nevertheless insist that matter was not eternal (as non-theists must suppose), but that it was created by God *ex nihilo.* Furthermore, they regard the whole mechanism of the evolutionary process as devised and controlled by God, rather than by some mysterious force which cannot be entirely accounted for by science.

To those who hold this position it should be pointed out that historically the whole theory was elaborated in an effort to explain the development of life along purely natural mechanical principles, without the necessity of any divine influence whatever. Darwin and his colleagues made the most determined efforts to overthrow the argument for God's existence based upon the evidence of design in nature, and exploited every con-

[11]The last two quotations are taken from *Evolution and Christian Thought Today,* edited by R. Mixter (1959), p. 208.
[12]In the Mixter volume, *ibid.,* p. 211.

ceivable instance of dysteleology and purposelessness which they could discover. They pointed to the fact that out of the many thousands of eggs laid by a mother fish a very small percentage ever survive to maturity, and that only a very few seeds deposited by fruit-bearing trees ever live to produce new trees. (Thus the food supply afforded to other creatures by this overabundance of roe and fruit was conveniently ignored.) A consistent effort was made to explain the universe without God. For this reason Darwinian evolution became the official philosophy of the leading atheistic movements of the twentieth century (such as the purest form of Nazism and of Marxist Socialism). Darwin's concession that a higher power may have provided the original raw material and vital impulse which started evolution at the beginning was nevertheless a complete negation of Hebrew-Christian revelation. It inevitably led to the result that moral and religious conceptions discoverable in mankind result from a mere fortuitous combination of molecules and have no counterpart in spiritual reality.

Evolution as a philosophy or world view really involves an outright denial of spiritual reality even as it rejects the existence of a personal God. All of its leading exponents have said as much in no uncertain terms. Ernst Haeckel's *The Riddle of the Universe* (1929) employed the evolutionary thesis to disprove supernatural religion and became thereby one of the major influences for atheism in the twentieth century. G. G. Simpson declared that a wholehearted acceptance of evolution is inconsistent with belief in the activity of God in the universe.[13] Charles Darwin himself, during an interview with a newspaper reporter soon after the publication of the *Origin of Species,* simply shrugged his shoulders at the whole moral issue. When asked if it was not true that his book had shown every criminal how to justify his ways, he simply dubbed the accusation "a good squib" and let the matter drop.[14] In view of such factors as these it seems a very dubious procedure for a convinced Christian who means to be loyal to the authority of Scripture to acknowledge himself an evolutionist, except in a most restricted sense—in fact, in a sense utterly unacceptable to Darwin and all his protagonists. For a Christian, there is no alternative to identifying *natural* selection with *divine* selection, whether in a direct or an indirect sense.

C. THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN RACE

Since the first discoveries of the fossils and artifacts of prehistoric man back in the 1850's, the antiquity of the human race has provided a problem of reconciliation with the Genesis record. According to modern estimates the so-called Swanscombe man (found in Kent, England), the Pithecanthropus (found in Java), and the Sinanthropus (found in Peking,

[13]*The Meaning of Evolution* (1949), p. 230.
[14]Cf. R. E. D. Clark, *Darwin: Before and After,* p. 96.

China) lived anywhere from 200,000 to 500,000 years ago. All of them show marked differences from *Homo sapiens,* to be sure, and some paleanthropologists have conceded that "the cranial and dental differences . . . appear to be as well marked as those which are commonly accepted as justifying a genetic distinction between the gorilla and the chimpanzee."[15]

As for the Neandertal (formerly spelled Neanderthal) man, commonly dated from 50,000 to 100,000 years ago, the same writer says: "The skeletal differences from *Homo sapiens* are of much the same order as those which have been accepted as valid evidence of specific distinction in other groups of primates."[16] These early anthropoids cannot be dismissed as mere apes in their mentality, for their remains are accompanied by stone implements, such as arrowheads and ax heads; and charred remains indicate strongly the use of fire for cooking purposes. Especially in the case of the Neandertal deposits, there seems to be evidence of burial with adjacent implements as if there was some sort of belief in life after death (necessitating the use of such implements—or their spiritual counterpart—by the deceased). Some crude statuettes have likewise been discovered which may possibly have had cultic purposes, and some of the remarkable paintings discovered in some of the caves may have been of Neandertal origin (although most were perhaps from a later age). The radiocarbon analysis of the more recent find indicates strongly an age of at least 50,000 years. The fluorine content of the bones of the *Pithecanthropus erectus* indicates that they were contemporaneous with the surrounding deposit in which they were found. The Zinjanthropus of Tanganyika is dated by the potassium-argon process as 1,750,000 years old, according to a report by L. S. B. Leakey.[17]

It is theoretically possible, of course, that later research may prove that all of these chronological estimates were based upon faulty methodology, and it may conceivably be that these earlier anthropoids will have to be dated as much more recent.[18] On the other hand, it is most unlikely that they can be brought within the time span indicated by the genealogical lists of Genesis 5 and 10. Either we must regard these lists as having no significance whatever as time indicators,[19] or else we must reject these earlier humanlike species as being descended from Adam at all.

Buswell states: "There is nothing in the Bible to indicate how long ago man was created."[20] This appears to be an overstatement, for even allowing for numerous gaps in the chronological tables given in Genesis

[15]LeGros Clark, *The Fossil Evidences for Human Evolution* (1955), p. 106.
[16]*Ibid.*, p. 60.
[17]*National Geographic,* Oct., 1961.
[18]Cf. Chap. 15, footnote 11.
[19]This has been implied by B. B. Warfield, *On the Antiquity and Unity of the Human Race, PTR* (1911)—a judgment in which J. O. Buswell III concurs in the Mixter volume, p. 181.
[20]*Ibid.*

5 and Genesis 10 it is altogether unreasonable to suppose that a hundred times as many generations are omitted in these tables as are included in them. (And yet this is what a 200,000 B.C. date for Adam would amount to.) In the genealogy of the Lord Jesus given in Matthew 1:2-17 there are only seven possible links missing as against a total of forty-two given (during the 2000 years between Abraham and Christ), or a ratio of one to six. This is slender ground upon which to build a theory that 1980 generations were omitted from the list between Adam and Abraham, and only nineteen or twenty were given. It therefore seems a dubious option for one who holds to the accuracy of the Genesis record to accept a date of 200,000 B.C. for Adam.

The *Westminster Dictionary of the Bible* (1944) lists three possibilities for the genealogies of Genesis 5 and 10. 1. If they represent literal generations without any gaps, the total from Adam to the Flood comes out to 1656 years, and the total from the Flood to the birth of Abraham about 290 years. This makes up a grand total of 1946 years from Adam to Abraham. This interpretation is dubious, however, since no such grand total (or "long date") is given in the text itself, and since the grouping into ten pre-Deluge and ten post-Deluge generations is suspiciously similar to the schematized 14, 14, 14 of Matthew 1 (where demonstrably there are six or seven links missing). Moreover, Luke 3:36 indicates that a Cainan, son of Arphaxad, is missing in Genesis 10:24 (which states that Arphaxad was the "father" of Shelach, the son of Cainan according to Luke 3).

2. The genealogies record only the most prominent members of the ancestry of Abraham, omitting an undetermined number of links (although presumably not as many links as actually are named in the lists concerned). A variation of this view would construe the formula "A begat B" as meaning either B himself or some unnamed ancestor of B (perfectly allowable in Hebrew parlance, since grandfathers are occasionally said to have begotten their grandsons; at least Bilhah's grandsons are spoken of as her sons in I Chron. 7:13). The ages of the patriarchs who lived several centuries (even 900 years or more) would be understood as the actual lifetime of the individuals named. This view would allow for a time span of possibly five or six thousand years between Adam and Abraham—depending upon how many links are omitted.

Incidentally, there is some question whether Abraham was really Terah's oldest son, even though he was mentioned first in Genesis 11:26, where Terah is stated to have begotten all three sons when he was seventy —or at least he began fatherhood at that age. But since Terah died at the age of 205 according to 11:32, Abraham could not have been born until his father was 130, *if* he was only seventy-five at Terah's decease—as suggested by 12:4. (While there is nothing in Gen. 11 or 12 that states

positively that Terah had died before Abraham left Haran, this is made quite explicit in Acts 7:4.)

3. Or else the names listed in Genesis 5 represent an individual and his direct line by primogeniture—an interpretation which makes possible adding the entire lifetime figures almost end to end, thus coming out to a grand total of 8,227 years between the birth of Adam and the Flood. For example, when Adam is said to have lived 930 years, this really means that Adam and his direct line were at the head of affairs for 930 years. At the end of this time they were superseded by the family of Seth, which remained in control through Seth's main line for 912 years (Gen. 5:8). Thus it would not have been until 1842 years after Adam's birth that the family of Enosh took over the leadership—and so on. One difficulty with this theory, however, is that Seth is the oldest surviving son of Adam to be mentioned, apart from the exiled Cain, and it is difficult to imagine by what other son Adam's direct line would have descended before the allegedly collateral line of Seth took over.

On the whole, then, the second interpretation seems the most to be preferred of the three. (The first interpretation, of course, leaves insufficient room to account even for the attested history of Egypt, which doubtless goes back to at least 3500 years B.C., and that, too, necessarily after the Flood.)

To revert to the problem of the Pithecanthropus, the Swanscombe man, the Neandertal and all the rest (possibly even the Cro-Magnon man, who is apparently to be classed as *Homo sapiens*, but whose remains seem to date back at least to 20,000 B.C.), it seems best to regard these races as all prior to Adam's time, and not involved in the Adamic covenant. We must leave the question open, in view of the cultural remains, whether these pre-Adamite creatures had souls (or, to use the trichotomic terminology, spirits). But the implication of Genesis 1:26 is that God was creating a qualitatively different being when he made Adam (for note that the word rendered "man" in Gen. 1:26, 27 is the Hebrew *'Adam*), a being who was uniquely fashioned in the image of God. Only Adam and his descendants were infused with the breath of God and a spiritual nature corresponding to God Himself.[21] Romans 5:12-21 demands that all mankind subsequent to Adam's time, at least, must have been literally descended from him, since he entered into covenant relationship with God as the representative of the entire race of man. This indicates that there could have been no true genetic relationship between Adam (the first man created in the image of God) and the pre-Adamite races. How-

[21]In his remarkable volume entitled *Human Destiny* (now available in a paperback edition) the French scientist Lecomte du Noüy insists that evolution was a response to the divine will. Man arises from within the evolutionary process; and at a certain moment, perhaps the Cro-Magnon age (30,000 B.C.) man became truly man by a mutation—a mutation in which God breathed into him "free will," and a capacity to choose between good and evil, i.e., a conscience.

ever close the skeletal structure of the Cro-Magnon man (for example) may have been to *Homo sapiens,* this factor is scarcely relevant to the principal question of whether these cave men possessed a truly human soul or personality. They may have been exterminated by God for reasons unknown prior to the creation of the original parent of the present human race. Adam, then, was the first man created in the spiritual image of God, according to Genesis 1:26, 27, and there is no evidence from science to disprove it.

After these preliminary questions relating to the confrontation of the first chapter of Genesis by modern science, we are now in a position to proceed with the study of the remainder of the book in the chapter following.

15

GENESIS (II)

IT IS THE PURPOSE of this chapter to discuss the various passages in Genesis about which particular question has been raised, other than the matters pertaining to natural origin which have already been handled in the previous chapter. In each case the passage to be treated has been used as the basis of a charge of inaccuracy and unreliability leveled at the book as a whole.

The Historicity of Adam and the Fall

As to the relationship of Genesis 2 to Genesis 1, it has already been pointed out[1] that the use of the divine names (Elohim and Yahweh) is quite reconcilable with unity of authorship. Since Elohim ("God") was the appropriate title for non-covenantal contexts, Moses (assuming that he was the author of the whole book) could very well have employed it exclusively for the creation account of chapter 1, and then shifted to Yahweh (for the most part) in chapter 2, where he dealt with the covenant of works set up between God and Adam.

Questions have been raised as to how seriously we are to take this whole narrative about Adam and Eve (and the serpent in the Garden of Eden) as literal history. Many prefer to regard it as a mere myth or fable ("suprahistory," to use the Neo-orthodox term) in which the moral downfall of man is described by a fictitious episode designed to illustrate it. (Yet insofar as man is a fallen creature, a moral agent with an innate sense of guilt, the myth reflects a sublime truth, even though no such isolated episode actually took place.) No decisive objections, however, have ever been raised against the historicity of Adam and Eve either on historical, scientific or philosophical grounds. The protest has been based essentially upon subjective concepts of improbability.

From the standpoint of logic, it is virtually impossible to accept the authority of Romans 5 ("By one man sin entered into the world . . . By one man's offense death reigned by one . . . By one man's disobedience many were made sinners") without inferring that the entire human race has descended from a single father. In Romans 5 Adam is contrasted with

[1]Chap. 9, pp. 110-112.

A "Temptation Seal."
(Courtesy of the British Museum)

Christ. If therefore Christ was a historical individual, Adam himself must have been (or else the inspired apostle was in error). Again, Paul takes the details of Genesis 2 and of the temptation and fall in Genesis 3 as literal history. In I Timothy 2:13, 14 he says: "For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." There can be no question that the New Testament authors accepted the literal historicity of Adam and Eve. The origin of the human race is necessarily a matter of revelation by God, since no written records could extend back to a time prior to the invention of writing. Conceivably the true account of man's origin could have been handed down by oral tradition (and perhaps it was so handed down until Moses' time). But apart from revelation, written down as inspired Scripture, there could be no assurance as to which of the bewildering variety of legends of man's origin known to the many different cultures of earth was the true and reliable account. Here the inspired record tells of a literal Adam and Eve, and gives no indication whatever that the account is intended to be mythical.[2] It was certainly taken as historical by Christ and the apostles.

[2]Possibly the mention of a talking serpent (Gen. 3:1, 4, 5) might suggest a myth. But both the context itself and other references in Scripture (cf. Rev. 20:2, "that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan") make it clear that the serpent was a mere guise through which the Tempter spoke to them. In this reptile Satan had a fitting and appropriate vehicle by which to make his approach. Similarly, Balaam's ass (Num. 22:28) was the vehicle through which Jehovah spoke to His disobedient servant.

Some modern writers, such as Alan Richardson, have compared the narrative material in Genesis 1–11 to the parables of the New Testament. "A parable is a story which may or may not be literally true (no one asks whether the Good Samaritan ever literally 'happened'); but it conveys a meaning beyond itself. It implies that beyond the words of the story which our outward ears have heard there is a meaning which only our spiritual hearing can detect" (A Richardson, "Genesis I–XI," SCM, 1953, p. 28). But this comparison with New Testament parables involves the presumption that the author of Genesis intended the narrative of chapters 1–11 to be a mere analogy or comparison to illustrate some theological truth, and did not mean for his readers to get the impression that these episodes narrated ever took place in actual history. The characteristic introduction to Jesus' parables was: "The kingdom of God is like. . . ." Always there is some doctrinal or ethical teaching which is being explained to the listener, and an illustration is resorted to in order to make the point clear. But the narratives and genealogical lists of Genesis 1–11 have no such framework. Nowhere is it stated that the beginning of the world or of mankind was *like* anything analogous. A parable is never to be explained in terms of itself; it always involves an analogy drawn from something else. Just as it would never have been said, "The kingdom of God is like the kingdom of God," so it could never have been intended to imply, "The beginning of the human race was like the beginning of the human race," or "The universal Flood was like the universal Flood." Hence the parabolic element is completely missing here, and Richardson's interpretation is scarcely tenable.

Noah's Ark and the Flood

As to the Great Deluge of Genesis 6–8, some discussion has already been devoted to the specious grounds upon which Wellhausen dissected this account into J and P.[3] There it was shown that the entire section consisted of one tightly knit, homogeneous narrative. But the comparative lack of geologic evidence for a world-wide cataclysm has given rise to doubts as to the universality of the Flood. No characteristic or uniform flood-type deposits have been discovered in the sites excavated in the Mesopotamian Valley. The thick flood stratum found by Leonard Woolley at Ur dates from early fourth millennium (ca. 3800 B.C.), but only one other flood stratum from that period has thus far been discovered, that found by Stephen Langdon at Kish (a much shallower deposit, incidentally). The other flood deposits, discovered at Kish, Shuruppak, Uruk and (possibly) Lagash, represent an inundation of a thousand years later, judging from the archaeological remains and stratigraphical sequence.[4] While the excavations may not in all cases have penetrated low enough

[3]Chap. 9, pp. 119-120.
[4]Cf. A. Parrot, *The Flood and Noah's Ark* (1955), p. 52.

The eleventh tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, Babylonian flood account.
(Courtesy of the British Museum)

to reach the 3800 B.C. level in some of the above mentioned, in Kish, at least, the dig went down to apparently undisturbed virgin soil right below the 2800 B.C. level.

It is of course true that these few deep excavations are insufficient for any firm conclusions. But they have led most archaeologists to question the possibility of a general deluge over a more than local area—at least within the period investigated in the excavations themselves—and even staunch conservative apologists as listed by Ramm (CVSS 238-247) have defended the theory of a flood restricted to the cradle of the human race in Mesopotamia (or possibly extending up to the Caspian basin). George F. Wright[5] seems to incline to the possibility that it may have been limited to the Euphrates Valley, provided the human race was then restricted to this area and was thus totally destroyed. Yet he also refers to geological evidence for the Flood in Egypt, Palestine, Sicily, France

[5]ISBE, II, 821-826, an excellent summary of the evidence corroborating the Genesis account.

and England (possibly even North America, cf. 826a). The Jamieson, Fausset and Brown *Commentary* (Vol. I, p. 98) indicates that the Hebrew text does not necessarily imply a universal flood.[6] L. M. Davies[7] also conceded that the Flood was not necessarily universal, although he pointed to such distant phenomena as the frozen mammoths of Siberia as evidence for a very extensive and sudden inundation. (Unfortunately, however, for this correlation, the latest of the Siberian mammoths is dated by paleontologists as earlier than 30,000 B.C.) J. W. Dawson[8] denies that the Hebrew author had in mind a literally universal flood.

In explanation of this assertion, it needs to be pointed out that the Hebrew *'ereṣ,* translated consistently as "earth" in our English Bibles, is also the word for "land" (e.g., "the *land* of Israel," "the *land* of Egypt"). There is another term, *tēbēl,* which means the whole expanse of the earth, or the world as a whole. Nowhere does *tēbēl* occur in this account, but only *'ereṣ,* in all the statements which sound quite universal in the English Bible (e.g., 7:4, 10, 17, 18, 19). Thus, Genesis 6:17c can be rendered: ". . . everything that is in the *land* shall die"—that is, in whatever geographical region is involved in the context and situation. If this interpretation be allowed, then the mountains whose summits were submerged by the Flood would have been the relatively lower mountains of the region surrounding Mesopotamia, rather than including the mighty Himalayas (such as Mount Everest with its nearly six miles of height). Correspondingly, the word "ground" (*'ᵃdāmāh*) which occurs in the ASV of 7:4 (KJV "earth") can be understood as the soil surface of the same area covered by the *'ereṣ* of the other verses. But the phrase "under the whole heaven" in 7:19 (". . . and all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven," ASV) may not be so easily disposed of. It is doubtful whether anywhere else in the Hebrew Scriptures this expression "the whole heaven" can be interpreted to indicate a mere geographical region. For this reason most careful exegetes, like Franz Delitzsch in the last century[9] and more recently H. C. Leupold,[10] have not conceded the exegetical possibility of interpreting Genesis 7 as describing a merely local flood.

Formidable scientific problems are raised by a universal flood, according to Ramm's summary (CVSS 244-246). (1) According to the best estimates, to cover the highest Himalayas would require eight times more water than our planet now possesses. (2) The withdrawal of so great a quantity of water constitutes an almost insuperable problem, for there would be no place to which it could *drain off.* (Ramm so interprets

[6]Yet in the one-volume reprint of JFB by Zondervan, p. 22, we read concerning Gen. 7:20: "fifteen cubits upward . . . and the mountains were covered." "The language is not consistent with the theory of a partial deluge."

[7]*Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute* (1930), 62:62-95.

[8]*The Meeting Place of Geology and History* (1894), p. 151.

[9]Cf. Vol. 1 of *Pentateuch,* p. 146, in Eerdmans' reprint.

[10]*Exposition of Genesis* (1950), Vol. 1.

the verb *shākak* in Gen. 8:1—yet the lexicons render it "decrease," "abate" [KJV and ASV "assuaged"] rather than "drain off.") The mechanics of this abatement of water would certainly be difficult, for the atmosphere could not possibly hold that much water in evaporated form, and it is doubtful if any underground cavities in the earth could receive more than a small fraction of this additional volume of water. (3) Scarcely any plant life could have survived submersion under salt water for over a year, and the mingling of ocean water with the rain must have resulted in a lethal saline concentration, even though the mixture would have been considerably diluted. Practically all marine life would have perished, except those comparatively few organisms which can withstand tremendous pressure, for 90 per cent of present marine life is found in the first fifty fathoms, and many of these species cannot survive distant migration from their native feeding grounds. Presumably the fresh water fish would have died, even though the salinity might have been high enough to support salt water fish. (4) Certain areas of the earth's surface show definite evidence of no submersion. For example, in Auvergne (France) there are reportedly cones of loose scoria and ashes from volcanoes thousands of years older than the Flood, and yet they show no signs of having been washed or disturbed by flood waters.

Perhaps difficulties (1) and (3) can be accounted for by special creative or recreative acts of God. (But why then the concern for the preservation of the land animals in the ark, if re-creation was so readily available?) But (2) would seem to call for a good deal of uncreation or complete annihilation of aqueous matter—which appears highly improbable. Difficulty (4) seems to defy explanation, unless the volcanoes involved were really of post-Noahic origin, and the criteria for dating them earlier turn out to be erroneous. Or else perhaps the scoria and ashes may not have been so easily disturbed by water action as the argument assumes.

It cannot be maintained, however, that even a local flood will solve all these scientific difficulties. Genesis 7:19 states most explicitly that all the water level rose well above "all the high mountains that were under the whole heaven." Assuming that the mountains involved were merely local (a difficult interpretation to make out from the text), at the very least the peaks of Mount Ararat itself were covered, since the ark came to rest where the higher peak (over 17,000 feet high) would be visible. The unavoidable inference would be that the water level rose more than 17,000 feet above the present sea level. This creates difficulties almost as grave for the local flood theory as those which that theory is supposed to avoid. How could the level have been that high at Ararat without being the same height over the rest of the world? Only during a very temporary surge, such as that of a tidal wave, can water fail to seek its own level. To suppose a 17,000-foot level in Armenia simultaneous with

an uninundated Auvergne in France would be to propound a more incredible miracle than anything implied by the traditional understanding of a universal flood.

The only possible solution, apparently, would be found in the supposition that the height of Ararat was much lower than at present. It is very difficult to date reliably a major upward thrust of the mountain-making variety, and hence it is quite possible that even in the few millennia which have followed the Flood the great mountain ranges have attained far higher elevation than they did before Noah's time. But such a supposition would be applicable not only to the Ararat range but also to the Himalayas and the Cordilleras as well, and it would alleviate somewhat the problem of water supply for a universal flood.

A very interesting line of evidence has been furnished by some exponents of diluvialism in the various ossiferous fissures which have been discovered in widely separated locations in both hemispheres. A. M. Rehwinkel, for example, in his *The Flood* (1951), describes these great fissures, some of them in hills of considerable height, and anywhere from 140 to 300 feet in depth, containing the most heterogeneous mammal remains. Since no skeleton is complete, the inference is that none of these animals fell into these fissures while still alive. Nor is there any evidence of weathering in these bones, nor of being rolled by streams. They must have been deposited under water, since they were cemented together by calcite. Notably in one such deposit in the Saar Valley region were found the remains of bears, wolves and oxen, as well as many small animals; others have been located on the Island of Cerigo or Kythera (off the southeastern tip of the Peloponnesus), in the Rock of Gibraltar, and near Odessa on the Black Sea. This last-named site was excavated in 1847 and produced about 4,500 bones of bears, hyenas, horses, boars, mammoths, rhinoceros, aurochs, deer, and many small creatures. In Malta a fissure was discovered in which along with these heterogeneous remains were found huge blocks of stone which could only have been carried there by violent water action. At Agate Springs in Nebraska a similar discovery was made in 1876. In a ten-acre area were the remains of at least a thousand animals who had apparently died instantly in great numbers.

All these finds certainly point to a sudden catastrophe involving the breaking up of the earth surface into enormous cracks, into which were poured the corpses of great numbers of animals who were suddenly overwhelmed in a flood. Whether or not the fluorine dating and carbon 14 tests would indicate a sufficiently recent date to identify this catastrophe with Noah's flood is another matter. In the case of extinct species such as the mammoth, the question of the true date of their extinction is of pivotal importance. Some scientific grounds for bringing this event closer to our own time would have to be found before these data (assembled by George McCready Price and repeated by Rehwinkel) can

be associated with the Biblical episode. It is possible that uniformitarian presuppositions with regard to the fluorine test and carbon 14 will some day be shown invalid by the discovery of new evidence.[11]

At this point it should be mentioned that some writers have raised the question of whether in point of fact the Flood resulted in the destruction of the entire human race (apart from the family of Noah). The list of descendants in the respective lines of Ham, Shem and Japheth as recorded in Genesis 10 does not permit any easy identification with the remoter races who lived in the lower reaches of Africa, Far East Asia, Australia, and the Americas. Particularly in the case of Australia, with its peculiar fauna indicating a long period of separation from the Eurasian continent, the difficulty of assigning either the human or the subhuman population with the passengers in the ark has been felt to be acute. Perhaps, then, these scholars suggest, we are to see in the family of Noah only the ancestors of the nations more immediately surrounding the Holy Land, that is, the peoples of the Near and Middle East, and of the Mediterranean coastlands.

This suggestion encounters at least three formidable difficulties, in the light of the Biblical evidence. The first is that the divine purpose, as indicated in the Flood narrative, was to destroy the entire human race. Thus in Genesis 6:7 we read: "And the Lord [Jehovah] said, I will destroy man *[hā'ādām]* whom I have created from the face of the earth;

[11]At this point a word of caution should be given concerning the reliability of carbon 14 dating. As J. C. Whitcomb pointed out at the annual meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society (Dec. 29, 1959), some of the scientists themselves have questions about the trustworthiness of the results. A British archaeologist, Stuart Piggott, reported that two radiocarbon tests on a sample of charcoal indicated a date of 2620-2630 B.C. for the construction of the Henge of Durrington Walls. But absolutely compelling archaeological evidences called for a date approximately a thousand years later. Piggott concluded that the radiocarbon date is "archaeologically inacceptable." (Cf. *Antiquity*, Vol. 33, No. 132, Dec. 1959, p. 289.) In this same issue, the editor of the journal remarks (p. 239): "It is very important to realize that doubts about the archaeological acceptability of radiocarbon dates is not obscurantism. . . . It is an attempt to evaluate all the available evidence, physical and non-physical. . . . We certainly need reassurance beyond all reasonable doubt at the present moment that scientists know all about the variables involved; that Elsasser, Ney and Winckler are wrong in supposing that there was variation in the intensity of cosmic-ray formation, and that others are wrong in supposing that there were fluctuations in the original C-14 content."

Laurence Kulp in *Scientific Monthly* (Vol. 75, Nov. 1952, p. 261) admits that "there are two basic assumptions in the carbon 14 method. (1) One is that the carbon 14 concentration in the carbon dioxide cycle is constant. (2) The other is that the cosmic ray flux has been essentially constant—at least on a scale of centuries." Whitcomb points out that there are still other unproved assumptions: (3) the constancy of the rate of decay of carbon 14 atoms; (4) dead organic matter is not later altered in its carbon content by any biological or non-biological activity; (5) the carbon dioxide content of the ocean and atmosphere has been constant throughout the ages; (6) the huge reservoir of oceanic carbon has not changed in amount throughout the last 50,000 years; (7) the rate of formation and the rate of decay of radiocarbon atoms have been kept in perfect and constant equilibrium throughout the same period.

It is highly significant that W. F. Albright in an interview reported in *Christianity Today* (Jan. 18, 1963, p. 4) went so far as to say: "Carbon 14 is almost totally useless in dating bones, which contain a minimum of carbon."

both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them." So also verse 17: "And, behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and everything that is in the earth shall die." Even if we hold in abeyance the admissibility of translating *'ereṣ* here as "land" rather than "earth," it seems quite evident that a total destruction of the human race was involved.

Secondly, it is made abundantly evident in the Genesis account that the reason for sending the Flood was the sinful condition of mankind. Genesis 6:5 reads: "And Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually." Again, in verse 11: "The earth also was corrupt *[wattishshāḥēt]* before God, and the earth was filled with violence [*ḥāmās*—injurious wrongdoing]." It hardly seems likely that the ancestors of the Australians and Far Eastern peoples presented such a stark contrast in morals to the Middle Eastern nations that God saw fit to exempt them from the judgment of the Flood. The Scripture clearly includes all mankind in the verdict of guilty (e.g., Rom. 3:19: ". . . that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may be guilty [RSV "accountable"] before God"). This is a basic premise of the New Testament gospel. No ground for differentiating between the nations closer to Palestine and those more remote from it can possibly be made out.

Thirdly, we have the unequivocal corroboration of the New Testament that the destruction of the human race at the time of the Flood was total and universal. In II Peter 3:6 we read: ". . . the world that then was, being overflowed with water, perished." Compare II Peter 2:5: God "spared not the old world, but saved Noah the eighth person, a preacher of righteousness, bringing in the flood upon the world of the ungodly." Christ Himself remarked, according to Matthew 24:38, 39, concerning the days of Noah: "For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came, and took them all *[hapantas]* away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be." While the word "all" may not always be used in a completely universal sense in Scripture, it is consistently used to apply to the whole number of individuals involved in the situation under discussion. Certainly all men since Adam have been sinners; therefore even in Noah's day all must have been included in the destruction of the great Deluge.[12]

One very important line of evidence has yet to be mentioned, and that is the remarkable prevalence of oral and written traditions concerning the Flood which have persisted among the most diverse peoples of

[12]For a more detailed refutation of the theory of a partial destruction of the antediluvian race, see J. C. Whitcomb and H. M. Morris, *The Genesis Flood* (1961), pp. 44-48.

earth. The Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians of Mesopotamia might well be expected to cherish a similar tradition to that of the Hebrews, since they lived so close to the presumed seat of antediluvian civilization. Possibly the Egyptian legend reported in Plato's *Timaeus*, and Manetho's version (in which only Toth was saved from the Flood) would be explicable from their geographical proximity to the Fertile Crescent. The Greek tradition of Deucalion and Pyrrha (so charmingly related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) might have been a borrowing from the Near East. The same could be true of the Noah tradition in Apamea (Asia Minor) which inspired a representation of the ark on some of their coins.

But what shall we say of the legend of Manu preserved among the Hindus (according to which Manu and seven others were saved in a ship from a world-wide flood); or of Fah-he among the Chinese (who was the only survivor, along with his wife, three sons and three daughters); or of Nu-u among the Hawaiians; or of Tezpi among the Mexican Indians; or of Manabozho among the Algonquins? All of these agree that all mankind was destroyed by a great flood (usually represented as world-wide) as a result of divine displeasure at human sin, and that a single man with his family or a very few friends survived the catastrophe by means of a ship or raft or large canoe of some sort.

Not all the primitive Flood traditions include the saving agency of an ark. Among some, such as the aborigines of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal, and the Battaks of Sumatra, it was a very high mountain top which furnished the vital refuge for the lone survivor. But otherwise the main outlines of the legend follow the basic structure of the Genesis account. The Kurnai (a tribe of Australian aborigines), the Fiji Islanders, the natives of Polynesia, Micronesia, New Guinea, New Zealand, New Hebrides, the ancient Celts of Wales, the tribesmen of Lake Caudie in the Sudan, the Hottentots, and the Greenlanders all have their traditions of a universally destructive deluge which wiped out all the human race except for one or two survivors. The most complete collection of these Flood legends from all over the world is contained in Richard Andree's German work *Die Flutsagen* (1891). In English perhaps the most comprehensive report is found in James Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament* (Vol. I, 1918). Whether or not the world-wide prevalence of these traditions is reconcilable with a local-flood theory, at least it emphasizes the inclusion of all human races in the descendants of Noah, rather than excepting some of the populations of Africa, India, China and America (as Ramm seems to imply in CVSS 239-240).

Often the Genesis account has been criticized as implausible because of the insufficient capacity of the ark according to the dimensions given. But on the basis of a cubit of twenty-four inches (although it may have been as much as four inches shorter) the ark would have been 600 feet long, 100 feet wide, and 60 feet deep. Assuming a boxlike construction

(altogether probable in view of its peculiar purpose), its capacity would then have been 3,600,000 cubic feet, or room enough for 2,000 cattle cars (each of which carries 18 to 20 cattle, or 60 to 80 hogs, or 80 to 100 sheep). At the present time there are only 290 main species of land animal larger than sheep in size; there are 757 more species ranging in size from sheep to rats, and there are 1,359 smaller than rats. Two of each of these species would fit very comfortably into the cubic capacity of the ark, and leave plenty of room for fodder. There are, of course, manifold problems connected with maintaining such a large number of animals over so many months (especially if they maintained their normal eating habits), but none of them are insuperable. Perhaps it should be remarked at this point that a mere local flood, only coextensive with the human race in the Mesopotamian or Aral-Caspian depressions, is hard to reconcile with the divine insistence (cf. Gen. 6:19, 20) upon the preservation of representatives of all the various kinds of animal. There are very few species today which are confined to that particular region, and so it is difficult to see why the animals in the surrounding, non-flooded areas would not have been able to repopulate the devastated region without hindrance, once the waters had receded. Hence it would have been pointless to include them in the ark.

A few remarks concerning the Babylonian flood narrative would be in order at this point. According to the Gilgamesh epic, after an assembly of gods decreed the Flood, the god Ea betrayed the plan to a man named Utnapishtim of Shuruppak (a city on the Euphrates). Making up a lie (at Ea's suggestion) to lull the rest of the population into security, Utnapishtim built his unwieldy, cube-shaped ark (120 cubits in each dimension), and upon a signal (prearranged with the sun-god Shamash) he closed the door on himself, his family, his helmsman Puzur-Amurri, and all the animals in the six decks of his ship, and the Deluge came. It lasted for two weeks (as contrasted with the one year and seventeen days of the Genesis account), and was of such violence in rain and wind that even the gods cowered in fear (the goddess Ishtar even shedding tears of regret at the destruction of mankind). After landing on the mountain of Nisir (in the Zagros Range northeast of Babylon), the ark held fast, and Utnapishtim sent out (a) a dove, (b) a swallow, and (c) a raven, the last of which did not return. He then issued forth to make sacrifice to the gods, who by this time were so famished for lack of offerings that they came down on the altar like a swarm of hungry flies (tab. XI, l. 161). Enlil (or Bel) came up afterward, very angry that Utnapishtim had escaped death, but Ea successfully appealed to his sense of justice and reconciled Enlil to what had happened. Enlil thereupon promoted Utnapishtim and his wife to divine immortality. The resemblances to the Genesis narrative are such as to suggest a common origin in ancient oral tradition, but the differences are too great to permit

a possibility of borrowing by the one from the other. The stark contrast between the passion-driven, quarrelsome, greedy gods of the Babylonian pantheon and the majestic holiness of Jehovah is most striking and significant. Likewise the utter implausibility of a cube-shaped ark and an inundation of the entire world by a mere fourteen-day downpour stand in opposition to the seaworthy dimensions and the gradual sinking of the waters in the Biblical record.

The Table of Nations in Genesis 10

From the standpoint of linguistic relationships there appear to be some marked discrepancies between the historical affinities among the Near Eastern nations and those indicated by the genealogical tables of Genesis 10. For example, Canaan is said to be descended from Ham (v. 6), and yet the Canaanites of 2000 B.C. were speaking a West Semitic dialect (of which Hebrew itself is a subdivision). It must be borne in mind, however, that language is not necessarily decisive for ethnic relationship, for Germanic Visigoths ended up speaking Spanish in Spain, the Ostrogoths Italian in Italy, the Germanic Franks adopted French in France, and the French-speaking Normans finally took up English in England. Correspondingly the Hamitic tribes which conquered Palestine in the third millennium B.C. may have succumbed to the influence of Semitic-speaking neighbors, regardless of what their original tongue may have been.

Another problem is presented by the appearance of Sheba as a descendant both of Ham (v. 7) and of Shem (v. 28). In all probability the Sabaeans were originally Hamitic, but continual intermixture with Semitic neighbors in South Arabia finally altered their ethnic complexion to make them predominantly Semitic. Thus both the relationship of verse 7 and that of verse 28 would be correct.

As for Cush, verses 8-10 indicate he was the father of Nimrod of Babylonia, and yet his name became associated with Ethiopia (cf. Isa. 11:11; Ezek. 30:4, ASV marg., etc.), a country known to the Egyptians as K;š (and may have been vocalized as Kūsh). Verse 6 refers to him as a son of Ham, which of course agrees with an African location. On the other hand, the Al Amran tribe of Arabia calls the region of Zebid in Yemen by the name Kūsh. There was also an important city near Babylon named Kish, from which Nimrod may have come. Putting all these evidences together, Unger (AOT 83) suggests that the original home of the Hamitic Cushites was in Lower Mesopotamia, where Nimrod raised them to great power. From there the Cushites may well have extended their power to the Yemenite region of Arabia, and then crossed the Red Sea to invade Ethiopia (modern Republic of Sudan) and impose their name upon that entire district. This would be no more unlikely than the colonization of Carthaginia by Phoenician settlers or the conquest

of French Normandy, Saxon England, and Muslim Sicily by the Normans from Norway. Earlier examples would be the settlement and conquest of Sicily and southern Italy by the Greeks in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Some authorities draw into the discussion the little-known Kushu tribe mentioned in Middle Kingdom Egyptian inscriptions as inhabiting the borders of Syria and Palestine. But it is not clear how these could have engendered all the nations of Genesis 10:7 (most of which inhabited the Arabian Peninsula), or furnished the background for Nimrod, unless of course they actually represented settlements from the original Kushites of Lower Babylonia.

In view of the foregoing, it seems that A. H. Sayce[13] was overhasty in surrendering the genetic reliability of Genesis 10 and interpreting it as merely a description of geographical relationships at a time when Canaan was under Egyptian domination (and hence would be regarded as Hamitic, since Egypt or Mizraim was descended from Ham). Even G. E. Wright (in the *Westminster Atlas*) concedes that this list "is arranged on the whole from a racial point of view" (p. 26).

Some of the more interesting correspondences between the names of this chapter and the forms which they assume in Akkadian inscriptions are here listed. Of the descendants of Japheth, Gomer is identified with the Gimirriya or Gimirrai (known to the Greeks as Cimmerians), who came down from above the Caucasus Range and invaded Asia Minor, settling in Cappadocia. Madai was the ancestor of the Medes, and Javan of the Greeks (the name seems to have been preserved in the Ionians). Tubal's descendants were the Tabali, who fought Tiglath-pileser I around 1100 B.C., and the race of Meshech were the Mushke who warred with Shalmeneser III in the ninth century. Both lived in eastern Asia Minor. There is no extant record of the descendants of Magog. As for Tiras, he seems to have fathered the Tursenoi or Tyhrrenians, a Pelasgian race who at first inhabited the Aegean region.

Ashkenaz, of the line of Gomer, is identified with the Ashkuz or Scythians, who invaded the Near East from the North (via the Caucasus) and were formidable antagonists of Assyrians, Persians and Greeks. Little is known of Riphath, and Togarmah is tentatively identified with Tegarama in southwestern Armenia. Elishah, of the line of Javan, is Alashia, now usually identified with Cyprus (so the *Westminster Atlas*), as is also Kittim (a name preserved in Citium on the southern coast of the island). Tarshish has been associated with localities in Sardinia (where the name has been found on inscriptions) and also with Spain. Dodanim is perhaps to be connected with the Dardanians of the region around Troy in northwest Asia Minor; the Dardana are equivalent to the Dardanians. But most scholars prefer the spelling *Rodanim* which occurs in the parallel

[13]*The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* (1894).

passage in I Chronicles 1:7 (ASV), apparently referring to the people of the island of Rhodes.

Cush has already been discussed. Mizraim ("Two Districts") refers to Egypt; Phut is to be identified with Puta (referred to by Darius I) in Cyrenaica.[14] A distinction should be drawn between Ludim (v. 13), ancestor of the Lybians (if the true original reading, as Albright thinks, was *Lubim*), and Lud (v. 22), progenitor of the Lydians of Asia Minor. The classification of Elam as Semitic (v. 22) has been challenged on linguistic grounds, since Elamite or Susian was a language non-Semitic in character. But as we have already seen, language is no infallible indicator of ethnic relationship, and there was besides, an early penetration of Semitic-speaking conquerors into Elam in the ascendancy of Sargon of Agade (ca. 2200 B.C.).

Concerning the descendants of Shem, Unger (AOT 97-99) lists all the available information, which is unfortunately meager enough. But as to the tribal descendants of Aram and Joktan (in Arabia), Albright[15] has this interesting comment: "The most significant thing about the names of the tribal descendants of Aram and Joktan is that nearly all the names are archaic, not hitherto having been found in the inscriptions of the first millennium from Assyria and South Arabia. Moreover, several of the names belong to types known as personal names only in the early second millennium, though they may have continued as tribal names for many centuries thereafter."

Abraham and Genesis 14

The archaeological confirmation of the historical trustworthiness of the Genesis account of Abraham's life has already been reviewed in Chapter 13 (pp. 158-161). There it was shown: (1) that the name "Abram" appears in cuneiform records of the first half of the second millennium B.C.; (2) that both Ur and Haran were flourishing cities in the twenty-first century B.C.; (3) that Shechem, Ai and Bethel were inhabited during that period, and likewise that the Jordan Valley was highly populated; (4) that the names of the invading kings listed in Genesis 14 were appropriate to that age, and travel from Mesopotamia to Palestine was quite extensive, and Elamite power was in the ascendancy at approximately the same time; (5) that Abraham's negotiations in purchasing the cave of Machpelah conformed to Hittite law practiced in the second millennium. Unger (AOT 107) and J. B. Payne[16] date the birth of Abraham in the twenty-second century, and his migration to Palestine in the twenty-first (more precisely estimated by Payne as 2091,

[14]Details concerning the rest of the descendants of Ham may be found in the most recent Bible dictionaries and in Unger's AOT 85-94.
[15]In Alleman-Flack, *Old Testament Commentary* (1948), p. 139.
[16]*An Outline of Hebrew History* (1954), p. 35.

although Unger implies a few years later), in the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur (2070-1960).

Since the name of Hammurabi was so long associated with that of Abraham, on the ground of his supposed identity with Amraphel king of Shinar (Gen. 14:1), it is well to indicate the most recent lines of evidence for 1700 B.C. as the mid-point in Hammurabi's career. In an article in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (April, 1958), M. B. Rowton lists the data as follows: (1) A piece of charcoal from a building in Nippur constructed several years before or after the accession of Ibi-Sin (a king of the Third Dynasty of Ur who preceded Hammurabi by 235 years) yielded the radiocarbon date of 1922 B.C. plus-or-minus 106. This would mean a date for Hammurabi of 1757 plus-or-minus 106. (2) Reed mats from the ziggurat (or stage tower) of Ur-Nammu, founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, erected in Uruk (or else possibly in the reign of his successor, Shulgi), yielded the radiocarbon date of 1868 plus-or-minus 133. This would place the accession of Hammurabi in 1581 plus-or-minus 133. (3) The observation records kept for the planet Venus in the reign of Ammizaduqa of Babylon (the fourth in succession after Hammurabi) allow for three possible dates for Hammurabi's accession: 1848, 1792, and 1728. Of these, Rowton favors the second, 1792, on the basis of a statement by Tiglath-pileser I (whose dates are 1112-1074, according to van der Meer) that he had renovated a temple of Anu and Adad 701 years after it was built by Shamshi-Adad I, a contemporary of Hammurabi. This would yield a date of 1813 for the period of Hammurabi. These evidences tend to confirm the synchronism of Zimri-Lim and Hammurabi mentioned in Chapter 13 (p. 160), and establish the dates of his reign during the eighteenth century—far too late for Abraham.

Joseph and the Hyksos

A tradition at least as old as the time of Josephus (ca. A.D. 90) states that a Hyksos dynasty was ruling Egypt at the time Joseph rose to power as prime minister (or vizier) in Pharaoh's court. The Hyksos (a corruption of the Egyptian *ḥeḳa'u ḫaswet* or "rulers of foreign lands") were a somewhat heterogeneous horde of Asiatic invaders, largely of Semitic background, who gradually infiltrated northern Egypt at first, and then took over the supreme power with an irresistible progress which carried them well into southern Egypt. Capturing Memphis, they made it their capital (along with Tanis or Avaris in the Delta), and established the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties. Manetho (ca. 250 B.C.) estimated their domination as lasting 500 years. But more recent evidence indicates that their rule was hardly more than 150 years.[17] They probably began filtering into Egypt about 1900 B.C. and finally gained control by 1730.[18]

[17]Cf. R. M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (1939).
[18]Unger reckons the Hyksos domination as 1776-1570 (AOT 84).

According to the Biblical chronology (assuming the correctness of a 1445 B.C. date for the Exodus and adding a 430-year sojourn in Egypt), the probable date of Jacob's migration into Egypt during Joseph's premiership was about 1870 B.C. This represents anywhere from 94 to 140 years before the rise of the Hyksos, and puts Joseph back in the period of the Twelfth Dynasty. Obviously these factors exclude the possibility that Josephus' tradition was reliable. It is perfectly true that a bond of sympathy might have existed between the Hyksos and the Hebrews because of their Canaanite language and Asiatic origin. The name of one of their earliest rulers as reported by Manetho was Salitis, which bears a striking similarity to the Semitic *shallīṭ* ("ruler"). Semitic names were attached to a significant number of cities in northern Egypt, like Succoth (Exod. 12:37), Baal-zephon (Exod. 14:2), Migdol (Exod. 14:2), and various others. (Baal was apparently equated with the Egyptian Sutekh or Seth, the storm-god, and was adopted as patron god of the Hyksos dynasties. Hence the place name Baal-zephon, "Lord of the North.") Nevertheless there are clear indications in the text of Genesis, and also in Exodus 1, that the Pharaoh who welcomed Joseph was a native Egyptian, and not a Semitic foreigner.

In the first place, it is quite obvious that the sentiment of the Egyptian government in Joseph's time was strongly averse to shepherds. Genesis 46:34 states: "For every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." While this has been abundantly verified from the Egyptian monuments (which frequently depict cattle but never sheep on their bas-reliefs), it could scarcely have been true of the Hyksos, who were known to the later Egyptians as the "Shepherd-Kings" (indeed Manetho so translates the name Hyksos itself, although erroneously).[19] Hence it was a native dy-

[19]Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, connected the element *hyk-* with an Egyptian word for "king," and *sos* with a word for "shepherd." It is obvious that *hyk* represents the Egyptian *ḥ-ḳ-ꜣ* (meaning "chief, lord, ruler"), which is represented by the hieroglyphic character for shepherd's crook. As for the *sos,* Manetho followed a late popular etymology which connected this element with *š-ꜣ-ś.w,* a word for "shepherds" or "bedouin" which is as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty (Erman-Grapow IV, 412), but which was not used by the Hyksos themselves nor by the contemporary Egyptians in designating their race. Rather, the true etymology of "Hyksos" is "*ḥ-ḳ-ꜣ.w ḫ-ꜣ-s.wt*" or "rulers of foreign lands" (so Steindorf-Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East,* p. 24). It has been objected that the Egyptian inscriptions speak of the Hyksos only as '-ꜣ*m.w,* or "Asiatics," and hence Manetho was completely mistaken in his use of this designation. But the justification for the historicity of this title has been established by its appearance in the Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, such as that of Thutmose III in Medinet Habu, where Thutmose is spoken of as *ḥ-w ḥ-ḳ-ꜣ.w ḫ-ꜣ-s.wt p-ḥ.w s-w* ("the smiter of the Hyksos—or, Rulers of Foreign Lands—who attacked him"). (Cf. Erman-Grapow III, 171 and entry #29 in the *Belegstellen.*) The fact, however, that there was no element of "shepherd" in the title "Hyksos," makes it necessary to look for further evidence to establish the probability that they were more favorably disposed to sheep raising than were the native Egyptians themselves. It is conceivable that the popular etymology recorded by Manetho originated not merely from the similarity in sound between the Late Egyptian pronunciation of the words for "shepherds" and "foreign lands," but also from the historically based tradition that the Hyksos actually did engage in extensive sheep raising.

nasty which was on the throne.[20] It was therefore necessary for the sons of Jacob to stress their possession of cattle and omit mention of their herds of sheep if they were to make a favorable impression before Pharaoh (Gen. 46:31-34).

Secondly, as John Rea has pointed out,[21] the first chapter of Exodus presents an array of data almost irreconcilable with the usual supposition that the "new king who knew not Joseph" was an Egyptian of the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. Before considering these evidences, it would be well to note that at the very commencement of the Eighteenth Dynasty Aḥmose drove out all the Hyksos population from Egypt (except for that which was put to the sword), pursuing them even to their southern Palestinian fortress of Sharuhen. If, then, the Israelites were friends and allies of the Hyksos (as is usually assumed), it is hard to see why they were not expelled with them. On what basis did the nationalistic Egyptians under King Aḥmose make a distinction between the Hyksos and the Hebrews? Is it not obvious that the Israelites must have been antagonistic to the Hyksos and favorable in their attitude toward the Egyptians?

Thirdly, the statement of the Pharaoh reported in Exodus 1:8-10 is quite pointless in the mouth of a native Egyptian. It would have been the grossest exaggeration to assert that the Israelites were more numerous than the Egyptians, but it was quite possible that they were more numerous than the warrior caste of the Hyksos themselves. As for the king's apprehension that they might join up with the enemies of the government in time of war, it is difficult to see what enemies they might have leagued with, surrounded as they were by Egyptians in the isolated pocket of Goshen. But if the speaker in this case was a Hyksos, there would be some point to an apprehension that they might make common cause with the Egyptians, who after all had been so cordial to them for Joseph's sake. The probability is that the "new king who knew not Joseph" was of the Hyksos dynasty, and it was he who put the Hebrews to work as slaves at his building projects.

Fourthly, in connection with this last detail, we have the evidence of the city of Raamses, mentioned in Exodus 1:11. As the narrative is

[20]It should be added, however, that this attitude of disapproval toward sheep did not entail an absolute prohibition of sheep raising even by reputable Egyptians during the Middle Kingdom. Sheep are never included as acceptable offerings upon the altars to the gods or to deceased ancestors (the funerary formula on the monuments is always "bread, beer, oxen and fowl"), yet an occasional mention of flocks of sheep is included in some of the funerary biographies (e.g., that of the Twelfth Dynasty steward Montu-wosre, who speaks of himself as an overseer of oxen, donkeys, goats, sheep and swine; cf. W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 1953, Vol. I, p. 299). Yet apart from the hieroglyphic symbol of the word for "ruler" (*ḥq*ꜣ), which resembles a shepherd's crook (although it might have been used for cattle as well as sheep), there is little or no evidence for styling the Egyptian king as "the good shepherd of his people," as J. A. Wilson does in Chap. 6 of his *The Burden of Egypt* (1951). He offers no substantiation for this title in that chapter which he has so named.

[21]"The Time of the Oppression and the Exodus," *Bulletin of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Summer, 1960, pp. 58-69.

related in the Hebrew text, this forced labor at Raamses (previously known as Tanis or Zoan) took place before the birth of Moses (which is not mentioned until the next chapter). But if the Exodus took place around 1290 (as most modern scholars suppose), and if Moses was eighty at that time, his birth took place in 1370, or a good sixty years before a Nineteenth Dynasty Rameses ever sat on the throne of Egypt. Therefore it could not have been at a city named after Rameses II (1299-1232 B.C.) that the Israelites worked. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the city of Tanis (or Zoan or Avaris, as it is variously called) could have been built during the Eighteenth Dynasty. G. E. Wright is quite positive in his report in his *Biblical Archaeology* (1957, p. 60): "After much digging at Tanis by the archaeologists Marriette, Petrie and Montet, not a single object of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty has been found there. The city was destroyed by Pharaoh Amosis I (1570-1546), and was probably not reoccupied before the fourteenth century." Wright assumes that this evidence points to a thirteenth century date for the building of the store city of Raamses, but this seems precluded by the fact that this activity was carried on before Moses was ever born, perhaps a long time before. The only possibility left (assuming the accuracy of the Hebrew record) is that it was the Hyksos who compelled the Israelites to task work at Pithom and Raamses, and not the early Eighteenth Dynasty monarchs.

This, of course, raises the question how Tanis could ever have been called Raamses two or three hundred years before the accession of Rameses himself. But there is some ground for believing that Rameses is a name which could have been in vogue back in the Hyksos period. It is highly significant that Seti I, the father of Rameses II, was named after Seth, the patron god of the Hyksos dynasties, the god who was so abhorred by the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. Albright has come to this conclusion:[22] "The Ramesside house actually traced its ancestry back to a Hyksos king whose era was fixed 400 years before the date commemorated in the '400-year Stela' of Tanis. The great-grandfather of Rameses II evidently came from an old Tanite family, very possibly of Hyksos origin, since his name was Sethos (Suta). . . . Rameses II established his capital and residency at Tanis, which he named 'House of Rameses' and where he built a great temple of the old Tanite, later Hyksos, god Seth (pronounced at that time *Sûtekh*)." As Rea points out,[23] "If the Ramesside dynasty may be traced back to the Hyksos rulers, and if the dynastic name Seti or Sethos is a Hyksos name, then it is equally possible that the name Ramese or Raamses was a Hyksos name, or at least was used by them in Lower Egypt, where few records from that period have been found." It might be added that the name

[22]*From Stone Age to Christianity,* 2nd ed. (1957), p. 223.
[23]*Op. cit.,* p. 63.

Rameses (Egyptian *Ra'-messu* or *Ra'-mesesu*) literally means, "Begotten of Ra." The sun-god *Ra'* or *Re'* (as it is variously vocalized) was highly honored by the Hyksos as well as by the Egyptians themselves, for many of their royal names end with his name.

16

EXODUS

THE HEBREW TITLE of Exodus is *We'ēlleh shemōt* ("And these are the names of"), or more simply, *shemōt* ("the names of"), derived from the opening words of Exodus 1:1. The Septuagint title, *Exodos* ("exit, departure"), is the origin of the Vulgate's term Exodus. The theme of the book is the commencement of Israel as a covenant nation. It relates how God fulfilled His ancient promise to Abraham by multiplying his descendants into a great nation, redeeming them from the land of bondage, and renewing the covenant of grace with them on a national basis. At the foot of the holy mountain He bestows on them the promises of the covenant, and provides them with a rule of conduct by which they may lead a holy life, and also with a sanctuary in which they may make offerings for sin and renew fellowship with Him on the basis of forgiving grace.

Outline of Exodus

I. The Training of God's Man for God's Task, 1:1–4:31
   A. Moses' background: tyrannical persecution, 1:1-22
   B. His adoption and early education, the first 40 years, 2:1-14
   C. His character disciplined, the second 40 years, 2:15-25
   D. His call from God at Horeb, 3:1–4:31

II. Triumphant Grace: God's People Delivered from Bondage, 5:1–18:27
   A. God's triumph over the world power through the ten plagues, 5:1–11:10
   B. Six types of salvation, 12:1–18:27
      1. Passover: Calvary symbolized and appropriated, 12:1–13:22
      2. Red Sea crossing: the plunge of faith (baptism), 14:1–15:27
      3. Manna from heaven: the bread of life (Eucharist), 16:1-36
      4. The cleft rock: the water of life, 17:1-7
      5. Rephidim: foretaste of victory over the world, 17:8-16
      6. Appointment of elders: organization for religious fellowship, 18:1-27

III. The Seal of Holiness, 19:1–31:18
   A. The covenant promise: absolute submission to God's revealed will, as "a holy nation, a peculiar people," 19:1-25
   B. Basic principles of a holy life under the covenant; the Decalogue, 20:1-26
   C. Holy living in one's conduct toward others ("book of the covenant") (The three great festivals), 21:1–23:33
   D. Holy living in worship and fellowship with God (the types of priesthood, sacrifice, and the tabernacle furniture), 24:1–31:18

IV. The Failure of the Flesh and Repentance for Sin, 32:1–33:23
   A. Rebellion, apostasy, idolatry: fellowship broken with God, 32:1-35
   B. Repentance, chastisement, and intercession by Moses the mediator, 33:1-23

V. God's Provision for Sin: Continuing Forgiveness through Sacrifice, 34:1–40:38
   A. Reaffirmation of covenant of grace and God's warnings against idolatry, 34:1-35
   B. The means of grace to prevent backsliding: sabbath and tabernacle, 35:1-19
   C. The congregation's pledge to carry out God's plan, 35:20–39:43
   D. The forms of worship accepted and hallowed by the Lord, 40:1-38

From this outline it is apparent that the book was composed and arranged by a single mind, and that it was not a clumsy patchwork of three different sources assembled over a period of four centuries, as the Documentary Hypothesis asserts. The logical order in the arrangement of each part and the consistent adherence to the great central theme bespeak the skill of a single, highly gifted author.

The Early History of Moses

Several matters pertaining to the book of Exodus have already been discussed in earlier chapters. The probable identification of the "Pharaoh who knew not Joseph" with the Hyksos dynasty has been explained at the close of Chapter 15. If this hypothesis be accepted, it would be most reasonable to see in Exodus 1:15-22 a reference to resumed persecution under Amenhotep I (1559-1539) and Thutmose I (1539-1514), in whose reigns the growing anti-foreign sentiment of the Egyptian populace finally turned against the Hebrews (even though they too had been oppressed by the hated Hyksos). During the reign of Thutmose I, then, Moses was

born (about 1527), and received from the princess who adopted him (perhaps Ḥatshepsut) the name Moses ("Son of the water" in Egyptian, "Drawing out" in Hebrew). As to this Egyptian etymology *mw-sꜣ* or "water-son," it is true that usually a possessive idea is expressed in Egyptian by "A of B," or in this case, "*sꜣ mw.*" But in the case of proper names, the Egyptians also reversed the order occasionally, as in *The Tale of Sinuhe*, where Enshi, son of Amu, is referred to as "Amu-saꜣ Enshi." Or again, in the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (likewise a Middle Kingdom work), Rensi the son of Meru is called "Meru-saꜣ Rensi." As for the often suggested etymology of "Mose" for Moses, understood as a shortened form of Ra'mosse (Rameses) or Thutmose ("Begotten of Thoth"), this would be a perfectly acceptable alternative if it were not for Exodus 2:10, which implies that the name which the princess bestowed on the baby had some relevance, even in Egyptian, to the circumstances of his discovery at the river bank. Of course there remains the possibility[1] that the true antecedent of "she" in Exodus 2:10 was not the Egyptian princess but rather the mother of Moses, who had been hired to be the baby's nurse. This would eliminate all need for an Egyptian etymology. But this would also presuppose that Moses' mother had not already named him at his circumcision, and that it was the mother who had drawn him out of the water rather than the princess, and lastly that it was the mother who had the prerogative of naming him, rather than his new royal foster-mother. These three assumptions seem rather difficult to maintain in the light of all the circumstances, and so it is best to abide by the Egyptian etymology suggested above.

The Length of the Sojourn in Egypt

As to the length of the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, the clear statement of the Hebrew text of Exodus 12:40 is that it totaled 430 years from the migration of Jacob's family until the Exodus itself. But since the LXX here reads that the 430 years included the sojourn of Abraham and his descendants in Canaan as well as Egypt, some have preferred this variant to the reading of the Masoretic Text. This would result in an Egyptian sojourn of about 215 years, and would bring Joseph's career squarely into the Hyksos period. But there are several considerations which render the 215-year interval very unlikely.

In the first place, a prediction was made to Abraham in Genesis 15:16 that after oppression in a foreign land, his descendants would return to Canaan "in the fourth generation." This follows shortly after verse 13, which states that the foreign oppressors "shall afflict them four hundred years." It is evident that in Abraham's case a generation was computed at one hundred years, and this was appropriate enough in view of the fact that Abraham was precisely one hundred when he became the father

[1]Favored by K. A. Kitchen in *The New Bible Dictionary*, p. 851.

of Isaac. At least four centuries, then, and not a mere 215 years, would mark the Israelite sojourn in the foreign land.

Secondly, although many of the family lines of prominent figures in the Exodus generation are indicated by only three or four links (e.g., Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses, according to Exod. 6:16-20), there are some which feature as many as ten generations. In I Chronicles 7:25 there are no less than nine or ten generations listed between Joseph and Joshua (Ephraim—Rephah—Resheph—Telah—Tahan—Ladan—Ammihud—Elishama—Nun—Joshua). Ten generations can hardly be reconciled with a mere 215 years (especially considering the longer life span of pre-Exodus Israelites), but it fits in very plausibly with an interval of 430 years.

Thirdly, the increase from seventy or seventy-five persons[2] in the immigrant family of Jacob to a nation of more than two million souls (judging from the 603,550 men at arms mentioned in Num. 2:32) militates against a mere 215-year sojourn. If there were indeed only four generations,[3] then the rate of multiplication would necessarily have been astronomic. Even if seven generations should be crammed into the 215 years, there would have had to be an average of four surviving sons per father. But if the sojourn lasted 430 years, then the desired multiplication would result from an average of three sons and three daughters to every married couple during the first six generations, and an average of two sons and two daughters in the last four generations. At this rate, by the tenth generation there would be (according to Delitzsch, *Pentateuch*, II, 30) 478,224 sons above twenty by the four hundredth year of the sojourn, while 125,326 males of military age would still be left over from the ninth generation. These together, then, would total 603,550 men at arms.

The Date of the Exodus

According to I Kings 6:1 the temple of Solomon was begun in the fourth year of his reign (i.e., 966 or shortly thereafter), which was the four hundred and eightieth year after the Exodus.[4] This would give the exact date for the Exodus as 1445, in the third year of Amenhotep II (1447-1421). There may have been a few years more or less, if the

[2]The Hebrew text of Genesis 46:26, 27 and Exodus 1:5 gives the figure as seventy, but the LXX gives it as seventy-five (so Stephen's speech in Acts 7:14). As Delitzsch explains it (*Pentateuch*, I, 370 n. 1), the variation is due to Septuagintal inclusion of the three grandsons and two great-grandsons of Joseph mentioned in Numbers 26:29ff. These five names are actually inserted by the LXX into the text right after Genesis 46:20 (Mekhir, Galaad, Soutalaam, Taam and Edom—according to the Greek spelling).

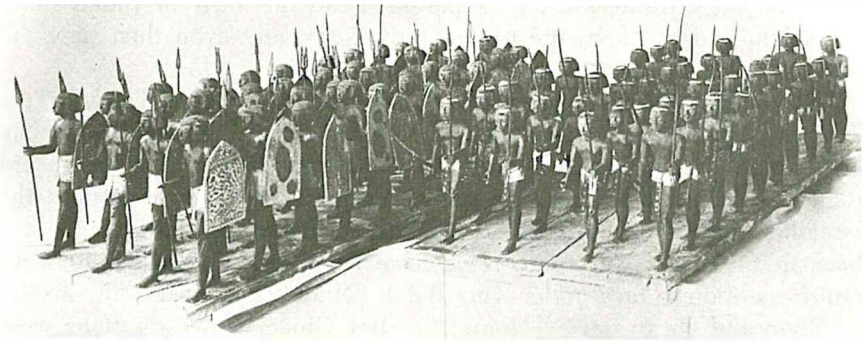
[3]H. H. Rowley so insists in his 47-page article, "Israel's Sojourn in Egypt," in *Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Vol. 22, No. 1.

[4]The year 966 is J. B. Payne's date for the commencement of the temple. Albright computes it at 958 (BASOR, Dec. 1945, p. 17), E. R. Thiele at 967 (*Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings*, 1951, p. 254f.), and Begrich at 962. Unger personally prefers 961 (AOT 141), and thus puts the Exodus at 1441. In the subsequent discussion the writer uses the 966 date.

figure of 480 was only meant to be a round number. This would mean that the Israelite conquest of Canaan would have commenced with the destruction of Jericho around 1405 (allowing for the forty years in the wilderness). This latter date has been confirmed by John Garstang's excavations at the site of Jericho, Tell es-Sultan, from 1930 to 1936. On archaeological grounds he dated the Late-Bronze level ("City D") at 1400.

Further confirmation of this date is found in the statement of Jephthah recorded in Judges 11:26, where he reminds the Ammonite invaders that the Israelites have been too long in possession of the contested land of Gilead for the Ammonites to challenge their legal right to hold it: "While Israel dwelt in Heshbon and its towns, and in Aroer and its towns . . . three hundred years; wherefore did ye not recover them within that time?" (ASV). Since Jephthah's period was admittedly earlier than the time of King Saul (whose reign began around 1050 B.C.), this certainly pushes the Israelite Conquest back to 1400 B.C.

Still further confirmation is found in Paul's comment in Acts 13:19, 20, which according to the earliest reading (as preserved in Nestle's text) states: "And when he [God] had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he gave them their land for an inheritance, for about four hundred and fifty years: and after these things [i.e., after the division of the land] he gave them judges until Samuel the prophet." (This is the rendering of the RSV; the KJV follows a later, untrustworthy reading here.) In other words, the interval is inclusive of the Israelite Conquest and the career of Samuel (1405 to the death of Samuel around 1020). This would seem to be sixty-five years too long, even on the basis of the 1445 date for the Exodus; but apparently Paul had in mind the 480-year figure of I Kings 6:1, and then substracted thirty years from the founding of the temple to approximate the era of Samuel. It goes without saying that a materially later date for the Exodus would be utterly impossible to reconcile with Acts 13:19.



Statuettes of Egyptian soldiers from Egyptian tombs. Perhaps the army that pursued the Israelites at the time of the Exodus looked like this.

(Courtesy of the Louvre)

But notwithstanding this consistent testimony of Scripture to the 1445 date (or an approximation thereof), the preponderance of scholarly opinion today is in favor of a considerably later date, the most favored one at present being 1290 B.C., or about ten years after Rameses II began to reign. A still later date, ca. 1225, is favored by a diminishing number of authorities (such as H. H. Rowley), but in the earlier decades of the twentieth century it found support even from conservatives like M. G. Kyle in the ISBE (who dated the fifth year of Merneptah about 1250 B.C.) and J. D. Davis (who dated the fifth year in his *Dictionary of the Bible,* 4th ed., as 1320).

J. Finegan lists[5] five major arguments in support of the 1290 date: (1) the discrepancies between the Amarna Letters and the Hebrew record (in Joshua, Judges, Samuel); (2) the apparent absence of an agricultural civilization in Edom, Moab and Ammon during the fourteenth century; (3) the impossibility of reconciling a 430-year sojourn with a Hyksos date for Joseph's career; (4) the lack of evidence that Thutmose III did any building in the Delta region; (5) the mention of the city of Raamses in Exodus 1:11. These will be dealt with one by one.

As to (1), Finegan points to the fact that the letters from King Abdi-Ḫepa of Canaanite Jerusalem in the Amarna correspondence[6] indicate that his city was in imminent danger of capture by the Ḫabiru; yet II Samuel 5:6ff. shows that the Israelites did not capture Jerusalem until David's reign. Hence the Ḫabiru could not have been the Israelites, but an earlier, non-Israelite force of invaders. But the fallacy in this argument is obvious. The armies of Joshua did indeed menace Jerusalem, for they routed the Jerusalemite troops (together with their allies from Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish and Eglon) at the battle of Gibeon, and their king, Adoni-zedek, was subsequently flushed out of hiding and put to death (Josh. 10). But neither the letters of Abdi-Ḫepa nor the Hebrew account in Joshua states that the city itself was captured or destroyed. Not until after Joshua's death, apparently, did the army of Judah storm Jerusalem and put it to the torch (Judg. 1:8), and even then they did not permanently dispossess the Jebusites (Judg. 1:21).

As to (2), Finegan refers to the surveys of Nelson Glueck in the Transjordanian region, which failed to uncover any evidence of urban civilization or fortifications between 1900 and 1300 B.C. This means that there could have been no strong Edomite kingdom to oppose the Israelite advance up the east bank of the Dead Sea (cf. Num. 20:14-21) back in 1405 B.C. Nor would there have been any strong Moabite-Midianite coalition to face under King Balak (Num. 22–25), nor any armies of Sihon and Og to crush (Num. 21). But Glueck's investigations were largely in the nature of surface exploration, and could hardly have been

[5]In *Light from the Ancient Past* (1959), pp. 106-108.
[6]See Chap. 13, p. 164.

called thorough. Moreover, there has come to light more recently a new line of evidence which seems to belie his deductions. In the *Biblical Archaeologist* for February, 1953, G. Lankester Harding reported the discovery of an ancient tomb in Amman containing numerous artifacts (including black pricked ware, button-base vases, oil flasks, scarabs and toggle pins) dating from about 1600 B.C. In Harding's *Antiquities of Jordan* (1959, p. 32) he also speaks of characteristic Middle Bronze pottery and other objects found at Naur and Mount Nebo. Further excavation will doubtless uncover more products of this intermediate period and demonstrate once again the rashness of hasty conclusions drawn from superficial investigation.

As to (3), the difficulty of reconciling the viziership of Joseph with the Hyksos period in Egypt (since Joseph's career must have fallen in the first half of the nineteenth century according to the early date theory, and the Hyksos rule did not begin until 1730 or so), this discrepancy is freely admitted. But as has been already pointed out, the internal evidence of Exodus 1 points to the Hyksos dynasty as furnishing the "new king who knew not Joseph," and the Twelfth Dynasty as being the probable time of Joseph's career.[7] Therefore the point taken raises no difficulty whatsoever to a 1445 date for the Exodus, but only provides an embarrassment to the 1290 date (which would land Joseph squarely in the Hyksos period).

As to (4), the lack of evidence of building activity in the Delta during the reign of Thutmose III (1501-1447), there are several significant indications from archaeological discovery which point in a more positive direction. It is a well-known fact that Thutmose III erected two red granite obelisks in front of the temple of Ra' in Heliopolis (situated at the base of the Delta); one of them now stands in London and the other in New York City. Since he describes himself in them as "Lord of Heliopolis," it is fair to assume that he did conduct building operations in that city. Moreover, a scarab from the Eighteenth Dynasty refers to the birth of Amenhotep II (Thutmose's son) as having taken place in Memphis (twenty-three miles below Heliopolis). This raises a strong presumption that Thutmose maintained his headquarters there from time to time, at least, and probably did so for the purpose of strengthening his fortifications and staging preparations for his numerous Asiatic campaigns. It is inconceivable that he could have made fourteen or more campaigns in Syria if he had not built extensive barracks, depots and other structures to accommodate his troops. The land of Goshen with its large reservoir of manpower must have been often commandeered for these construction projects. Even so far south as Thebes, the tomb of his vizier Rekhmire shows Semitic slaves hard at work making and transporting bricks.

As for Amenhotep II, discoveries at Bubastis (the Pi-beseth of Ezek.

[7]Cf. pp. 210-211.

30:17) uncovered by Naville in 1887-1889 included a red granite slab representing Amenhotep in worship before Amon-Ra', "he who dwells in Perunefer." This calls to mind the close relationship which Amenhotep bore to the naval dockyard at Perunefer near Memphis, over which his father had appointed him a commandant in his youth. W. C. Hayes[8] concludes that he maintained large estates at Perunefer, and resided there for extended periods of time. In one inscription (ANET 244) he speaks of riding from the royal stables in Memphis to visit the Sphinx at Gizeh. All this points to frequent royal residence in the Delta during the reign of Thutmose (the Pharaoh of the Oppression) and Amenhotep (the Pharaoh of the Exodus)—according to the early date theory.

In regard to (5), the appeal to the treasure city of Raamses in Exodus 1:11, we have already seen[9] that there is no possibility of reconciling the Mosaic narrative as it now stands, with a 1290 date. This labor upon the city of Rameses must have been carried on prior to the birth of Moses, unless the account is out of chronological sequence and the name "Raamses" was an anachronism (and the strength of this whole argument is that this name was *not* an anachronism). Yet between 1300, the approximate date of the accession of Rameses II to the throne, and the year 1290 there is no room for the eighty years of Moses' life prior to the event of the Exodus itself. Therefore the 1290 date cannot be seriously considered as a theory reconcilable with the accuracy of the Hebrew account. Actually the prime advocates of this view do not, as a rule, hold to the reliability of the Mosaic narrative, but (as in the case of Meek and Albright) deny that the Joseph tribes (Ephraim and Manasseh) ever sojourned in Egypt, but rather the Levites alone, or possibly the tribe of Judah also.[10]

On the strength of the Israel stela of Merneptah[11] the adherents of the 1290 date have rightly urged that the Israelites must already have been settled in Palestine at least by 1229 B.C., and that this makes it very difficult to hold the older theory that Merneptah (1234-1225) was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. It is a necessary inference from the Merneptah stela that

[8]*The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), II, 141.

[9]Chap. 15, p. 207.

[10]Rowley in "Israel's Sojourn," p. 272 (see footnote 3), has this instructive comment to make: "The most notable feature of Albright's view appears to be its complete skepticism as to the historical value of the Israelite traditions." He goes on to point out that these traditions link Yahwism most definitely with Moses; they connect the ark with Moses. The Ephraimite Joshua is an attendant in the tabernacle; the Ephraimite Samuel serves in the Shiloh sanctuary, an Ephraimite shrine. This is hardly intelligible upon the theory that Moses was really a Judahite leader. Besides this, the Biblical tradition makes the whole descent into Egypt turn upon Joseph, and yet Albright's theory denies that the Joseph tribes were ever in Egypt. It also disregards completely the statement made by Exodus that Moses was eighty years old at the time of the migration from Egypt, and makes the whole story of Moses' early life "sheer and ungrounded fabrication." He concludes by saying (p. 275): "Not only does Albright's theory exaggerate the untrustworthiness of the Bible, but it renders it difficult to see how traditions so perverse could have arisen."

[11]Discussed in Chap. 13, p. 164.

Israel was already in Palestine, dwelling among the Hittites, Ashkelon, Gezer, and the Horites (11. 26ff). Kyle's suggestion (in the ISBE article on the Exodus) that "Israel is laid waste, his seed is not" refers to the program of killing off the male babies of Israel eighty years before, while still enslaved in Egypt, is hardly worth serious consideration.

The presence of the Hebrew nation in Palestine by 1229 (or the fifth year of Merneptah) carries with it certain significant consequences. If the Scriptural record of forty years' wandering in the wilderness be correct, then the Israelites could not possibly have left Egypt after 1269 B.C., or in the thirtieth year (approximately) of Rameses II. The Hebrew text implies that Moses was absent in Midian and Horeb at least thirty years, more probably forty. Compare Exodus 7:7, which states that he was eighty at the time of the Exodus, and Acts 7:23, which states that he was about forty when he slew the Egyptian. In other words, Rameses II could barely have ascended the throne when this incident took place and Moses had to flee from Egypt; more likely it would have occurred before Rameses' accession. But the clear implication of Exodus 4:19 ("Go, return into Egypt; for all the men are dead which sought thy life") is that the king who sought Moses' life had but recently died. The whole tenor of the narrative in Exodus 2 leads us to expect that it was the Pharaoh of 1:22 who after "many days" passed away in 2:23. Whether or not this was the case, there is the greatest improbability that Merneptah's raid would have met with success against the triumphant Israelites under General Joshua in 1229 just as they were first entering the Promised Land. It is far more likely that the Egyptian expedition would have taken place after the initial phase of the Conquest was over. This would push the Exodus back at least to the 1290 date, and make it utterly hopeless for Rameses II to serve as the "Pharaoh of the Oppression." Moses could not have spent forty years in exile during the ten years between 1300 and 1290; yet it was evidently the king who had sought Moses' life who "after many days" had died.

No other known Pharaoh fulfills all the specifications besides Thutmose III. He alone, besides Rameses II, was on the throne long enough (fifty-four years, including the twenty-one years of Hatshepsut's regency) to have been reigning at the time of Moses' flight from Egypt, and to pass away not long before Moses' call by the burning bush, thirty or forty years later. In character he was ambitious and energetic, launching no less than seventeen military campaigns in nineteen years, and engaged in numerous building projects for which he used a large slave-labor task force. His son, Amenhotep II, who doubtless hoped to equal his father's military prowess, seems to have suffered some serious reverse in his military resources, for he was unable to carry out any invasions or extensive military operations after his fifth year (1445 B.C.) until the modest campaign of his ninth year (according to Memphis stela, at least—the chronol-

ogy of this reign is a bit confused[12]). This relative feebleness of his war effort (by comparison with that of his father) would well accord with a catastrophic loss of the flower of his chariotry in the waters of the Red Sea during their vain pursuit of the fleeing Israelites.

In further confirmation of Amenhotep II as the "Pharaoh of the Exodus" we have the "Dream Stela" of Thutmose IV (1421-1412), his son and successor. Although Adolf Erman demonstrated quite convincingly that the inscription itself comes from a later period (*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904), nevertheless there can be little doubt that it represents faithfully the substance, and much of the actual wording, of an authentic inscription set up by Thutmose himself in the fifteenth century. Apparently the older stela had been seriously damaged, and was copied (as well as its condition would allow) in a later century when once again the sand was removed from the Sphinx at Gizeh. In this text the god Ḥar-em-akht ("Horus in the horizon"), in whose honor the Sphinx was thought to be made, appears to young Thutmose in a dream while the latter was a mere prince in his father's household. He promises him the throne of Egypt upon the implied condition that he will remove the sand from the Sphinx.[13] It is quite obvious that if Thutmose IV had been the oldest son of his father, Amenhotep II, there would have been no purpose in a divine promise that he should some day become king. He would naturally have succeeded to the throne if he had survived his father. It is a necessary inference, therefore, that the oldest son of Amenhotep must have later predeceased his father, thus leaving the succession to his younger brother. This well accords with the record in Exodus 12:29 that the eldest son of Pharaoh died at the time of the tenth plague.

But even more conclusive than this is the situation in Goshen during the reign of Thutmose III as compared to that which obtained under Rameses II. In the time of Rameses, some of his main building activity was right in the region of Wadi Tumilat, or Goshen, and this meant that Egyptians must have been living all around this region, and in the midst of it as well. But the details of the plagues of flies and hail (Exod. 8:22;

[12]John A. Wilson in ANET 245 confesses in his footnote: "The translator finds it impossible to reconcile the dates in these several stelae [i.e., the Memphis stela and the Karnak stela, both of which were hacked up under Akhnaton and later repaired in the Nineteenth Dynasty]. The Memphis stela places the first campaign [sc. into Asia] in Amenhotep II's seventh year, the second in his ninth year. The Amada stela below is dated in his third year, to record a celebration in Egypt after the return from the first campaign! Further, it is understood that Amenhotep was coregent with his father, Thutmose III, for a minimum of one year and up to a possible eleven years. A possible reconciliation would be that the seventh year after the coregency began in the third year of the sole reign." Thus Wilson equates the "seventh year" in the Memphis stela with 1440 B.C.; but he later equates "year nine" in the same inscription with 1440 B.C., and also "year three" in the Amada stela he declares to be 1440 B.C. It does not appear how three entirely different years, the third, the seventh and the ninth, could all equal 1440 B.C. At best, then, the evidence from the various inscriptions of Amenhotep II is of an ambiguous character.

[13]The translation of this inscription is given in ANET 449.

9:25, 26) make it clear enough that Goshen was at the time of the Exodus inhabited almost exclusively by the Hebrews, and plagues which befell the rest of Egypt made no appearance at all in Goshen. So far as we can tell from the archaeological evidence presently at hand, there were no Egyptians living there during the reign of Thutmose.

We come now to a consideration of the date when the Late Bronze or Canaanite city of Jericho (City D in Garstang's survey) met with destruction. John Garstang, who did the most extensive excavation at this celebrated site, came to the conclusion that this destruction took place around 1400 B.C. In the burial grounds belonging to this level Garstang found numerous scarabs, but none of them later than the two of Amenhotep III (1412-1376). Out of more than 150,000 fragments of pottery found within the city itself, only one piece was found which was of the Mycenean type.[14] Yet Mycenean ware began to be imported into Palestine in increasing abundance from 1400 onward. The archaeological criteria for the reign of Amenhotep's successor, Amenhotep IV or Akhnaton (1380-1362), are distinctive, plentiful and well-established; but the Jericho evidence did not include a single fragment characteristic of his reign.

Garstang also described the outer walls of this city as having been constructed of large, heavy stone, and observed that they had toppled outward (p. 249), as if by a violent earthquake. There is considerable doubt, however, as to whether those walls belonged to this Late Bronze city or to an earlier one, for more recent excavation by Kathleen Kenyon[15] indicates the presence of Middle Bronze sherds in the earth fill between the inner and outer layer of this rampart.

Although many have objected to Garstang's early date for the destruction of Jericho, their objections have largely been influenced by subjective preference for a later date (a preference partially based upon the time of the destruction of Lachish, Bethel and Debir in the thirteenth century). In reply to such criticisms Garstang wrote in the preface to his 1948 *Story of Jericho:* "We are aware that varying opinions have appeared in print which conflict with our interpretation of the date of the fall of Jericho about 1400 B.C. Few such opinions are based on first-hand knowledge of the scientific results of our excavations; while many of them are devoid of logical reasoning, or are based upon preconceptions as to the date of the Exodus. No commentator has yet produced from the results of our excavations, which have been fully published in the Liverpool Annals of Archaeology, any evidence that City IV remained in being after the reign of Amenhotep III. . . . We see no need therefore to discuss the date as though it were a matter for debate."

One specious objection which is sometimes raised to the 1400 date for the fall of Jericho is derived from the mention of iron implements found

[14]John Garstang, *The Story of Jericho* (1948), p. 122.
[15]See her *Digging up Jericho* (1957), pp. 46, 170, 181.

in it, according to Joshua 6:24. The argument runs as follows: 1400 falls within the Late Bronze Age; since iron was used in Jericho, its fall must have occurred during the Iron Age (which began in the thirteenth century). But it does not necessarily follow that iron was unknown during the Late Bronze Age; it might simply be that it was in such short supply that bronze had to be used by most people in most places. This is borne out by the fact that Joshua 6:24 speaks of the iron "vessels" in the same breath with articles of gold and silver; therefore iron must have been scarce and expensive. Actually we know that iron was well known as early as Sumerian times, and the Semitic word for "iron" (the Hebrew *barzel,* Akkadian *parzillu*) may even have been of Sumerian origin, since the Sumerian spelling for the word is *^{na}AN.BAR.*[16] This indicates a knowledge of iron in the Mesopotamian Valley at least as early as the twentieth century B.C. Furthermore, iron objects have actually been found at Tell Asmar dating from about 2500 B.C.,[17] and also at Dorah in northwestern Turkey from about the same period there was discovered an iron-bladed sword with an obsidian hilt.[18]

Perhaps the most serious difficulty with the 1445 theory is to be found in the dates which are presently assigned to the destruction of some of the other cities which Joshua's forces are said to have captured, such as Lachish (Josh. 10:32), and Debir (Josh. 10:38). At Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir), the Late Bronze city seems to have been leveled in the reign of Merneptah (1234-1225), for there was found there not only a scarab of Rameses II but also some receipt ostraca with the notation, "Year four." The style of script is believed to be characteristic of Merneptah's time, and this might therefore indicate the date 1230 B.C.

As for Debir or Kirjath-sepher, identified with Tell Beit Mirsim, a scarab was found of Amenhotep III (1412-1376). Finegan (LAP 140) can cite no other evidence than this for his assumption that the layer of ashes upon the Late Bronze layer represents a destruction shortly before 1200 B.C. As for the destruction of Ai, described in Joshua 8, this is usually explained as a confusion with Bethel, since on archaeological grounds the site of Ai (Et-Tell) is said not to have been occupied at all between 2200 B.C. and a brief village settlement sometime between 1200 and 1000 B.C. (Finegan LAP 136, 137). But Bethel, a mile and a half away, was destroyed by a tremendous conflagration some time in the thirteenth century, and the fact that Joshua makes no mention of the capture of Bethel lends color to the belief that it was confused with Ai.

There are several observations to be made concerning these three sites. In the first place, Joshua 10:32 says nothing about the physical destruction of the city of Lachish; it only speaks of the slaughter of its

[16]Cf. Deimel's *Šumerisches Lexikon,* Heft 2, where this term is cited from an inscription listed as Ebeling, KARI, 185, 3, 1.
[17]Cf. Oriental Institute Communications No. 17, pp. 59-61.
[18]See *Illustrated London News,* Nov. 28, 1959, p. 754.

inhabitants. The devastation of 1230 B.C. may represent a later assault in the time of the Judges after the depopulated city had been reoccupied upon the departure of Joshua's troops. The same observation also applies to the destruction of Debir; Joshua 10:38 says nothing about leveling the walls or putting the city to the torch. Moreover, the evidence cited by Finegan seems to confirm the early date theory as much as the 1290 date, since Amenhotep III was on the throne during the 1400 entry of Canaan by the Israelites. As for the question of Ai, the identification with Bethel seems most tenuous, for Bethel was a hallowed and well-known religious center to the Hebrews from the time of Jacob onward, and it is most unlikely that they would ever have confused its location with that of Ai. In fact, this theory is quite untenable in view of Joshua 7:2, which states explicitly that Ai was on the east side of Bethel. The ancient historian would hardly have confused Bethel with an Ai which did not then exist as an inhabited site in the fourteenth or thirteenth century. If "Ai" was really Bethel, then what was the "Bethel" mentioned in Joshua 7:2? It is more reasonable to assume that Et-Tell is not the true site of Ai, and that we must look to further exploration to discover the true location.[19] The date of Bethel's destruction is therefore quite irrelevant to the dating of the Exodus.

One final problem attaching to the early date theory of the Exodus has to do with the complete silence of Judges concerning the Palestinian expeditions of Seti I and Rameses II. If these invasions actually took place and the territory of Canaan was actually subjected to the Egyptian power after the Israelite Conquest had taken place, why are the Egyptians not mentioned along with all the other oppressors? If lesser powers like the Moabites, Ammonites, North Canaanites and Philistines were mentioned, why were the Egyptians completely omitted during the interval between 1370 and 1050 (when Saul began to reign)? But if the Exodus actually took place in 1290 and the Conquest in 1250, there would be no silence to explain away, for the Israelites would not have entered upon the scene until after Rameses' conquests, the year 1279 marking the signing of his famous non-aggression pact with the Hittites.

In reply to this persuasive argument it should first of all be pointed out that neither the 1290 date nor the 1230 date accounts for the failure of Judges to mention the invasion of Merneptah aforementioned (see p. 217). The same is true of the expeditions of Rameses III (1204-1172 B.C.) in Palestine. Yet this noteworthy monarch of the Twentieth Dynasty

[19] J. Simons in the *Archaeological Digest* (published by the *American Journal of Archaeology*, July-Sept., 1947, p. 311) objects that Et-Tell cannot be identified with the Biblical Ai for four reasons. (1) Et-Tell is not very close to Beitin (or Bethel), whereas Joshua 12:9 states that it was "beside Bethel" (*missad Beyth-'El*). (2) Et-Tell is a large site, whereas Joshua 7:3 implies that it was a small community inhabited by few people. (3) Et-Tell was not an exposed ruin in the post-Conquest period, whereas Joshua 8:28 indicates that Ai was a ruin during that era. (4) Joshua 8:11 refers to a broad valley running to the north of Ai, yet there is no such valley north of Et-Tell.

boasts in his inscriptions of having reduced both the Tjeker (Palestinians) and the Philistines to ashes (ANET 262), and his bas-reliefs show him on his victorious progress to Djahi (the Phoenician coastline) to do further exploits. Monuments from his reign were discovered in the excavation of Beth-shan, at the eastern end of the Plain of Esdraelon. How are we to explain this complete silence about Rameses III? Certainly not by the late date theory of the Exodus; for even according to that method of reckoning, the reign of Rameses III would have occurred in the time of the Judges. The only possible inference is that the Hebrew record did not see fit to mention these Egyptian invasions which took place after the Conquest. But if this was indisputably true of the incursions of two Pharaohs (Merneptah and Rameses III), why may it not have been true of the two others (Seti I and Rameses II)? Also it is possible that the Hebrews did not mention the Egyptians because the two had little or no contact. The Egyptians were most active along the coastal plain of the Mediterranean, which the Hebrews seldom held. Primarily the Hebrews occupied the hills of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee.

Secondly, it is possible to work out a fairly satisfactory synchronism between the Egyptian history of the Nineteenth Dynasty and the earlier period of the Judges. Garstang has advanced the interesting theory that the periods of "rest" referred to in Judges were times of Egyptian supremacy, but that the Hebrew historian purposely avoided mentioning the Egyptians as such because of an inveterate antipathy to a nation which had so cruelly oppressed his ancestors in Goshen. Periods of oppression, then, came when Egyptian power in Canaan was weak and the tribes of the area became restive, oppressing Israel.

On this view (which is essentially embraced by Unger and Payne) the oppression by Cushan-Rishathaim of Aram-of-the-Two-Rivers represented a Hittite advance (the Hittites having subdued North Mesopotamia by that time), which took place during the reign of Tutankhamen (Unger) or Amenhotep III (Payne). The eighty years' peace following the assassination of Eglon by Ehud (Judg. 3:12-30) coincided in part with the pacification of the land by Seti I in 1318, followed by the long reign of Rameses II. The quiet period ensuing upon Barak's victory over Sisera (ca. 1223-1183 according to Payne) may have been facilitated by the strong rule of Rameses III (1204-1172). Garstang suggests that the "hornet" which is to drive out the Canaanites before the Hebrews (according to Exod. 23:28; Deut. 7:20; Josh. 24:12) is a covert reference to the Egyptian power, since the bee or hornet was the symbol of Pharaoh as king of Lower Egypt in the hieroglyphic spelling of that title (Egyptian *b'ty*). This is somewhat dubious, however, on exegetical grounds. But the fact remains that the early date theory does permit easy synchronism between the periods in Judges and the known sequence of events in Egyptian history. (The late date theory, on the other hand, makes com-

plete nonsense of the chronology of the book of Judges.) An additional factor which favors a 1445 Exodus is found in the Amarna Letters.[20]

The Covenant and the Decalogue (Exod. 19, 20)

In Exodus 19:3-8 the covenant with Abraham and his seed (Gen. 12, 15, 17) was renewed with his descendants, now that they had become a great nation. At the foot of the holy mountain Israel permanently committed itself to be the Lord's people, and a holy (set-apart-for-Him) people, whose national goal—unlike the self-seeking of all other nations—was to be sincere and to give complete obedience to His will, walking in fellowship with Him, and making Him the object of its highest loyalty and love. "All that Jehovah hath spoken we will do" (v. 8). Anything less than this would have amounted to a withholding of complete obedience. It certainly was not intended (as some have supposed) to be a choice in favor of self-justification by performance of the deeds of the Law. Grace reigned supreme in this Sinaitic covenant just as truly as it did in the Abrahamic. The whole body of the Law which was revealed to Moses and his people from this point on was a testament of grace, although mediated through a different economy from that of the gospel (in which the Antitype superseded all the Old Testament types which had pointed toward Him). Hence the apostles apply exactly the same affirmation of royal priesthood to New Testament Christians as to Old Testament Israel (I Pet. 2:9 is an adaptation of Exod. 19:5, 6). It was only the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the Law—as a system of merit-earning and self-justification—which is rejected in Romans 3 and Galatians 3 (and related passages).

As for the Decalogue (Exod. 20:1-17), the whole basis of its sanctions is stated to be God's act of redemption by grace ("I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of . . . bondage"). The most solemn warnings against disobedience (the product of unbelief and rejection of God) are coupled with the most lavish promises of grace (". . . and showing lovingkindness unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments," ASV). While the distinctive element of love (for no heathen ever professed to love his god with his whole heart) is made more explicit in Deuteronomy than in the other books of the Torah, it is nevertheless an underlying presupposition in them all: the love of God for the believer, and the believer's love for God. Yet the emphasis is constantly laid upon a holy life as the necessary and inevitable product of a true and living faith, even though a holy life has *per se* no saving virtue.

In regard to the wording of the first commandment ("Thou shalt have no other gods before me"), it has often been alleged by the Wellhausen school that this dictum insists only on an exclusive worship of Jehovah

[20]Cf. Chap. 13, p. 164 and the discussion at some length in Chap. 19.

(monolatry) rather than an outright affirmation of monotheism. There is, according to this interpretation, no denial of the existence of other gods; it is simply that Israel is to be exclusively loyal to its own national god. But this construction of the words is quite unwarranted; there would hardly be any other way of expressing the thought that Israel is to worship the one true God alone, and not to serve any other deities of their own devising (even though, of course, such deities existed only in their imagination). It is a sufficient refutation of this monolatrous interpretation to point to the analogy of Psalm 96:4, 5: "For great is Jehovah, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods"—surely an affirmation of monolatry according to Wellhausian interpretation; but the author goes on to affirm pure monotheism: "For all the gods of the peoples are idols [*'ᵉlīlīm*—things of nought]; but Jehovah made the heavens" (ASV). This passage alone (and others could be cited) demonstrates conclusively that the mention of "gods" in the plural implied no admission of the actual existence of heathen gods in the first commandment.

There are certain variations between the form of the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20 and that given in Deuteronomy 5. In Deuteronomy 5:15 an additional motivation is given for hallowing the sabbath (kindness to one's bondslaves, even as the Lord had compassion on captive Israel), and the wife is mentioned before the house rather than after it, in the tenth commandment. Since Deuteronomy 5 occurs in the midst of a hortatory discourse addressed by Moses to the people, whereas Exodus 20 purports to be a record of the direct address of God to Israel, it is fair to conclude that the latter represents the accurate and original wording. In Deuteronomy 5 the preacher inserts an explanatory interpolation (likewise under divine inspiration) which enforces the sanction of the fourth commandment more urgently upon the conscience of the people. Note that the variation of order between "wife" and "house" destroys the basis for the artificial distinction drawn by the Roman Church between not coveting the neighbor's property (ninth commandment) and the neighbor's wife (tenth commandment). The fact that the order is immaterial—whether "house—wife" or "wife —house"—shows that all of Exodus 20:17 was intended as a single commandment. (The consequence, of course, is that the Romanist attempt to combine the first commandment with the second must fail, since that would result in only nine commandments.)

The Spiritual Significance of the Tabernacle

A considerable portion of Exodus (chaps. 25–28, 30, 35–40) is devoted to the design of the tabernacle and of the various articles of furniture which it was to contain. Each of these articles possessed a typical meaning which had a bearing upon the redemptive work of the Lord Jesus Christ. Proceeding from the outermost parts to the inner sanctum we find

the following significant features: (1) The outer hangings of the court (*ḥāṣēr*) enclosed a perimeter measuring 50 by 100 cubits. This court was designed to separate Israel as a holy possession of God and keep it distinct from the Gentiles. This same principle was rigorously observed in the later temples, both that of Solomon and that of Herod (in which was found a Greek inscription threatening the death penalty to any Gentile who should venture beyond the barrier into the inner court). (2) The tabernacle itself was a large tent (*'ōhel*) measuring 10 by 30 cubits (the cubit being a little over a foot and a half) and curtained off into two sections, the holy place and the holy of holies. (3) In the court outside of the tabernacle and situated in front of its curtain door (*māsāk*) or "outer veil" were placed the "great" altar or altar of burnt offering (*mizbaḥ 'ōlah*), covered with bronze, on which all the offerings were presented, both the blood sacrifices (*z^ebāḥīm*) and the grain offering (*minḥah*), which is rendered "meat-offering" in the KJV but consisted of everything *except* meat (in the modern sense of flesh). (4) Between the brazen altar and the entrance curtain stood the laver (*kiyyōr*), a large wash basin made of bronze, in which priests had to wash their hands and their feet before entering the holy place. This probably typified the cleansing power of Christ's blood as represented and sealed to believers by baptism.

The tabernacle consisted of two compartments. (5) The holy place (*qōdesh*), measuring 20 by 10 cubits, contained three sacred objects: (6) On the north or right side, the table of "shewbread" (*shulḥān w^eleḥem pānīm*—"table and bread of the Presence") on which were laid out twelve fresh loaves of fine flour every sabbath. It doubtless typified Christ as the Bread of Life, and symbolized Israel also (the twelve tribes) as the people of God presented as a living sacrifice. (7) On the south or left side, the lampstand or "candlestick" (*m^enōrah*) with its seven oil lamps, typified Christ as the Light of the World, who by His Holy Spirit performs the perfect work of God (symbolized by the number seven), enabling His people to shine forth a light of testimony to the world (so Zech. 4). (8) On the west, the small golden altar, the altar of incense (*mizbaḥ miqṭār*), used only for the offering of incense in front of the inner curtain (*pārōket*) which separated the holy place from the holy of holies. This golden altar probably typified the effectual prayer of Christ the Intercessor, and symbolized also the prayers of the saints (cf. Rev. 8:3). (9) The inner curtain (*pārōket*) typified the veil of Christ's flesh (cf. Heb. 10:20) which had to be rent (as it was at the hour Christ died, Matt. 27:51) if the barrier was to be removed which separated God from His people.

(10) Within the holy of holies (*qōdesh q^odāshīm*), measuring 10 by 10 cubits, there was only (11) the ark of the covenant (*'^arōn habb^erīt*), consisting of a chest 2½ by 1½ cubits, covered by a lid of solid gold

wrought into the shape of two cherubim facing each other with outstretched wings and looking downward at the surface of the lid. (12) This lid was called the propitiatory (*kappōret*, from *kippēr* "to propriate" or "to atone"), rendered by KJV as "mercy seat," and upon it the high priest sprinkled the blood of the sin offering on the Day of Atonement, thus typifying Christ's atonement (Heb. 9:12) in the very presence of God. The ark thus represented the presence of God in the midst of His people; it was His footstool as He sat "enthroned between the cherubim" (Exod. 25:22; Ps. 80:1). Placed in front of the ark were the golden pot of manna and the rod of Aaron which had blossomed (Exod. 16:33; Num. 17:10). Apparently they were at a later time placed inside it (Heb. 9:4). But certainly the ark contained the two tablets of the Ten Commandments, symbolizing the gracious covenant and the Law. These were the only objects left within the ark by the time of Samuel (I Sam. 6:19), or at least by the time of Solomon (I Kings 8:9).

17

LEVITICUS AND NUMBERS

LEVITICUS

THE HEBREW BIBLE gives to the book of Leviticus the name *Wayyiqrā'* ("And called"), the first word of 1:1. The LXX title *Leuitikon* means "That which pertains to the Levites," and serves to indicate the central theme of the book. The chief emphasis of this compendium of priestly regulations is laid upon the holiness of Israel as a nation set apart for the service and glory of God. It deals particularly with the proper presentation of sacrifices and the maintenance of a clear distinction between that which is clean and that which is unclean.

Outline of Leviticus

I. The Law of Sacrifices, 1:1–7:38
   - A. The burnt offering, 1:1-17
   - B. The meal offering, 2:1-16
   - C. The peace offerings, 3:1-17
   - D. The sin offering for "unwitting" sins, 4:1–5:13
   - E. The trespass offering, 5:14–6:7
   - F. The continual burnt offering and the offerings of priests, 6:8-23
   - G. The disposition of the victim in a sin offering, a trespass offering, and peace offerings, 6:24–7:27
   - H. The wave offering and the heave offering, 7:28-38

II. The Consecration of the Priests, 8:1–10:20
   - A. Consecration of Aaron and his sons, 8:1-36
   - B. Aaron as high priest, 9:1-24
   - C. Judgment upon Nadab and Abihu for disobedience, 10:1-20

III. Separation from Defilement, 11:1–15:33
   - A. Clean and unclean foods, 11:1-47
   - B. Purification of mothers after childbirth, 12:1-8
   - C. Regulations governing leprosy, 13:1–14:57
   - D. Purification from bodily secretions, 15:1-33

IV. The Day of Atonement, 16:1-34

V. The Place of Sacrifice and the Sanctity of Blood, 17:1-16

VI. Practical Holiness: Laws against Unchastity, Uncleanness and Idolatry, 18:1–20:27

VII. Priestly Holiness and Priestly Duties, 21:1–22:33

VIII. The Holy Convocations: Sabbath, Passover, Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, Trumpets, Atonement, Tabernacles, 23:1-44

IX. Symbols of Consecration; Penalties for Desecration, 24:1-23

X. The Sabbatical Year and Year of Jubilee, 25:1-55

XI. Blessings of Obedience, Curses upon Disobedience, 26:1-46

XII. Payment of Vows and Tithes, 27:1-34

Underlying Principles in the Levitical Legislation

No other book in the Bible affirms divine inspiration so frequently as Leviticus. Under the heading of the verb "to speak" (*dibber*) alone the concordance lists no less that thirty-eight occurrences of the statement that Jehovah spoke to Moses or to Aaron. Nothing could be clearer than that this entire sacrificial system was no invention of the Hebrew people (either in Moses' day or in the course of later centuries) but a direct revelation of God. Otherwise no affirmation of divine origin is to be trusted for any statement in the rest of Scripture. While there may be some general resemblances or analogies which can be pointed out between these Levitical regulations and the cultus practiced by other ancient Semites, there is a complete absence of the degrading and superstitious elements characterizing the worship of the idolatrous nations during the Old Testament age.

A remarkable authentication of the divine origin of this Mosaic code is to be found in the semi-prophetic twenty-sixth chapter. Here there is a preview of the subsequent history of Israel, with its progressive decline from faith to apostasy, and a clear intimation of the Babylonian Exile (vv. 32-39) and the subsequent restoration (vv. 40-45). It is not to be wondered at if antisupernaturalist critics felt under compulsion to date the origin of Leviticus as Exilic (Document H) and post-Exilic (Document P). No other course is open to one who on philosophical grounds denies the possibility of supernatural divine prediction.

There are at least five basic principles which operate throughout this book.

1. As a unique people of God, redeemed Israel is (a) to keep holy, that is, set apart from the world unto the service and worship of the one

true God; (b) to maintain access to God on the basis of substitutionary atonement, for by the shedding of the blood of the sacrifice an innocent life is substituted for the forfeited life of the guilty.

2. Since this access to God is made possible by grace alone, the believer must come before God only in the specific way which God has appointed. Hence all regulations as to ritual and sacrifice must originate with God rather than with man. (Anything invented by man might be thought to establish some kind of self-justifying personal merit.)

3. As a holy people spiritually wedded to Jehovah, Israel must rigorously abstain from all sexual unchastity, all violation of the marriage bond. They must refrain from contact with corruption and decay (such as corpses or defiling disease). These provisions are to be understood as giving expression to a fundamental attitude of love toward God and man. The second great commandment as defined by the Lord Jesus (Matt. 22:39) was derived from Leviticus 19:18: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The basic principle underlying monogamy is contained in Leviticus 18:18,[1] for the term "sister" in that verse may also imply "another woman."

4. Nothing corrupt or liable to speedy decay may be presented as an offering to God. This excludes leaven, milk (which quickly sours), honey (which ferments), swine (associated by the heathen with the worship of the gods of the netherworld), clothing made of a mixture of differing materials (such as wool and flax) which typified a commingling of the holy and the profane.

5. The religious year is dominated by the sacred number seven (symbolizing the perfect work of God). Hence (a) every seventh day is a holy sabbath; (b) every seventh year is a sabbath year of rest for the crop-bearing land; (c) after seven sevens of years the fiftieth year is to be hallowed as a jubilee, in which all mortgaged lands are to be returned to the original family; (d) Passover is held at the end of the second heptad of Abib, on the evening of the fourteenth; (e) the Feast of Unleavened Bread is celebrated for the next seven days; (f) the Feast of Pentecost is celebrated after seven sevens of days following the offering of the wave-sheaf (hence on the "fiftieth" day); (g) the seventh month, Tishri, is especially sanctified by three holy observances: Feast of Trumpets, Day of Atonement, Feast of Tabernacles; (h) the Feast of Tabernacles is celebrated seven days (fifteenth to twenty-second of Tishri), plus an eighth day for the final convocation.

With the discovery of other ancient law codes, such as the Code of Hammurabi, the fragments of the Sumerian laws of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin (about 1875 B.C. according to Kramer in ANET 159), those of Bilalama of Eshnunna (about 1940 B.C., according to ANET 161, 217), it becomes

[1]So states John Murray, *Principles of Conduct* (1957), pp. 253-256.

increasingly apparent that some of the so-called P laws were strikingly similar to provisions enacted in the early second millennium, well before the age of Moses. Driver tried to salvage a post-Exilic date for P by assigning these resemblances exclusively to H (for most of them are found in Lev. 17–26), and suggesting that Ezekiel included some very ancient materials in compiling his "holiness code." This, of course, tends to undermine the whole basis for dating H in the time of Ezekiel.

With the recent publication of legal documents from the north Canaanite city of Ugarit, still further resemblances have been coming to light, even in the matter of technical terminology. J. J. Rabinowitz has noted in Ugaritic conveyances of land (written in Akkadian) the formula *ṣamid adi dariti* ("joined in perpetuity"), and he remarks that it strikingly parallels the technical Hebrew expression in Leviticus 25:23, 30 *liṣᵉmītūt* ("in perpetuity") or *laṣṣᵉmītūt . . . lᵉdōrōtāᵘw* ("in perpetuity . . . throughout his generations"). The words in question are cognate in the two languages, or else the Hebrew has borrowed an ancient Akkadian term. Rabinowitz remarks:[2] "I do not profess to know what precisely is the significance of the above parallelism. It does seem to me, however, that it speaks volumes against those who would assign a late date to the sections of Leviticus relating to the year of jubilee (e.g., Pfeiffer, IOT 240)." (The discovery of characteristic P terms for sacrifice in the fifteenth century Ugaritic tablets has already been discussed in Chap. 13, pp. 157-158.)

The Three Main Festivals of the Hebrew Year (Lev. 23)

A. The Passover (*pesaḥ*) and Unleavened Bread (*maṣṣōt*) (vv. 4, 5)

1. Passover: on evening of fourteenth of Abib (the first month)
   a. Purpose: to commemorate Israel's deliverance from Egyptian bondage.
   b. Ritual: lamb slain, its blood to be sprinkled with hyssop on the lintel, and then roasted and consumed by the offerer with his family. (Deut. 16:5, 6 specified that after God chose a holy city, the Passover should be celebrated there only.)
   c. Typical significance: Christ's crucifixion (I Cor. 5:7)
2. Feast of Unleavened Bread: fifteenth to twenty-second of Abib (v. 6)
   a. Purpose: to commemorate the hardships of the hurried flight from Egypt. Absence of leaven symbolized sincere consecration to God.
   b. Ritual: offering of the first fruits of wave-sheaf on the second day, i.e., the sixteenth of Abib. Consisted of barley, the earliest crop in the year. Also a prescribed burnt offering presented with

[2]*Vetus Testamentum* VIII, Jan. 1958, p. 95.

the sheaf. Holy convocation (v. 7) on the fifteenth and twenty-second, both of which count as sabbaths and require additional burnt offerings (two bullocks, one ram, seven lambs) and a sin offering (one goat). Unleavened bread only to be eaten during this week.

B. Pentecost or the Feast of Weeks (*sh^ebū'ōt*): sixth of Sivan (third month), or forty-nine days after the offering of the first fruits on the second day of Unleavened Bread

1. Purpose: to dedicate to God the first fruits of the wheat harvest.
2. Ritual: a holy convocation (counting as a sabbath). Wave offering of two loaves of leavened wheat flour; burnt offering (seven lambs, one bullock, two rams); sin offering (he-goat); and peace offering (two male lambs). An additional burnt offering and sin offering at the convocation itself (Num. 28:27).
3. Typical significance: the descent of the Spirit on the New Testament Church (Acts 2).

C. Feast of Tabernacles or Booths (*sukkōt*): fifteenth to twenty-second of Tishri (seventh month)

1. Purpose: to commemorate the wilderness wandering and to rejoice in the completion of all the harvest (grain, fruit tree, vintage).
2. Ritual: convocations on fifteenth and twenty-second (both counting as sabbaths). Burnt offering (from thirteen to seven bullocks, day by day; two rams, fourteen lambs) and sin offering (one goat) (Num. 29). Celebrants to live in booths, celebrating with fruits: the *ethrog* or citron in one hand, and the *lulab* or cluster of branches in the other (consisting of palms and willows).
3. Typical significance: apparently to foreshadow peace and prosperity of the coming millennial kingdom (cf. Zech. 14:16).

The Six Types of Blood Sacrifice

The basic principle underlying all the blood sacrifices (*z^ebāḥīm*) was atonement (*kippūr*) by the substitution of an innocent life for the guilty. In token of this substitution the offerer laid his hand upon the victim's head, thus identifying himself with it as his representative. To signify his acceptance of the just penalty of death, the offerer himself slew his victim, and then turned it over to the priest for the completion of the ceremony. The priest usually sprinkled or smeared a portion of the blood upon the altar.

The following chart indicates the distinction between the various types of sacrifice, and presents in a schematic form the system set forth in the first seven chapters of Leviticus.

THE SIX BLOOD SACRIFICES DIFFERENTIATED

Name	*Purpose*	*Victim*	*God's Portion*	*Priest's Portion*	*Offerer's Portion*
Burnt Offering (*'ōlah*)	To propitiate for sin in general, *original sin;* a means of approach by unholy people to holy God.	Male, unblemished: ox/sheep/goat/dove (according to wealth)	Entire animal (hence called *kālīl*, "whole burnt offering")	Nothing	Nothing
Sin Offering (*haṭṭa't*)	To atone for specific transgressions where no restitution was possible.	Priest or congregation: bullock Ruler: he-goat Commoner: she-goat	Fatty portions (fat covering inwards; kidneys, liver, caul)	All the remainder (Had to be eaten within court of tabernacle)	Nothing
Trespass Offering (*'āshām*)	To atone for specific transgressions where restitution was possible, damages computed at six-fifths payable in advance. Legal *satisfaction.*	Ram (only)	Same as above	Same as above	Nothing
Peace Offerings (*shᵉlāmīm*) 1. *Thank Offering* (*tōʷdah*)	Fellowship with God; *a communion meal.* For unexpected blessing or deliverance already granted.	Unblemished male or female ox/sheep/goat	Fatty portions	1. Wave offering; breast—to high priest 2. Heave offering; right foreleg—to priest (To be eaten in any clean place)	Remainder (Eaten in court, the same day)
2. *Votive Offering* (*neder*)	For blessing or deliverance already granted, when a vow had been made in support of the petition.	Unblemished male or female ox/sheep/goat	Same as above		Remainder (Eaten in court, first or second day)
3. *Free-will Offering* (*nᵉdābāh*)	To express general thankfulness and love toward God, without regard to specific blessings.	Male or female ox/sheep/goat (minor imperfections permitted)	Same as above	Same as above	Remainder (Eaten in court, first or second day)

NUMBERS

The Hebrew title for this book is *Bᵉmidbār* ("in the wilderness of"), taken from the first verse: "And Jehovah spake unto Moses in the wilderness of Sinai . . . (ASV). The LXX labels it *Arithmoi,* or "Numbers," because of the prominence of census figures in this book. And yet the Hebrew title is quite appropriate to its general theme: Israel under God's training in the wilderness. Historical narrative occupies a larger proportion of this book than is the case in Leviticus or Deuteronomy, and the period of years involved is far greater (forty years of discipline) than in the other books of the Pentateuch (excluding Genesis).

Outline of Numbers

I. Preparation for the Journey from Sinai, 1:1–10:10
   - A. Numbering the army and assigning positions for the march, 1:1–2:34
   - B. Levites numbered and duties described, 3:1–4:49
   - C. Excluding defilement from the camp: laws of leprosy; restitution for damages; trial of accused adulteress, 5:1-31
   - D. Nazarites (type of wholly dedicated life); the benediction, 6:1-27
   - E. Treasures dedicated to the tabernacle by the twelve tribes, 7:1-89
   - F. The Levites sanctified and installed in office, 8:1-26
   - G. The first annual Passover observed, 9:1-14
   - H. Following the pillar of cloud; the trumpet signals, 9:15–10:10

II. From Sinai to Kadesh-barnea, 10:11–14:45
   - A. First stage of the journey: the march begins, 10:11-36
   - B. First and second murmurings at Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah (the quails); seventy elders prophesy, 11:1-35
   - C. Judgment upon Aaron and Miriam for rebelling at Moses; Miriam's leprosy cured, 12:1-16
   - D. The great rebellion at Kadesh after report of the ten spies, 13:1–14:45

III. From Kadesh-barnea to the Plains of Moab, 15:1–21:35
   - A. Laws of meal offerings and sin offerings; death for blasphemy and sabbath-breaking; the garment fringes, 15:1-41
   - B. Rebellion of Korah and validation of Aaronic priesthood, 16:1–17:13
   - C. Relationship of Levites to priests; offerings and tithes their only portion in Canaan, 18:1-32
   - D. The water of purification for uncleanness, 19:1-22

E. Death of Miriam; second smiting of the rock; Edom bars passage; death of Aaron, 20:1-29
F. Seventh murmuring and the brazen serpent; arrival at Moab, 21:1-20
G. First permanent conquests: defeat of Sihon and Og, 21:21-35

IV. Encounter with the Moabites and Balaam, 22:1–25:18
A. Balak hires Balaam, 22:1-41
B. Balaam's triple blessing and prediction of Israel's triumph, 23:1–24:25
C. The sin of Baal-peor, 25:1-18

V. Preparations for Entering Canaan, 26:1–36:13
A. Arrangements for conquest and apportionment of the land, 26:1–27:23
B. Laws concerning sacrifices and vows, 28:1–30:16
C. Vengeance on the Midianites, 31:1-54
D. Apportionment of Transjordan to Reuben, Gad and Manasseh, 32:1-42
E. Summary of journeys from Egypt to Moab, 33:1-56
F. Plans for division of Canaan, 34:1–36:13

Underlying Principles

The spiritual lesson enforced throughout the book is that God's people can move forward only so far as they trust His promises and lean upon His strength. The tragedy of Kadesh-barnea was the unavoidable consequence of unbelief; only true believers can enter into God's rest. Without faith they can only die uselessly in the wilderness (cf. Heb. 3:7-19). The purpose of the census prior to the failure at Kadesh (Num. 1–4) and of the census of the later generation at the plains of Moab (Num. 26) was to show that they were not kept out of Canaan by their insufficient numbers. It was not the size of their army that mattered, but only the size of their faith. Although no more numerous than their fathers, the younger generation were able to conquer the Canaanites because they were willing to trust God all the way, and to obey His marching orders (in a way that their fathers failed to do at Kadesh-barnea).

The Credibility of the Census Figures

Rationalist critics have always rejected the statistics of Numbers as implausibly high, and have usually dismissed them as the fabrication of the Priestly school. This, of course, is based upon the dubious proposition that the unusual is tantamount to the impossible. There has been a tendency among some of the more recent scholars to explain the statistics of

the Hebrew text by reinterpreting the word for "thousand" (*'elep*) as simply equivalent to "family" or "clan." It is true that there is an *'elep* which means "family" or "clan" (Judg. 6:15; I Sam. 10:19, etc.); but it is very clear from the numeration chapters (Num. 1–4; 26) that *'elep* is intended in the sense of "thousand," for the smaller unit below this *'elep* is *mē'ōt,* "hundreds" (so Num. 1:21, 23, 25, etc.). The most that a "family" could contribute to the national army would be four or five men on the average, and it would be absurd to suppose that "hundreds" would be mentioned as the next lower numerical unit after an average contingent of five men each.

Actually, the advocates of this view that *'elep* equals "family contingent"[3] assume that these passages in Numbers were taken from ancient fragmentary records of an old census (possibly from David's time or even earlier), misunderstood and reworked by later traditionists, or by the Priestly editors themselves. These latter contributors, then, would be responsible for the lower figures (hundreds, tens and digits) tacked on after the original numerations of "families." But even this unlikely hypothesis lacks plausibility in the light of the surrounding circumstances. Assuming that the total of 603,550 given in Numbers 1:46 represents an original 603 families averaging five men each, how can it be supposed that a male population of 3,015 could have put the king of Egypt in fear because of their overwhelming numbers? Yet Pharaoh is made to say in Exodus 1:9, "Behold, the people of Israel are more and mightier than we." But usually the advocates of this view (Mendenhall included) understand *'elep* in the sense of "family complex" or "clan," and increase the contribution to fifty rather than a mere five. Even this, however, would result in a total fighting force of only 30,150, scarcely a formidable contingent in the midst of the highly populated Delta of Egypt.[4] Furthermore, even a J passage like Exodus 12:37 gives the same total in round numbers as Numbers 1:46, i.e., 600,000, and the same is true of Numbers 11:21, a JE section. Further corroboration is given by the total amount of ransom money—at the rate of a half shekel apiece—recorded in Exodus 38:25 as 100 talents, 1775 shekels. Since there were 3000 shekels to the talent, this comes out to exactly 603,550 contributors. It is therefore safe to say that no objective handling of the textual evidence can

[3]Such as G. Mendenhall in JBL (1958), pp. 52-66.

[4]In the Eighteenth Dynasty the Delta region of Lower Egypt was divided into twenty nomes, or administrative districts, whereas all the rest of the kingdom down to the First Cataract numbered only twenty-two. Thus it would be fair to infer that anywhere from one third to one half of the entire population of Egypt resided in the Delta. This does not mean, however, that all of this extensive territory was as well settled as it became in later times (some districts now contain 2000 inhabitants per square mile). Some of it was marshy and wild and used largely for cattle grazing even until Ptolemaic times. Nevertheless the population of Lower Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty must have numbered several million.

possibly sustain the thesis that *'elep* in Numbers signifies anything less than a literal thousand.[5]

The objection has been raised that Exodus 1:15 mentions only two midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, as serving the needs of the entire Hebrew community in Goshen back in the days before Moses' birth. Even if the population had not reached the two million mark by their time, surely more than two midwives would be required for a population of well over a million and a half. While this contention is certainly valid, so far as it goes, how could anyone suppose that an Elohist living around 750 B.C. imagined that two midwives would have sufficed for all the multitude in Goshen? Obviously the role of the two women named in Exodus 1:15 was that of superintendents or overseers over the whole obstetrical guild. Egyptian documents from that period indicate clearly that nearly every craft, skill or profession was managed by an overseer (*imy-r*) who was responsible to the government. There is every reason to suppose that the bureaucratic regime of the Eighteenth Dynasty would have invested one or two midwives with responsibility for all the rest.

But if it be conceded that the census lists in Numbers furnish no evidence for a smaller figure than 600,000 men of military age, can such a huge number of migrants (doubtless totalling 2,500,000 when the women and children were included) be thought to have survived for forty years in the Sinai desert? Even granting that the Sinai Peninsula was less arid than in modern times (for it then supported large and powerful tribes like the Amalekites of Exod. 17:8), it would be obviously impossible for such an enormous host with all their flocks and herds to be sustained in this uncultivated wilderness. In answer to this rationalistic objection it should be noted that the entire narrative of the Israelite migration frankly concedes that this was a physical impossibility, from the natural standpoint. It emphasizes in every conceivable way—and so does the later Hebrew literature which recalls the history of Moses (Ps. 78:24; Neh. 9:20, etc.)—that the sustaining of this great multitude was a miraculous, supernatural work of God. The supply of food came from manna (Exod. 16:35), and the water came from the cleft rock (Exod. 17:6), and that too in such abundance as to supply the entire host. This is recorded as a sheer miracle, in terms as forthright and plain as any miracle in Scripture. To reject it on rationalistic grounds is to impose upon the Bible a philosophical prejudice which can never come to terms with the Scripture as the Word of God.

It has been argued by some that it would have taken the entire day for a multitude of two and a half million to get into formation for a line of march, and thus would have been unable to progress a single mile before night closed in upon them. Hence they could not have per-

[5]In the expression *'alᵉpēy Yisrā'ēl,* "the thousands of Israel," found in Num. 1:16; 10:4, 36, the term probably refers to the tribes, according to Gesenius-Buhl *Lexicon,* p. 44b.

formed the journeys attributed to them in Numbers 33 and elsewhere. But actually the length of time required to fall into marching formation depends entirely upon the width of the columns themselves. It is not necessary to assume that they kept within the limits of a highway, for example, since they were moving over largely uninhabited range land. The four main divisions of approximately 500,000 each (cf. Num. 10: 14-20) might just as well have formed their ranks simultaneously and completed preparations to march within four hours (from 6:00 to 10:00 A.M., for example) and then have completed a good ten miles in four hours before setting up camp again (which in turn might have occupied four hours between 2:00 and 6:00 P.M.).

It has also been objected to the credibility of the record in Numbers that the number of first-born given in Numbers 3:43 is much too low for a male population of over 600,000. There must have been far more than 22,273 first-born sons in so great a company, unless indeed the families had numbered forty or more males apiece. But this argument, as Delitzsch points out (*Pentateuch* III, 9-13), is founded upon the false assumption that the law (Num. 3:46, 47) which required the sanctification of first-born males was intended to operate retroactively. Nothing in the context suggests that any more are involved than those who were born between the event of the Exodus itself and this episode (thirteen months later) when the census was being taken. On the basis of 603,550 males, the probable number of males between twenty and thirty years of age would be about 190,000 more or less. This would yield an average number of new marriages per year of about 19,000. From this number of marriages, many of which would allow for two gestation periods in eighteen months, a figure in excess of 22,000 male births would hardly be excessive.

Others have objected that the supply of quails furnished to the Israelite host according to Numbers 11:31 is absolutely incredible. A quantity of quail piled up over such an area for a depth of two cubits would result in about 70,000 bushels of quail per Israelite per meal. This, however, is a total misunderstanding of what the Hebrew text says. It does not state that the quail comprised a heap of bodies two cubits deep; it only indicates that the quail were deflected downward by a driving wind to a height of two cubits (about three feet) above the surface of the ground, where they could be easily knocked down by the meat-hungry Israelites. (The preposition *'al* before the phrase "the face of the earth" may just as well be translated "above" as "upon" in a context where horizontal motion is involved.)

There are several other arguments of this character which are discussed in ISBE, IV, 2168f., but none of them stand up under analysis any better than do those which have just been treated.[6] Many other critical

[6]See T. Whitelaw's rebuttal in the article mentioned, and the appropriate sections of Delitzsch's Commentary.

attacks upon the book depend entirely upon the acceptance of Wellhausian presuppositions for their cogency. Only by question-begging techniques of dissection, for example, is it possible to make out any inconsistencies in the account of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram in Numbers 16. (Korah is assigned to P, and Dathan and Abiram to JE.)

Finally, a word should be said about a much-cited "proof text" appealed to by documentarian critics to disprove Mosaic authorship. It is argued that Moses could never have written Numbers 12:3 about himself ("Now Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth"). If Moses was truly that humble, how could he have written such a laudatory judgment concerning himself? A good answer to this is found in the *New Bible Commentary:*[7] "Writing under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, Moses did not hesitate to record his own sins and weaknesses in the clearest of language. It would be contrary to the remarkable objectivity of the Bible if he did not also record his strongest point, his meekness. . . . [The contents of this verse] are necessary to a true understanding of this chapter." Delitzsch comments (*Pentateuch* III, 77): "It is simply a statement which was indispensable to a full and correct understanding of all the circumstances, and which was made quite objectively, with reference to the character which Moses had not given to himself but had acquired through the grace of God, and which he never falsified from the very time of his calling until the time of his death." He then goes on to quote the comment of Calmet: "As he praises himself here without pride, so he will blame himself elsewhere with humility."

[7]Edited by F. Davidson, A. M. Stibbs and E. F. Kevan (1953), p. 177b.

18

DEUTERONOMY

THE HEBREW NAME of Deuteronomy is *'ēlleh haddᵉbārīm* ("these are the words") or more briefly, *Dᵉbārīm* ("words")—taken from the opening line of 1:1. The LXX called it by the more descriptive term *Deuteronomion* ("second law-giving"), because it consists mostly of a restatement of the law contained in Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. In the closing months of his earthly career Moses addressed the assembled congregation of Israel and impressed upon them their peculiar privileges and obligations as the covenant people of Jehovah. Looking forward to the conquest of Canaan, he set forth the divinely ordained constitution of the new theocracy to be established in the land of promise. He laid the responsibility for the preservation of this theocracy upon the conscience of each individual citizen and worshiper.

Outline of Deuteronomy

I. The First Discourse: Historical Review, 1:1—4:43
   A. God's gracious guidance from Horeb to Moab, 1:1—3:29
   B. The new generation admonished to cherish the Law, 4:1-40
   C. Appointment of the Transjordanian cities of refuge, 4:41-43

II. The Second Discourse: Laws by Which Israel is to Live, 4:44—26:19
   A. Basic commandments, 4:44—11:32
      1. Preface: the historical circumstances, 4:44-49
      2. The Decalogue and the love of God to be taught to posterity, 5:1—6:25
      3. Steadfast obedience and constant grateful remembrance of God's dealings, 7:1—11:32
   B. Statutes of worship and a holy life, 12:1—16:22
      1. Genuine worship and needful safeguards against idolatry, 12:1—13:18
      2. Rules about food, the sabbaths and the feast days, 14:1—16:22

C. Judgments: the treatment of specific offenses, 17:1–26:19
   1. Death for idolatry; appellate procedure; the responsibilities of a king, 17:1-20
   2. Penalties for witchcraft and false prophecy; the true Prophet, 18:1-22
   3. Cities of refuge for accidental homicides; penalties for fraud and perjury, 19:1-21
   4. Rules of battle and siege, 20:1-20
   5. Care of the deceased; captive wives; inheritance and family discipline; removal of the corpse from the gallows, 21:1-23
   6. Concerning lost property; no masquerading as opposite sex; no mingling of seeds or of diverse animals, 22:1-12
   7. Laws concerning marriage, chastity, care of the body, cleanliness, 22:13–24:5
   8. Laws concerning economic and social justice, 24:6–25:19
   9. Laws of stewardship, offerings and tithes, 26:1-19

III. The Third Discourse: Warning and Prediction, 27:1–30:20
   A. The Law to be inscribed and its sanctions recited at Mount Ebal, 27:1-26
   B. Conditions for blessing and chastisement of the nation (prediction of future judgments upon Israel), 28:1-68
   C. Review of God's benefactions; exhortations to faithfulness, 29:1–30:20

IV. The Written Law Entrusted to the Leaders of Israel, 31:1-30

V. The Song of Moses: Israel's Responsibility to the Covenant, 32:1-43

VI. The Final Charge and Farewell, 32:44–33:29
   A. Moses' last exhortation, 32:44-47
   B. Moses warned of approaching death, 32:48-52
   C. Moses' final blessing upon Israel, tribe by tribe, 33:1-29

VII. The Death of Moses and His Obituary, 34:1-12

Underlying Principles of Deuteronomy

As already indicated, Deuteronomy consists of a restatement and summary of the Law in a compendious form for the guidance of the nation as a whole. But much of this summary is couched in homiletical or sermonic terms. That is, Moses is not simply explaining what the laws of God are, but he is earnestly enjoining them upon the consciences of his people, and urging them to take with utmost seriousness God's call to a holy life. Certain characteristic emphases or leading thoughts dominate the various discourses. Among these are the following.

1. The spirituality of God (4:12, 15, 16) and His uniqueness and unity are set forth (4:35, 39; 6:4; 7:9; 10:17).

2. God's relationship to His people under the covenant is one of love rather than of legalism (4:37; 7:13; 33:3).

3. For the believer the basic requirement is love for God, and this love is to be the dynamic principle for his life (6:5; 7:8; 10:12, 15; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:3; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20).

4. Israel's greatest peril is idolatry, which is to be resisted and suppressed with uncompromising severity (6:14, 15; 7:4; 8:19, 20; 11:16, 17, 20; 13:2-12; 30:17, 18).

5. Because of their close relation to the Holy One, the Israelites must live as a holy people (7:6; 26:19; 28:9). This holiness entails abstinence from unclean foods; it is safeguarded by restricting public worship to a chosen central sanctuary; it finds expression in love toward the neighbor, and charity to the poor and underprivileged (widows, orphans, Levites and foreigners).

6. Faithfulness to the covenant is to be rewarded by material benefits; violation and disregard of the covenant will be punished by material disaster and loss (chaps. 28–30).

7. The characteristic admonition is: "Remember, and forget not!" Rather than embarking on some quest for "new truth" to replace the old, Israel is to retain and to obey the revealed truth which it has once and for all received from the absolute and unchanging Source of truth.

The Mosaic Authorship of Deuteronomy

Considerable discussion has already been devoted to the higher criticism of Deuteronomy in Chapter 7 (pp. 91-95). There it was pointed out that the 621 B.C. date assigned by the documentarians to the composition of this book was found unsatisfactory by many rationalistic critics since the time of Wellhausen. These twentieth century scholars have come to the conclusion that De Wette's theory of the origin of Deuteronomy in the reign of Josiah simply does not square with the internal evidence furnished by the text itself. The legislation it contains could never have arisen under the conditions which prevailed in the late seventh century B.C. The social, economic and historical situation reflected by this book is quite different from that which obtained in Josiah's time. While none of these scholars could on philosophic grounds entertain the possibility of actual Mosaic authorship, their critique of Wellhausen's doctrinaire position has certainly left the date of Deuteronomic composition up in the air. Some have argued for a post-Exilic period, and others for a much earlier date. (Welch suggested the reign of Solomon, and Robertson the reign of David.) But they have at least agreed in condemning 621 B.C. as quite impossible for the composition of this last book in the Pentateuch.

On conservative presuppositions it is possible to establish a very strong

Hammurabi is pictured receiving his laws from the sun-god, Shamash, on the top of the stela bearing his code. The discovery of such early laws (this one dating about 1700 B.C.) has forced critics to reconsider their view that codification of law came late in the ancient Near East and therefore Moses could not have been responsible for his code.

(Courtesy of the Louvre)

case for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. By the test of agreement with known historical conditions and by careful literary analysis, it is not difficult to show that only the pre-Davidic period can successfully be reconciled with the data of the Hebrew text. It can be shown by a fair handling of the evidence: (a) that Deuteronomy must have been written prior to the rise of the writing prophets in the eighth century B.C.; (b) that it also antedates the division of the Hebrew monarchy into Judah and Israel in 931 B.C.; (c) that it best agrees with a period near the Conquest under Joshua. A very able re-examination of this evidence has been produced by G. T. Manley[1] within the last few years, demonstrating with most compelling logic that the data of the text itself preclude a post-Mosaic origin. A few of the most significant arguments he advances will be found briefly summarized in the ensuing paragraphs of this chapter.

But before examining this positive evidence, it would be well to rebut some of the standard "proofs" of post-Mosaic authorship based upon allegedly "telltale" phrases or turns of expression found in the text itself. The first of these is "as at this day" (*kayyōʷm hazzeh*), which occurs for example in 2:30. This phrase has been interpreted to mean that a great period of time has elapsed since the days of Moses, doubtless many centuries. But on what basis must this lapse of time be assumed? In virtually every instance where this phrase occurs it fits in perfectly with the situation which would have obtained in the closing days of Moses as he addressed the assembled host of Israel on the plains of Moab. Looking back over the vista of forty years (the period of the wilderness wanderings), it would have been altogether appropriate for him to add that the consequences of the episode or transaction mentioned still persisted until this closing year of his life. No real difficulty is presented by any of the six occurrences of this phrase: 2:30, the permanency of Sihon's conquest; 4:20, the continuance of Israel as the covenant nation; 4:38, "as at this day" refers to their imminent conquest of Canaan as their inheritance; 8:18 is prospective, for the hope is that God's favor in the future may continue as it is right now in Moses' time; 10:15 refers to the permanency of God's choice of Israel as His people; 29:28 has a prophetic perspective as it predicts a future judgment upon the disobedient nation.

A second "telltale" phrase is "beyond the Jordan," when it refers to the region east of the Jordan Valley (as for example in 1:1). It is urged that if this work had really been composed in Moab, "on the other side of the Jordan" (*'ēber hayyardēn*) could only refer to Canaan proper. The fact that it demonstrably does refer to the eastern region of Gilead, Reuben and Gad is said to prove that the author must have lived in Judah or Israel proper. But this is not the only possible inference by any means. As a matter of fact, *'ēber hayyardēn* occasionally refers to the region

[1]*The Book of the Law* (1957).

west of Jordan as well, in at least three passages (3:20, 25; 11:30). This would indicate an author residing in the east, such as Moses in the plains of Moab. How are these variant uses of the phrase to be reconciled? By taking *'ēber hayyardēn* as a proper noun like "Transjordania"—a name attached to the land back in patriarchal times or earlier by the Palestinian population and adopted even by the inhabitants of the Transjordan region itself. Observe that during the British mandate over this territory (subsequent to World War I) the area was known as "Transjordania" even to those who lived in it, though "Transjordania" means "On the other side of Jordan." In New Testament times the lower part of this region, at least, was known as "Peraea" ("The Other-side Land") even to its own inhabitants. It is a reasonable supposition that the term *'ēber hayyardēn* had become a standard designation for the territory to the east of Jericho regardless of where the speaker happened to be. In those three instances, however, where the phrase refers to Canaanland west of the Jordan, we are to understand this as used in its literal and obvious sense rather than as a geographical name.

So far as this writer is aware, there are no expressions in the text of Deuteronomy which are not perfectly reconcilable with Mosaic authorship. Only chapter 34 is demonstrably post-Mosaic, since it contains a short account of Moses' decease. But this does not endanger in the slightest the Mosaic authenticity of the other thirty-three chapters, for the closing chapter furnishes only that type of obituary which is often appended to the final work of great men of letters. An author's final work is often published posthumously (provided he has been writing up to the time of his death). Since Joshua is recorded to have been a faithful and zealous custodian of the Torah, Moses' literary achievement, it is quite unthinkable that he would have published it without appending such a notice of the decease of his great predecessor.

Evidence for the Priority of Deuteronomy to the Eighth Century Prophets

The most characteristic title for God in Deuteronomy is "Yahweh thy God." If the book was composed in the seventh century or thereafter, it might be expected to reflect the theological terminology of the great prophets like Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, who formulated classic Hebrew theology in the previous century. At the very least a Josianic work should have reflected the divine titles most in vogue during the ministry of Jeremiah, Josiah's contemporary. But the actual statistics show quite the contrary: (1) Hosea employs "Yahweh their God" only four times, as against fifteen occurrences of *Elohim* ("God") alone and thirty-five occurrences of *Yahweh* alone. (2) Isaiah 1–35 employs "Yahweh their God" only three times, as over against very frequent occurrences of "Yahweh of hosts" and "the Holy One of Israel." (3) Jeremiah char-

acteristically uses the title "Lord of Hosts" (or "Yahweh of hosts") and seldom employs the Deuteronomic formula. The same is true with the post-Exilic prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. If, therefore, Deuteronomy was composed in the time of Josiah just before the Exile, or in the time of Ezra after the Exile (as Hoelscher and Kennett have argued), it is very difficult to account for its employment of a divine title which was not in vogue in either of those two periods. Especially is this true of the title "Yahweh the God of your fathers," which occurs frequently enough in Deuteronomy but never appears in either the pre-Exilic or post-Exilic prophets; yet it is to to be found in Exodus 3:6 ("I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob") and an adaptation of it also in Exodus 15:2 and 18:4.

It was contended by the Wellhausen school[2] that Deuteronomy shows a knowledge of the history and legislation contained in J and E, but not that of P. Manley proceeds to show by comparative tables that this supposed ignorance of P is not borne out in actual fact. He asks the question (p. 80), "If the Deuteronomic code were an 'expansion' of that in JE, why should more than three-quarters of it have been omitted? Have burglary and theft ceased? Would not the laws protecting a slave (Exod. 21:22ff., 26ff.) have made a special appeal to an author who elsewhere is so concerned to protect the weak? Again, why should not these old laws in Table B [this refers to a set of laws relating to idolatry, false witness, rights of the first-born, etc., bearing some resemblance to provisions in the Hammurabic Code, but not discoverable in JE at all], similar in type to the others, have remained so long unrecorded? . . . We are forced to the conclusion that the legislation of Deuteronomy is not an 'expansion' of the covenant code. Neither can it be attributed, as some scholars have maintained, to the old Canaanite civil law. There are marked differences between the Deuteronomic laws and those found in the Ras Shamra Tablets; . . . this suggests that [the Deuteronomic code] was fixed before the settlement in Canaan, and there are signs of strong reaction against Canaanite influence." Again, in the case of leprosy, Deuteronomy 24:8ff. tells the people "to take heed . . . and do all that the priests the Levites shall teach you; as I commanded them." Plainly, these words assume that the Priestly law was already in existence, yet it is found only in P (Lev. 13, 14). How can it be said that the author of Deuteronomy knew nothing about P?

Of course it could be argued that P has simply borrowed from D, but it should be remembered that much of the ground for dating D before P was based on the contention that D contained nothing distinctively Priestly. If therefore it turns out that D does in fact contain substantial material otherwise peculiar to P, the ground for dating D earlier

[2]Cf. Driver in ICC on Deuteronomy 14.

than P falls to the ground. (This of course has been recognized by those who insist that D also is post-Exilic; but it leaves the point difficult to establish what book of the law it was that Hilkiah found in the temple in 621 B.C., if not even D was in existence at that time.)

In addition to the objections to Josianic dating raised by the critics mentioned in Chapter 7 (pp. 91-92), we should observe how incongruent Deuteronomy 16:21, 22 is with the conditions obtaining during the reign of Josiah. Here we have a law which contemplates the making of more than one altar to Yahweh (a natural possibility prior to the erection of the temple), and therefore like Deuteronomy 27:1-8 creates a real difficulty for those who understand D to have been composed for the promotion of Josiah's program (that is, that all valid worship must be carried on in the one center at Jerusalem). Note also that the special objects of Josiah's reform, the *Kᵉmārīm* (the idol priests), the *bāmōt* (high places with their temples or shrines), and the bronze horses dedicated to the sun-god—all these receive no mention whatsoever in Deuteronomy. The state of affairs contemplated, then, in the book of Moses simply cannot be squared with the known historical conditions of the seventh century B.C.

Evidence for the Priority of Deuteronomy to the Division of the Monarchy

The text of Deuteronomy contains many references to the sinister nature of Canaanite influence upon the purity of Israel's religion. All the Canaanite shrines are to be completely demolished, and no trace is to be left of altar, asherah or pillar. All the cultic practices pertaining to their pagan faith are to be sedulously avoided, such as boiling a kid in its mother's milk, or shaving the beard or gashing the flesh in devotion to some heathen deity. These numerous provisions against the survival of Cananite customs or shrines suggest a danger which still threatens the author's generation. It certainly seems as if it is a future menace to be dealt with, rather than an element of corruption that has already endured for centuries.

Of pivotal significance is the manner in which the Israelite tribes are referred to. If Deuteronomy had been composed subsequent to the schism of 931 B.C., it is hardly conceivable that no reference or allusion to this breach should have found its way into the text, but as a matter of fact, where these tribes are mentioned they are represented as separate entities but all included in the single nation of Israel (cf. 1:13, 15; 5:23; 12:5, 14; 29:10; 31:28). The author of these passages betrays no awareness whatsover of the cleavage between Judah and Ephraim.

Evidence for the Composition of Deuteronomy Prior to the Conquest

In the earlier chapters of Deuteronomy particularly, there are numerous appeals to the hearers to recall past episodes and conditions which are within the memory of those who are being addressed. The memory of the Egyptian bondage is especially vivid. Six times the phrase occurs, "the house of bondage"; five times we read, "Remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt"; five times the formula appears, "through a mighty hand and by a stretched out arm." This last phrase, by the way, occurs also in Exodus 6:1 (a JE passage) and in Exodus 6:6 (a P passage), and is analogous to an expression which often occurs in Old Egyptian texts describing scenes of battle.[3]

Any theory of the origin of Deuteronomy must take account of the fact that the land of Canaan to the west of the Jordan is always viewed from the outside so far as the author's standpoint is concerned. Whether from the southern border or from the east and the Moabite highlands, the viewpoint is always that of a newcomer contemplating invasion, never that of an inhabitant who already dwells within its borders. Border cities such as Eshcol (1:24) and Gaza (2:23) are named, rather than such central locations as Hebron; and when the limits of the land of promise are indicated, they are described by such terms as "the mount of the Amorites" and "Lebanon" (1:7), not by the later terminology "from Dan to Beersheba."

So far as the legislation is concerned, we have already observed a certain substratum of fundamental law which the Mosaic provisions contained in common with the Hammurabic Code, yet the contrasts between the two are even more significant than the similarities. For example, the Babylonian code makes a sharp class distinction between the free man (*awelum*) and the semi-free (*mushkenum*), as well as the slave (*wardum*). In Deuteronomy there is virtually no class distinction, and social conditions correspond to those of a far more rural and agricultural community than was the case in Babylon (or in Israel of David's era). More significant still, Mosaic legislation had a deeply religious tone. The statutes of judgment were said to be those of Yahweh their God, and the Israelites were to observe them with all their heart and soul. Of the 346 verses which make up Deuteronomy 12 through 26, more than half are moral and religious in character, while 93 of them are taken up with specific commands related to the approaching settlement in the land. It should be noted that the exhortations, warnings and promises of blessing which are so characteristic of Deuteronomy are completely lacking in the Babylonian code. Note also that in the text of Hammurabi we find a strictly impersonal style such as would be usual for a sophisticated legal system pertaining to a more urbanized society. In Deuteronomy, however,

[3]Cf. A. S. Yahuda, *Language of the Pentateuch* (1933), p. 66.

we seem to be listening to an old and honored leader speaking to the people whom he has personally guided through many years, and reminding them of the experiences they have shared together.

We know enough about the Babylonia of Hammurabi's period to recognize that these were in fact the conditions obtaining when those laws were promulgated after centuries of monarchic rule. In the later years of the Hebrew monarchy, the conditions in Palestine must have approximated those in Babylon, for by that time trade and industry were well developed and class distinctions were strongly marked. Trades and crafts were regulated on a commercial basis, with money fines specified to indemnify property owners who suffered injury or loss. In Deuteronomy, however, we find no laws providing compensation for loss caused by careless builders or for injury to health due to incompetent physicians. This legislation is suited rather to a simple agricultural people deeply interested in their cattle; food and raiment are the chief concerns.

Lastly we revert once more to the incompatibility of Josiah's time with the type of legislation found in Deuteronomy regarding the preservation of Israel's faith. Deuteronomy 13:1-18; 17:2-5 decree the death penalty for apostasy or for inciting others to forsake the nation's covenant with Yahweh. It is hard to conceive of such laws being planned or revived during the time of Manasseh (Josiah's grandfather). There is no actual mention of them in connection with Josiah's reform. Even Driver is forced to the conclusion that "the time when they could have been enforced had long passed away; they had consequently only an ideal value" (*Deuteronomy,* ICC, p. xxxii). But, as H. M. Wiener has pointed out, idealists may perhaps propose a lofty standard on a general basis, but they scarcely go so far as to lay down a procedure for dealing with the violations of the ideal. Yet in both these passages a very definite procedure is prescribed, and that in chapter 13 particularly presupposes primitive conditions. The lawgiver here evidently relies upon the co-operation of the nation as a whole to carry out the sanction of this law even if it entails civil warfare. Deuteronomy 12:2-4 enjoins the destruction of all the Canaanite shrines "on every high hill and under every green tree," with all of their "pillars" and "asherim." Apparently the author regarded this destruction as both practical and possible in his time. He insisted that the land must be cleared of these idolatrous symbols before acceptable worship could be offered to Yahweh. Such an attitude would be quite inconceivable in the seventh century B.C., or indeed in earlier centuries subsequent to the time of Solomon, when idolatrous cults had penetrated to every level of Israelite society. Even the record of the book of Judges, pertaining to a time prior to the establishment of the monarchy, implies the existence of these Deuteronomic provisions. Thus the action of Gideon (Judg. 6:25-32) in destroying the altar and precinct of Baal suggests that he knew of some such injunction, and his father's

defense of this deed implies that he supposed his son was doing the right thing.

Despite the efforts of Kennett and Hoelscher to find an appropriate historical setting in the post-Exilic period of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is far easier to harmonize the historical and social conditions presupposed by Deuteronomy with what must have been the case in the time of the original Conquest rather than in the period of the Restoration. In Ezra's time, the Canaanites and Amorites were an all but forgotten memory, and the new Jewish commonwealth was threatened by such foreigners as the Ammonites, Philistines, and various other peoples who had little if any ethnic relationship to the original inhabitants of Canaan. Moreover, the confident tone of the author of Deuteronomy, who looks forward to irresistible conquest of the entire territory from Dan to Beersheba, is incapable of reconciliation with the discouraging and limited circumstances which confronted the tiny Persian province of Judea after the return from Babylon. In Deuteronomy we discover an attitude of glowing optimism which finds expression in the series of blessings appropriate to a people of the Lord about to settle in a new land in which no opposition can stand before them. It is a land which has been well cultivated and productive of fruits, and able to support its inhabitants on a most generous scale. This can scarcely be reconciled with the stripped and devastated land bereft of inhabitants, bare of fortifications, denuded of vineyards and fruit orchards, which confronted the returning immigrants from Babylon. Here again, then, the test of internal evidence points quite unmistakably to the time of the Conquest, around 1400 B.C., rather than to any of the dates suggested by modern criticism.

Before taking our leave of Deuteronomy, a final comment should be made concerning the remarkable predictions embodied in chapter 28, beginning with verse 49. The documentarians have interpreted these to refer to the invasions of Assyrian and Chaldean oppressors, and hence have insisted that passage itself could not have been composed until the time of Josiah or the Exile. But a closer examination of the details reveals the inadequacy of this explanation, even from a rationalistic standpoint. It is quite clear in the light of subsequent history that only the Roman invasions of A.D. 70 and A.D. 135 satisfy the terms of this prophecy. Consider the following factors: (1) The invaders are to come "from the end of the earth" (v. 49)—far more appropriate to Rome than to Babylon. (2) Their language will be utterly alien to Hebrew—far truer of Latin than of Babylonian, a kindred Semitic tongue (v. 49). (3) The Jews are to be scattered among all nations, from one end of the earth to the other (v. 64)—which did not take place at the Chaldean conquest by any manner of means. (4) There is no suggestion whatever that there will be a return to Palestine by a remnant—as there was within a few decades of Nebuchadnezzar's death. (5) The captive Jews are to be con-

veyed to Egypt in huge numbers by ship, and prove to be a glut on the slave market—a development which never took place in connection with the Chaldean conquest, but which was literally fulfilled after Jerusalem fell to the legions of Titus in A.D. 70. Josephus indicates that 97,000 prisoners were taken at the fall of Jerusalem, and many of them ended up in the Egyptian mines (*Wars of the Jews,* VI, 9). The conclusion is irresistible that this prediction could only have come by supernatural revelation, and that its fulfillment took place centuries later than the Wellhausian date for the latest stratum of the Pentateuch.

19

JOSHUA, JUDGES AND RUTH

JOSHUA

APPROPRIATELY ENOUGH, this book is named after its principal character, Joshua, who dominates the scene from start to finish. His name in the longer Hebrew form appears as *Yᵉhōshūᵃ'*; in the Septuagint *Yēsūs*, or "Jesus." The narrative records the history of Israel from the passage of Joshua's army over the river Jordan to Joshua's final retirement and farewell speech. The theme of the book concerns the irresistible power of God's people in overcoming the world and taking possession of their promised inheritance, provided only they maintain a perfect trust in God's strength and permit no sin of disobedience to break their covenant relationship with Him.

Outline of Joshua

I. The Conquest of the Land, 1:1–12:24
   - A. Joshua's divine commission, 1:1-9
   - B. Preparations to cross the Jordan; the spies rescued through Rahab, 1:10–2:24
   - C. The crossing of the Jordan River, 3:1–4:24
   - D. Circumcision at Gilgal, 5:1-15
   - E. Capture of Jericho, the earnest of victory, 6:1-27
   - F. Failure at Ai; the putting away of sin; the ultimate triumph, 7:1–8:29
   - G. The altar at Mount Ebal; the solemn reading of the Law, 8:30-35
   - H. The alliance with the crafty Gibeonites (the first entanglement with the world), 9:1-27
   - I. Conquest of southern Canaan; the battle of Gibeon, 10:1-43
   - J. Conquest of northern Canaan, 11:1-15
   - K. Summary of Joshua's campaigns, 11:16–12:24

II. The Dividing of the Inheritance, 13:1–22:34
   - A. Joshua's instructions concerning the division, 13:1-7
   - B. Assignment to the eastern tribes, 13:8-33

C. Assignment to the western tribes, 14:1–19:51
D. Appointment of the cities of refuge, 20:1-9
E. Appointment of the Levitical cities, 21:1-45
F. Eastern tribes dismissed to their homes, 22:1-34

III. Joshua's Final Charge to Israel, 23:1–24:33

Authorship and Date

It is reasonable to deduce that this book basically was composed by Joshua himself. Intimate biographical details are given from the very first chapter that only Joshua himself could have known (although of course he could have later imparted them to others). Joshua 24:26 records that the general himself wrote out his own farewell charge as quoted in the first twenty-five verses of the chapter. Earlier in the book (5:1, 6) we find passages in the first person plural, such as, "Jehovah had dried up the waters of the Jordan from before the children of Israel, until we were passed over. . . ." Such language as this certainly points to the work of an eyewitness who participated in the events himself.

Other references point to a very early date of composition, even if not precisely within the lifetime of Joshua. Canaanite cities are mentioned by their archaic names; for example, Baalah for Kirjath-jearim (15:9), Kirjath-sannah for Debir (15:49) and Kirjath-arba for Hebron (15:13). Moreover, according to 13:4-6 and 19:28, Sidon was the most important city of Phoenicia, thus indicating a period before the twelfth century B.C. (when Tyre began to attain the ascendancy). According to 9:27, the Gibeonites "unto this day" were still "hewers of wood and drawers of water" around the tabernacle, even as Joshua had appointed them. This could no longer have been said in the reign of Saul, if we may trust the indication of II Samuel 21:1-9, that the Gibeonites had been massacred and their status changed by King Saul. Certainly the references to Jerusalem (such as 18:16, 28) show very clearly that it was at the time of writing inhabited by the Jebusites and had not yet been captured by the Hebrews under King David.

On the other hand, there is evidence of later editorial work in the inclusion of events which could not have occurred until after Joshua's death. Not only do we have the notice of his decease (24:29, 30) and the generalization that "Israel served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders who lived after Joshua" (24:31), but we also find reference to Othniel's capture of Kirjath-arba (15:13-17; Judg. 1:9-13) and the migration of a portion of the Danite tribe to the extreme north of Israel (19:47; cf. Judg. 18:27-29). Taking all this evidence together, it seems to point to substantial composition of Joshua by the man after whom the book was named, and supplementary material (also inspired) very likely by Eleazar or his son Phinehas.

As we have already seen (Chap. 6, p. 76), rationalist critics of the Wellhausen school have attempted to include Joshua with the five books of the Pentateuch, calling the whole collection the Hexateuch. They consider the basic material to come from J and E but with considerable editorial work and redaction by the Deuteronomic school. Later editorial work is thought to have been contributed by a redactor of the Priestly school, who made his major insertions in chapters 13–21. But it should be pointed out that the Biblical evidence makes it very difficult to hold that the Pentateuch never had any separate existence apart from Joshua.

The most significant evidence is found in the fact that only the Pentateuch was held by the Samaritan sect to be canonical. We know from the Samaritan form of the Pentateuchal text that these northern sectarians even in post-Exilic times considered themselves to be heirs of the Israelite ten tribes. Many of the deviations from the Masoretic Text of the five books of Moses consist in additions which make it explicit that God had chosen Mount Gerizim in the Ephraimite territory to be the place for His holy sanctuary, rather than the southern center of Jerusalem. Obviously the motivation for this is nationalistic propaganda, but the book of Joshua contains many elements which would have commended it to Samaritan nationalism. For example, it makes prominent mention of Shechem in Ephraim as an important center and a city of refuge. Its chief hero is an Ephraimite general, Joshua the son of Nun. It contains a record of the solemn reading of the Law by the whole congregation of Israel between Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim. The only possible explanation for the failure of the Samaritans to include Joshua in their authoritative canon was that it was not actually a part of the Mosaic Torah. The Torah must, therefore, have existed as a separate Pentateuch at the time of the Samaritan schism.

The Tell el-Amarna Correspondence

In 1887 an accidental discovery led to the unearthing of an entire file of ancient Egyptian correspondence at the site of the ancient Akhetaton (Tell el-Amarna), the ancient capital of heretic King Amenhotep IV (Akhnaton). These were written on clay tablets in Babylonian cuneiform, which was the accepted language for international correspondence during the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty. A preliminary examination of the contents of these tablets convinced C. R. Conder that they represented a Canaanite version of the sequence of events connected with the conquest of Canaan by the armies of Joshua. In 1890 he brought this correspondence to the attention of the public in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly,* in an article entitled "Monumental Notice of Hebrew Victories." In the same year, H. Zimmern categorically affirmed that in the Amarna correspondence we have nothing less than a contemporary record of the

Hebrew invasion of Canaan (*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästinavereins*). These early investigators pointed out the frequent occurrence of the name "Ḫabiru" in the communications from King 'Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem, who reported to the Pharaoh with the greatest alarm that these invaders were carrying everything before them. Further study of the tablets convinced H. Winckler that marauding armies associated with the cuneiform characters SA.GAZ were to be equated with the Ḫabiru. Very frequent references to these SA.GAZ people are to be found in the communications of Canaanite princelings all the way up to Sidon in Phoenicia.

Later discoveries at Mari and Nuzi, as well as at Babylon, revealed the fact that Ḫabiru figured in the history of the Mesopotamian valley as early as the beginning of the second millennium B.C. They are referred to in the Sumerian inscriptions of Naram-Sin of Larsa as well as of Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin of the Elamite dynasty. Often the name is preceded by the determinative meaning "warrior." Hittite and Old Babylonian texts indicate that contingents of the SA.GAZ received regular rations from the state, manned royal garrisons and worshiped gods who were invoked in state treaties. The Hittite texts from Boghazköi furnish evidence that the Ḫabiru and the SA.GAZ are the one and the same people, for each form of the name appears in parallel columns of texts, and the gods of the SA.GAZ are referred to as the gods of the Ḫabiri. In the Mari correspondence they appear as mercenary troops in the employ of leaders like Yapaḫ-Adad (cf. ANET 483).

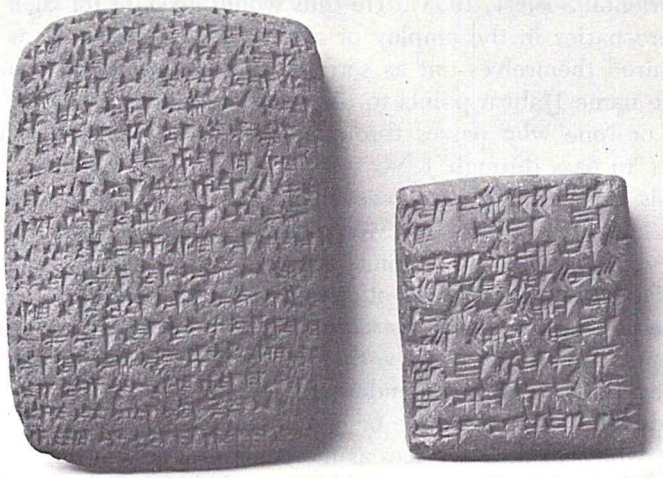
It is not certain how the characters SA.GAZ were pronounced, whether as Ḫabiru or by some such term as Ḫabbatu ("plunderer, robber") as is given in the ancient dictionaries. Many scholars have conjectured that SA.GAZ represented an appellative or descriptive term rather than the name of any particular tribe or people; whereas Ḫabiru referred to a definite ethnic group. Others, however, have rejected an ethnic significance even for Ḫabiru because of the great diversity in types of names which are attributed to individuals listed as Ḫabiri. Many of those from Old Babylonian sources and those at Nuzi are Akkadian Semitic names, but those from Alalakh are mostly non-Semitic.

In the light of the foregoing evidence, it may reasonably be questioned whether the Ḫabiru were a definite, homogeneous race or whether the name was attached to migratory groups of people who possessed no real property and were not attached to the soil like the general populace of the land in which they happened to reside. Thus they may have been a group somewhat akin to the gypsies of modern times whose racial background is shrouded in mystery, but whose common characteristic is that they never settle down in one place, preferring to wander from region to region as they may find a living. This at least is the theory advanced by Moshe Greenberg in his monograph entitled "The Ḫab/piru" (Ameri-

can Oriental Society, 1955). He thus would account for their appearance as mercenaries in the employ of foreign governments or as dependents who hired themselves out as serfs or slaves. Apparently the etymology for the name Ḫabiru points to the basic significance of "one who passes over" or "one who passes through (the land)," coming from the verb *'ābar* ("to pass through").

It is open to question, however, that the term *ḫabiru* necessarily connoted inferior social status. Meredith Kline (in *Westminster Theological Review,* XIX, 1, pp. 1-24) points out that in some cases, as at Alalakh, the *ḫabiri* are found at the head of city administration as government officials, or else as chariot-owning *maryannu* (the highest of the warrior castes). Peace treaties were made with them, which would hardly have been effected with a mere dependent or servile populace. Kline personally regards the *ḫabiri* as a more or less homogeneous ethnic stock of warrior tribes, who sold their services as mercenaries, and in some cases (like the Goths of the late Roman empire) settled down to become landowners and officials. In some instances, as at Alalakh, they became so culturally integrated with the people among whom they lived that they even adopted the non-Semitic personal names prevalent in that locality. He feels that they were largely allied with the Hurrian or Mitannian governments, and thus respected by them, even though they were feared and shunned in many non-Hurrian regions. Kline does not believe that they can successfully be linked with the Israelite Hebrews either ethnically, religiously or culturally (*op. cit.,* XIX, 2, pp. 170-184). But this conclusion hardly does justice to the data of the Amarna Letters.

Discoveries at Ugarit make it evident that Ḫabiru were the same people referred to as the 'Apiru in Egyptian records. A text published by Virolleaud contains a list of towns subject to provide corvée labor for the king of Ugarit; and this bilingual text shows on the Akkadian side, "Aleppo of the SA.GAZ" (Ḫal-bi $^{\text{lu.mes}}$SAG.GAZ), and on the Ugaritic side, "Aleppo of the 'Apirim" (Ḫlb 'prm). Apparently it was possible by dialectic modification to pronounce the middle b of Ḫabiru or 'Abiru as a p, for so it appeared in Ugaritic and also in Egyptian. Hence the Ḫabiru were "people from the other side," or "migrants," and this term may have been applied to those of diverse national origin. It is only in the Hebrew records that we find the name in the form 'Ibriy (or "Hebrew") used to refer to a single racial stock, namely the descendants of Abraham, "the Hebrew." Thus Abraham may have been called the Ḫabiru by the Canaanites because of his mode of life and because he was a foreigner; but then his descendants retained this designation in honor of their ancestor and transmuted it into an ethnic term. Such an interpretation of the name Ḫabiru and its apparent equivalent SA.GAZ leaves room for the possibility that some non-Israelite peoples were involved in the con-



Two of the Amarna Letters. These letters (numbering almost 300) are appeals for help from princes of Palestine to the kings of Egypt (ca. 1400-1350) and may reflect conditions in Palestine at the time of the Conquest.

(Courtesy of the British Museum)

vulsive movements of Joshua's time, and participated in the invasions of the northerly regions at least.

Both Greenberg and many of his predecessors have rejected the identification of the Ḫabiru (or SA.GAZ) with the Israelite invasion, both because of the diversity of names appearing in some of the Mesopotamian records, and also because of the reported activity of the SA.GAZ in Syria and Phoenicia. The objection is based on the ground that there is no allusion to any such northerly military operations in the Hebrew records. In answer to this it ought to be pointed out that there is nothing in Joshua to discourage the belief that the northernmost tribes, such as Asher and Naphtali, who settled right next to the Phoenician territory, may have conducted expeditions against Tyre, Sidon and even Byblos (from which city most of the Phoenician correspondence is derived). Joshua does not pretend to list all the military operations into which the individual tribes entered after the major united campaigns had come to a close. This, then, is hardly a decisive objection to the identification of Ḫabiru with Hebrews.

Other objections raised by Greenberg include the consideration that according to the Amarna correspondence it was possible for individuals or even a whole town to become Ḫabiri by deserting the Egyptian side. For example, in the letter numbered 185 in the Mercer edition (Knudtzon: EA 111:44), Rib-Addi declares that the inhabitants of Lachish have "become Ḫabiri." Even an Egyptian such as Amanḫatbi (Amenhotep) of Tushulti could escape reprisal for his misdeeds by fleeing to the

SA.GAZ (EA 95:63). But it should be pointed out that these terms of expression do not necessarily signify the attainment of full citizenship, so to speak, in the ranks of the Ḫabiri, but may simply be a way of indicating a change of allegiance or the formation of a new alliance. Joshua records how the Gibeonite or Hivite league effected a treaty of peace with the conquering Israelites, although of course they did it by stratagem. There can be little doubt that other Canaanite communities made terms with the irresistible invaders in order to avoid total destruction. The Canaanite principalities which maintained the conflict against Israel were of course bitterly resentful of those who had gone over to their side, and they may well have referred to this as "becoming a Ḫabiru."

Greenberg also makes the observation that the SA.GAZ seem to have operated in relatively small unrelated groups here and there throughout the land of Canaan, and thus do not present in any sense the same picture as the narrative in the book of Joshua, where we have great bodies of troops from all twelve tribes operating under a single command. But there are two things to be said about this observation. In the first place, the letters may have come from widely separate periods of time (for virtually none of them contain any dates) ranging all the way from 1400 B.C. to the latter part of the reign of Akhnaton. Those references to Ḫabiru activity which seem to imply the operation of smaller bodies of troops may have been written in the latter period after the main campaigns had been completed. Secondly, it should be observed that some of the letters give the very distinct impression that Ḫabiri have come into the land in great force and are subjugating large tracts of land at a time.

One noteworthy example of the latter type is EA No. 286 from Abdi-Heba: "As truly as the king, my lord, lives, when the commissioners go forth I will say, 'Lost are the lands of the king! Do you not hearken unto me? All the governors are lost; the king, my lord, does not have a [single] governor [left]!' Let the king turn his attention to the archers, and let the king, my lord, send out troops of archers, [for] the king has no lands [left]! The Ḫabiru plunder all the lands of the king. If there are archers [here] in this year, the lands of the king, my lord, will remain [intact], but if there are no archers [here] the lands of the king, my lord, will be lost!" Again in EA No. 288 he pleads, "Let the king care for his land. The land of the king will be lost. All of it will be taken from me; there is hostility to me. As for the lands of Sheeri [Seir] and even to Gintikirmal [i.e., Mount Carmel] there is no peace to all the regions, but to me there is hostility." This obviously refers to the second phase of Joshua's campaign, when he was subduing the central portion of Palestine (although, of course, he never captured Jerusalem itself).

Many excellent scholars who have thoroughly gone over the evidence feel certain that the Ḫabiri of the Amarna correspondence are to be identified with the Hebrews of Joshua's army. Edward Meyer in *Geschichte*

des Altertums (1928) states: "The substantial identity of the Hebrews or Israelites with that part of the Ḫabiri of the Amarna tablets who were invading Palestine in Amarna times is . . . beyond doubt." As evidence he pointed to the fact that those cities whose governors maintained correspondence with Egypt according to the Amarna archives were Megiddo, Ashkelon, Acco, Gezer, and Jerusalem, precisely those cities which the Israelites were late in capturing. On the other hand, as F. Böhl pointed out in *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* (1911, p. 93), those cities which had already fallen to the Israelite advance or had joined ranks with Joshua's forces are represented by no communications at all—cities like Jericho, Beersheba, Bethel, Gibeon and Hebron. In connection with the solemnization of the national covenant with Jehovah at Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim near Shechem (cf. Josh. 8:30-35), it is highly significant that Abdi-Ḫepa of Jerusalem accused that city-state of defecting to the Ḫabiru cause (T.A. 289): "Or shall we do like Labayu, who gave the land of Shechem to the Ḫabiru?" If there was some informal understanding between Joshua and the Shechemites, there would have been no difficulty about holding this religious assembly near that powerful city.

The objection has also been made that there are few names appearing in the Amarna letters which are also discoverable in the text of Joshua. With the exception of Japhia (or *Yāpīᵃ*), king of Gezer, none of the royal names seems to correspond. Ingenious attempts have been made to correlate Abdi-Heba (or Abdu-Ḫeba) with Adonizedek,[1] but these involve major improbabilities. On the other hand, this lack of correspondence is not to be wondered at in view of the unsettled nature of the times, when local dynasts were apt to be dethroned or assassinated in swift succession. Most of the royal names given in Joshua pertain to the earliest phases of the Conquest, and it may simply be that most of the Amarna letters come from a later period. In this connection it might be mentioned that one letter, EA 256, from Mut-Ba'lu of Megiddo, suggests to the Egyptian regent Yanḫamu that he is on intimate enough terms with Benenima (also read as Benilima) and Yashuya to ask them the whereabouts of the prince of Pella, who has absconded to parts unknown. The question arises whether Benenima is equivalent to Benjamin and Yashuya to Joshua. Possibly the remark is ironical and rhetorical in nature and is meant to imply that the Israelite invaders have something to do with the disappearance of Ayab of Pella. Without further knowledge of circumstances it is impossible to decide this question one way or the other.

At this point a word should be said about the six known occurrences of the name 'Apiru (or, according to J. A. Wilson, 'Eperu) in the records of the Egyptian empire between 1300 and 1150. In three cases the 'Apiru appear as unskilled workmen in the quarries; once as temple property (in a list of temple serfs at Hieropolis in the reign of Ram-

[1]Cf. C. R. Conder, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, 2nd ed. (1894), p. 143.

eses III) and once as workers at a stable. Wilson[2] comes to the conclusion that the term was applied to foreigners in Egyptian service who occupied the status of slaves or serfs. In one remaining reference, however, they are mentioned as foreign mercenary troops. Hence we are to understand 'Apiru in the broader non-ethnic sense of Ḫabiru, just as in the cuneiform records which antedate the Amarna correspondence.

The earliest reference is found in the tomb of Puyemrē in the reign of Thutmose III. Next comes the tomb of Antef, in that same reign; then it appears in a list of booty from the Memphis stelae of Amenhotep II (ANET 247), written at the conclusion of his second Asiatic campaign (which contains an item of 3,600 'Apiru carried off as captives). Next, Seti I in the smaller Bethshan stela (cf. ANET 255) records an encounter with the 'Apiru of Mount Yarumtu (i.e., Jarmuth). A Nineteenth Dynasty story of the capture of Joppa in the reign of Thutmose III refers to the 'Apiru as potential horse stealers (ANET 22). Among the offerings dedicated to the temple of Amon at Heliopolis by Rameses III are a group of slaves referred to as 'Apiru (ANET 261). Rameses IV mentions 800 'Apiru of the bowmen of 'Antiu—in this case apparently mercenaries.

From a survey of the Egyptian references it will be easily seen that no deductions may be drawn in favor of either the early date or the late date for the Exodus. The 'Apiru of the time of Thutmose III may well have been the Israelites; those mentioned by Rameses II, Rameses III and Rameses IV may have been Hebrews who did not join the Exodus, or who were perhaps taken captive by Egyptian raiders during the time of the Judges. As for the 'Apiru whom Amenhotep II encountered in central Palestine, they could hardly have been the Israelites themselves (who were at that time still confined to the wilderness of Sinai), but wandering freebooters who were called by the term Ḫabiru, used in its larger and more general sense.

In conclusion we may state that while there are many problems and individual details which have yet to be cleared up, there is a sufficient agreement between the data of the Amarna correspondence and the account in the book of Joshua to establish a close connection between the two.

The Long Day of Joshua (10:12-14)

The book of Joshua records several miracles, but none perhaps as noteworthy or as widely discussed as that pertaining to the twenty-four-hour prolongation of the day in which the battle of Gibeon was fought. It has been objected that if in fact the earth was stopped in its rotation for a period of twenty-four hours, inconceivable catastrophe would have befallen the entire planet and everything on its surface. While those who

[2]In *American Journal of Semitic Languages,* XLIX (1933), p. 275ff.

believe in the omnipotence of God would hardly concede that Jehovah could not have prevented such catastrophe and held in abeyance those physical laws which might have brought it to pass, it does not seem to be absolutely necessary (on the basis of the Hebrew text itself) to hold that the planet was suddenly halted in its rotation. Verse 13 states that the sun "did not hasten to set for an entire day." The words "did not hasten" seem to point to a retardation of the movement so that the rotation required forty-eight hours rather than the usual twenty-four. In support of this interpretation, research has brought to light reports from Egyptian, Chinese and Hindu sources of a long day.[3] Black[4] and Harry Rimmer[5] report that some astronomers have come to the conclusion that one full day is missing in our astronomical calculation. Rimmer states that Professor Pickering of the Harvard Observatory traced this missing day back to the time of Joshua; likewise Dr. Totten of Yale (cf. Ramm, CVSS 159). Ramm reports, however, that he has been unable to find any documentation to substantiate this report.

Another possibility has been deduced from a slightly different interpretation of the word *dōm* translated in the KJV as "stand thou still." This verb usually signifies "be silent" or "cease, leave off." Dr. E. W. Maunders of Greenwich and Robert Dick Wilson of Princeton therefore interpret Joshua's prayer to be a petition that the sun cease pouring down its heat upon his struggling troops so that they might be permitted to press the battle under more favorable conditions. The tremendously destructive hailstorm which accompanied the battle lends some credence to this view, and it has been advocated by men of unquestioned orthodoxy. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that verse 13 seems to favor a prolongation of the day: "And the sun stood in the half (or midway point) of the sky, and it did not hasten to set for about an entire day."

The Keil and Delitzsch *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament* suggests that a miraculous prolongation of the day would have taken place if it seemed to Joshua and all Israel to be supernaturally prolonged, because they were able to accomplish in it the work of two days. It would have been very difficult for them to make an accurate measurement of time if the sun itself did not move (i.e., the earth did not rotate) at its normal rate. They add another possibility, that God may have produced an optical prolongation of the sunshine, continuing its visibility after the normal setting time by means of a special refraction of the rays.

In the *New Bible Commentary* (Davidson-Stibbs-Kevan) the commentator Hugh J. Blair suggests (p. 231) that Joshua's prayer was made early in the morning, since the moon was in the west and the sun was in the east. The answer came in the form of a hailstorm which prolonged

[3]Cf. Charles Marston, *The Bible is True.*
[4]*The Bible and Science.*
[5]*The Harmony of Science and Scripture* (1937).

the darkness and thus facilitated the surprise attack of the Israelites. Hence in the darkness of the storm the defeat of the enemy was completed. And we should speak of Joshua's "long night" rather than Joshua's "long day." This of course is essentially the same view as that of Maunders and Wilson. Such an interpretation necessitates no stopping of the earth on its axis.

The Extermination of the Canaanites

In certain instances such as the capture of Jericho and of Ai, Joshua records that the Israelites completely exterminated the inhabitants according to the command of Jehovah Himself. It needs to be emphasized that the responsibility for this extreme measure rested with God (that is, if this account is to be trusted) rather than with the Hebrews. This needs to be emphasized in view of the frequent statement heard in some quarters that the "primitive minded, half savage" Israelites performed this atrocity because of their backward state of religious development. The text makes it very plain that Joshua was simply carrying out divine orders when these inhabitants were indiscriminately put to the sword.

What was the justification for this total destruction? The subsequent history of Israel serves to illustrate very pointedly the grave danger that remained for Israel so long as the Canaanites were permitted to live in their midst. Given over as they were to the most degenerate forms of polytheism and sexual impurity, these depraved inhabitants of the land were sure to exert a baneful influence and spread a deadly contagion among the covenant people of God. Recent archaeological discovery has brought to light concrete testimony to the crass and brutal features of the Canaanite faith as displayed in the literature of the Ras Shamra Tablets. Throughout the region there seems to have been a readiness to incorporate into the indigenous worship all the foreign cults that were practiced by the surrounding heathen nations. Thus we find a series of hyphenated gods: Teshub-Hepa (the Hurrian storm-god and his consort), the Osiris-Isis cult from Egypt; Shamash (the sun-god) and Ishtar (the bloodthirsty goddess of war and love) and Tammuz (a fertility god) from Mesopotamia. Many sites have yielded serpent stelae and Ashtoreth images with sexual symbols. In view of the corrupting influence of the Canaanite religion, especially with its religious prostitution (cf. the abomination of Baal-peor in Num. 25) and infant sacrifice, it was impossible for pure faith and worship to be maintained in Israel except by the complete elimination of the Canaanites themselves, at least in those areas which the Hebrews were able to occupy. Much of the periodic spiritual decline and apostasy which marked the history of Israel during the time of the Judges is attributable to a toleration of the Canaanite inhabitants and their degenerate religion in the midst of the land.

JUDGES

The Hebrew title for this book is *Shōpetīm*, meaning "judges" or "executive leaders." The Septuagint title *Kritai* means the same thing, "judges." This title is derived from the type of government or leadership which the Israelite theocracy enjoyed in the interval between the death of Joshua and the coronation of King Saul. The basic theme of the book is Israel's failure as a theocracy to keep true to the covenant even under the leadership of men chosen of God to deliver them from oppression by the pagan world. The frequent and repeated failures of the twelve tribes to remain true to God and His holy law prepared the way for the institution of a central monarchy.

Outline of Judges

I. Partial Conquest of Canaan by Israel, 1:1–2:5

II. Reasons for Survival of Canaanite Remnants, 2:6–3:6

III. Oppression under Cushan-Rishathaim, Deliverance by Othniel, 3:7-11

IV. Oppression under Eglon of Moab, Deliverance by Ehud, 3:12-30

V. Exploits of Shamgar, 3:31

VI. Oppression under Jabin of Hazor, Deliverance by Deborah and Barak, 4:1-24

VII. The Song of Deborah, 5:1-31

VIII. Oppression under Midian, Deliverance by Gideon, 6:1–8:35

IX. The Career of the Tyrant Abimelech, 9:1-57

X. The Judgeships of Tola and Jair, 10:1-5

XI. Oppression under Ammonites, Deliverance by Jephthah, 10:6–12:7

XII. The Judgeships of Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, 12:8-15

XIII. Oppression under Philistines, the Exploits of Samson, 13:1–16:31

XIV. Micah's Priest and the Danite Migration, 17:1–18:31

XV. The Atrocity at Gibeah and the Benjamite War, 19:1–21:25

The Date of Composition

Internal evidences point to some period in the early monarchy, but prior to David's capture of Jerusalem (ca. 990 B.C.). The expression oc-

curring in 18:1 and 19:1, "There was at that time no king in Israel," seems to imply composition during the early period of the monarchy, before the unhappy age of the divided kingdom when once again troubles and disasters came to afflict the nation. The greatest likelihood is that the book was completed early in the reign of David; but Judges 1:21, "The Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day," is most reasonably construed to refer to the period prior to David's capture of Jerusalem and his appointment of it to be the capital of the Hebrew kingdom. Judges 1:29 states that the Canaanites were still dwelling in Gezer rather than submitting to Israelite sovereignty. This certainly points to a time before the king of Egypt captured the city of Gezer and bestowed it on Solomon as a dowry for his daughter (ca. 970). Some portions of the book maintain a viewpoint antedating the time of David, for 3:3 refers to Sidon as the chief city in Phoenicia rather than Tyre (which began to overshadow Sidon soon after the twelfth century B.C.).

One apparent difficulty with an early date of composition is furnished by Judges 18:30: ". . . and Jonathan, the son of Gershom . . . he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan until the day of the captivity of the land." If this refers to the Assyrian conquest of 732 when Tiglath-pileser III took over the northern territory of the kingdom of Samaria, this verse at least would seem to come from the late eighth century if not later.

Unger (IGOT 292) suggests that this verse might possibly have been inserted by a later editor—a rather questionable proposition. Young and Steinmueller have raised the question as to whether the word for "land" (*'eres*) was original, and inclined to the view that it should be amended to "ark" (*'ārōn*), which would involve simply the change of one letter (final *nūn* instead of final *tsadhe*). The amended phrase "the captivity of the ark" would then refer to the disaster which befell the Israelites at the battle of Shiloh in the year that Eli died. Yet it is not easy to see how this would have much relevance to what happened at the northern tip of Israelite territory in the tribe of Dan. Nevertheless Moeller (GATE 150) has pointed out the close relationship between Judges 18:30 and I Samuel 4:21 ("the glory is departed from Israel: because the ark of God was taken . . ."). In both verses the same verb *galah* ("go into captivity") is used, the verbal form appearing in Samuel and the noun form in Judges. Moreover, a close connection is made in Judges 18:31 between the institution of the idolatrous worship in Dan and the existence of the legitimate worship of Jehovah in Shiloh. In the light of these data the substitution of "ark" for "land" may perhaps be justified.

But a third and simpler suggestion would be that "the captivity of the land" might refer to a crushing military defeat and deportation which took place some time in the latter period of the Judges in the course of bloody border warfare. Standing at the northern flank as it did, the inhabitants of the city of Dan might well have been overwhelmed by foreign

invaders just as suddenly as they themselves captured the site from its former inhabitants (cf. Judg. 18:27, 28). Thus construed, Judges 18:30 refers simply to the land of Dan, and does not necessarily indicate any later time of composition than the reign of David.

Authorship and Unity of Composition of Judges

While the approximate time of composition may be deduced from the information furnished above, namely 1000 B.C., there is no clear evidence as to the identity of the author. His standpoint was unmistakably prophetic, for he measures Israel's history by the standard of faithfulness to Jehovah's covenant. (It should be noted that the purpose of this book is not to glorify Israel's ancestors, as some writers have alleged, but rather to glorify the grace of the God of Israel.) It would be natural to suppose that either Samuel himself or else some student or disciple of his might have been responsible for the compilation of this history. Whoever the author was, he seems to have made use of original sources, some of which at least were in the northern Israelite dialect, such as Judges 5 (the song of Deborah) and the Gideon cycle (chaps. 6–8), where we find several occurrences of the relative pronoun *she* (rather than the usual *ᵃsher*). Whatever the prior sources, the unity of arrangement and structure is unmistakable. All the author's material has been arranged according to a unitary plan exhibiting a single dominant idea: that Israel's welfare depends upon her spiritual relationship to Jehovah. Characteristic formulas are used which introduce or bring to a close each stage in the narrative. A characteristic introduction is, "And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord" (cf. 3:7, 12; 4:1; 6:1; 10:6; 13:1). Often a section is closed by the comment "and the land had rest [a certain number of] years" as in 3:11, 30; 5:31; 8:28. Moeller (GATE 147) points out that the fourteen judges are so arranged that Othniel and Samson stand alone at the beginning and at the end of the series, but those who come in between are usually connected in pairs. Thus Shamgar (3:31) appears as a brief adjunct to Ehud (3:12-30); Barak is of course paired up with Deborah; and there is a fairly clear connection between Gideon and his natural son, Abimelech—and so on.[6]

Problems of Chronology

If all the terms of service performed by the various judges are added end to end, along with the stated periods of oppression, they form a consecutive total of approximately 410 years. But the long date of 480 years given in I Kings 6:1 seems to allow for only 292 years between the judgeship of Othniel and that of Eli. We must therefore conclude that many of these careers of service overlapped or were even contemporaneous.

[6]Cf. Raven, OTI 158, for a list of expressions peculiar to Judges and which characteristically recur in this work.

The statement in Judges 10:7 (" . . . the Lord . . . sold them into the hands of the Philistines, and into the hands of the children of Ammon") clearly indicates that Samson and Jephthah must have been almost contemporaneous, since the Ammonite oppression and that of the Philistines occurred at approximately the same time. J. B. Payne[7] has worked out a basic chronology of the six most important judges ranging from Othniel in 1381 B.C. to Samuel whose career ended in 1050 B.C. Confirmation of the soundness of this method of computation is furnished by the remark of Jephthah in Judges 11:26 where he reckons the interim between the Israelite occupation of Heshbon and the time of the Ammonite war as 300 years. This would allow for a Transjordanian occupation somewhere between 1400 and 1100 B.C. It should be remembered that no long date is given for the whole period of the judges in the book of Judges itself; hence there is no reason why several of the periods of judgeship should not have been contemporaneous.

Archaeological Contributions to an Understanding of This Era

Extensive discussion has already been devoted to the relevance of the Tell el-Amarna letters to the period of conquest after General Joshua. It may be fairly said that a survey of the data furnished by these letters indicates that the Hebrew Conquest, after the initial successes resulting from combined effort, became greatly slowed down in pace. Many of the city-states defeated in battle with Joshua were permitted to reoccupy their respective capitals and continue their struggle to survive. Thus Lachish, for example, was roundly defeated by Joshua some time between 1400 and 1390 (cf. Josh. 10:32), but the city does not seem to have been completely destroyed by fire until around 1230 B.C. Excavations there have recovered potsherds written in Egyptian hieratic recording the deliveries of wheat up to the "year 4" of some Pharaoh, who on the basis of the ceramic series is believed by Albright and others to have been the Pharaoh Merneptah. Late Bronze remains at Debir indicate that it was not destroyed until around 1200 B.C. Archaeologists date the fall of Megiddo between 1150 and 1050. Of course it was not necessary that the Israelite conquerors make a complete destruction of all the cities which they initially took by storm, but in the course of time as the Hebrew population increased they were able to take more effective control over the territory the Lord had granted them.

Another important feature of this period was the persistence of Egyptian authority, at least into the twelfth century B.C. It has already been noted that Joshua and Judges fail to mention the maintenance of Egyptian power along the principal trade routes through Palestine. As stated before, this silence cannot successfully be explained by the late date theory of the Exodus, for no mention is made in the Hebrew record of the

[7]*An Outline of Hebrew History* (1954), p. 79.

successful raid of Merneptah in 1229 B.C., nor of the persistence of Egyptian authority in key centers like Megiddo and Beth-Shean, where inscriptions bearing the name Rameses III (1198-1167) have been discovered. A careful synchronism has been worked out by John Garstang between the various periods of "rest" mentioned in Judges and the establishment of effective control by Egypt in Palestine. The policing of the main arteries of commerce by Egyptian troops would naturally inhibit aggressiveness on the part of the Canaanite nations without necessarily affecting too drastically the life of the Israelites themselves, who largely kept to the hills (cf. Judg. 1:19) in the earlier stage of their occupation. Consequently there would not be too much occasion for mentioning the Egyptians by name, and it may well have been that there was a natural reluctance to refer to them at all.

As for the Philistines, considerable discussion has been devoted to the question of when they first settled in the southwest coast of Palestine. Because of an inscription of Rameses III at Medinet Habu recording a naval victory over the Philistines about 1195 B.C., many critics have assumed that it was their defeat at the hands of the Egyptians which first impelled them to settle along the Philistine coastline. They therefore conclude that every mention of Philistines prior to 1195 B.C. is necessarily anachronistic, whether in Genesis 21, Joshua 13, or Judges 3. According to this interpretation, neither Abraham nor Isaac could have found any Philistines at Gerar as they are recorded to have done (cf. Gen. 21:32, 34; 26:1, 8, 14, 15, 18). But the fact that Philistine raiders were driven back by Rameses III to the Palestinian littoral by no means constitutes proof that there could have been no Philistines there before that time. Biblical references show that they were a heterogeneous people including several distinct groups such as the Kapthorim, the Keftim, the Cherithites, and the Pelethites. The probabilities are that these various groups came in successive waves of migration from the island of Crete. Even in the Minoan period the inhabitants of Crete were enterprising traders well before Abraham's time. As such they would have had every incentive to establish trading centers on the Palestinian coastline for the purposes of commerce.

The Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter

A final word should be said about an episode in Judges which has occasioned much perplexity and has often led to erroneous conclusions. Apparently Jephthah offered up his daughter as a human sacrifice on the altar, in fulfillment of his "rash" vow (11:30, 31; cf. v. 39). The term for "burnt offering" is *'ōlah*, which everywhere else signifies a blood sacrifice wholly consumed by fire upon the altar. But, as Keil and Delitzsch show, this interpretation as a literal human sacrifice cannot stand in the light of the context.

1. Human sacrifice was always understood, from the days of Abraham (for whose son Isaac a ram was substituted by God) to be an offense and an abomination to Jehovah, being expressly denounced and forbidden in Leviticus 18:21; 20:2-5; Deuteronomy 12:31; 18:10. There is no evidence that any Israelite ever offered human sacrifice prior to the days of Ahaz (743-728 B.C.). It is inconceivable that God-fearing Jephthah could have supposed he would please the Lord by perpetrating such a crime and abomination.

2. His daughter was allowed two months of mourning, not to bewail her approaching loss of life, but only to bewail her *virginity* (*bᵉtūlīm*) (Judg. 11:37, 38).

3. It is stated in verse 39 that after Jephthah had performed his vow and offered her as a "burnt offering," "she knew not man." This would be a very pointless and inane remark if she had been put to death. But it has perfect relevance if she was devoted to the service of Jehovah at the door of the tabernacle the rest of her life. (For references to the devoted women who performed service in connection with the national cultus, cf. Exod. 38:8 and I Sam. 2:22; also Anna in the days of Jesus—Luke 2:36, 37.) The pathos of the situation in this instance did not lie in Jephthah's daughter devoting herself to divine service, but rather in the sure extinction of Jephthah's line, since she was his only child. Hence both he and she bewailed her virginity. There was no human sacrifice here.[8]

RUTH

This book bears as its title the name of the principal character whose biography is related within its pages. The etymology of this name is uncertain; some have suggested a Moabite modification of the Hebrew *rᵉʿut*, "friendship, association." The purpose of the book is to relate an episode in the ancestry of King David which accounted for the introduction of non-Israelite blood into his family line. It also teaches the far-reaching scope of the grace of God who is ready to welcome even Gentile converts to the fellowship of His redeemed people. Perhaps most important of all, this brief narrative is designed to exhibit the function of the *gōēl* or "kinsman-redeemer."

Outline of Ruth

I. Migration and Sojourn in Moab, 1:1-5

II. Ruth's Choice to Return with Naomi to Judah, 1:6-18

III. The Mournful Homecoming to Bethlehem, 1:19-22

IV. Boaz, a Friend in Need, 2:1-23

[8]Cf. Keil and Delitzsch, *Joshua, Judges, Ruth* (Eerdmans' reprint, 1950), pp. 388-395.

V. Redemption Law Invoked, 3:1-18

VI. Boaz' Acceptance of His Responsibility as Goel, 4:1-16

VII. The Promise and the Posterity, 4:17-22

Date of Composition

The historical setting of this little book is laid in the time of the Judges (Ruth 1:1), and it seems to have been composed at about the same time as the larger work. It could hardly have been written earlier than the time of King David, since he is mentioned in it by name (4:22). Had it been written as late as the time of Solomon, it is quite likely that David's famous son would also have been listed in the notice of Ruth's descendants.

Critics of the liberal school insist on a date later than the reign of Josiah, inasmuch as Ruth seems to betray a knowledge of Deuteronomy 25, and Deuteronomy was (according to them) composed just before Josiah's reform. Most critics date it about 550 B.C. during the time of the Exile, but others have looked to a period some 100 years later, feeling that it was intended as a counterblast to Nehemiah's strict enforcement of the laws against marrying foreign wives. It is interesting to note that W. F. Albright expresses a preference for an earlier date than Josiah's time, regardless of its possible dependence upon Deuteronomy. In the Alleman and Flack *Old Testament Commentary* (p. 147), he refers to the demonstration by Millar Burrows that the legal usage described in connection with the marriage of Boaz and Ruth represents a stage much earlier than the Pentateuchal laws respecting levirate marriage. On this questionable basis, therefore, Albright says, "We cannot date the bulk of Ruth after the seventh century, and a date as early as the ninth century for the underlying poem is quite possible."

In the interests of the later date some critics have pointed to alleged Aramaisms such as *lāhēn* in 1:13 and *mārā'* in 1:20. It is true that *lāhēn* exists in Aramaic as a word for "therefore," but as a Hebrew term it may be rendered "to them" in the sense of "for those (things)." While it is true that *mara'*, "bitter," is spelled in an Aramaic way, its Hebrew equivalent for an identical sound is only slightly varied in spelling. Moreover, since inscriptions have been found as early as the ninth century B.C. containing both Canaanite and Aramaic spellings in the same text,[9] these two questionable words furnish very tenuous grounds for a late dating of the book.

As for the historicity of the narrative, Ruth appears to give an accurate account of the customs during the early period. It was perfectly natural at that era (before the Moabites had become embittered by Israelite overlordship) for a Jewish family to take refuge in Moab during a time of

[9]Cf. the Zakir inscription mentioned in Chap. 10, p. 127.

drought and famine. Under those conditions it would be natural also for young people to fall in love and get married with the inhabitants of the land. The fact that David was descended from a Moabitess would furnish a ready explanation for his seeking refuge with the king of Moab during the time he was being pursued by Saul. As Young remarks (IOT 33), "The very fact that Ruth, the ancestress of David, was a Moabitess, is in itself an argument for the historicity of the book."

The Basic Teachings of This Book

The basic teachings of Ruth may be summed up under three headings. 1. It affords a foreshadowing of the enlarged blessing to come: Gentiles are capable of being joined to the commonwealth of Israel upon condition of repentance and of faith in Jehovah.

2. God's marvelous and unexpected providence is exhibited also by the inclusion of a Gentile in the royal lineage of the Messiah (cf. Matt. 1:5).

3. The kinsman-redeemer serves as a Messianic type, the *gōēl* who fills the following qualifications and functions for his kinsmen: (a) he must be a blood relative (even as Christ became a blood relative of man by the Virgin Birth); (b) he must have the money to purchase the forfeited inheritance (4:10—even as Christ alone had the merit to pay the price for sinners); (c) he must be willing to buy back that forfeited inheritance (4:9—even as Christ laid down His life on His own volition); (d) he must be willing to marry the wife of a deceased kinsman (4:10—typical of the bride and groom relationship between Christ and His Church). From this standpoint, therefore, the little book of Ruth is one of the most instructive in the Old Testament concerning the mediatorial work of the Lord Jesus.

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I AND II SAMUEL, I AND II KINGS

IN ITS EARLIER form the Hebrew Bible seems to have regarded the two volumes of Samuel as a single book. The same was true of I and II Kings. It was on this basis that Josephus in the first century A.D. reckoned the books of the Old Testament as twenty-two in number (cf. Chap. 5, pp. 60-61). But the Alexandrian Jews brought both Samuel and Kings together as books of "kingdoms" (*basileiōn*) and then subdivided each of them so as to form four books of "kingdoms." The Latin Vulgate in the course of time dropped the term "books of kingdoms" (*libri regnōrum*) and shifting to the Hebrew division between Samuel and Kings came out with the titles which the Western Church has employed ever since. (But the Eastern Church still speaks of I and II Samuel as I and II Kingdoms and refers to I and II Kings as III and IV Kingdoms.) Not until the Bomberg edition of 1517 did the Hebrew Bible make the partition of Samuel and Kings into two books.

I AND II SAMUEL

The purpose of these books was to record the founding of the Hebrew monarchy. Therefore they include (a) the career of Samuel, the king maker,[1] (b) the career of Saul, the unfaithful king who, forsaking the covenants, became a tyrant; (c) the career of David, a truly theocratic king who founded the permanent and valid dynasty out of which the Messiah was to come.

Outline of I Samuel

I. The Career of Samuel and the Deliverance from Philistia, 1:1–7:17
   - A. Samuel's mother and her song, 1:1–2:10
   - B. Samuel's apprenticeship in the temple, 2:11–3:21
   - C. The disaster of Shiloh and the death of Eli, 4:1-22
   - D. The captivity of the ark in Philistia, 5:1–6:21
   - E. The return of the ark to Israel, 7:1-17

[1]The name Shᵉmū'ēl is variously interpreted as "the name of God," "His name is God," or even "heard of God"—if a short form of Shᵉmū'-ēl.

II. The Rise of King Saul, 8:1–15:35
- A. The Israelites' petition for a king, 8:1-22
- B. Saul anointed by Samuel and vindicated by victory, 9:1–11:15
- C. Samuel's final address, 12:1-25
- D. Victories of Saul and Jonathan over the Philistines, 13:1–14:52
- E. The Amalekite campaign and Saul's disobedience, 15:1-35

III. The Decline of Saul and the Rise of David, 16:1–31:13
- A. David anointed by Samuel and introduced to the court, 16:1-23
- B. David's deliverance of Israel by slaying Goliath, 17:1-58
- C. David's flight from Saul's jealousy, 18:1–20:42
- D. David's wanderings as an outlaw, 21:1–30:31
- E. Saul's final warning and death on Mount Gilboa, 31:1-13

Outline of II Samuel

I. David's Career as King over Judah and All Israel, 1:1–14:33
- A. David's lamentation over the death of Saul and Jonathan, 1:1-27
- B. The crowning of David at Hebron; the war with Abner, 2:1-32
- C. Abner's defection and murder by Joab, 3:1-39
- D. The assassination of Ishbosheth, 4:1-12
- E. Establishment of national and religious unity, 5:1–6:23
- F. God's covenant with David: the Messianic King, 7:1-29
- G. Extension of David's rule to the limits of the Promised Land, 8:1–10:19
- H. David's sin with Bathsheba and his repentance, 11:1–12:31
- I. The crimes of Amnon and Absalom, 13:1–14:33

II. The Closing Phase of David's Reign, 15:1–24:25
- A. Absalom's rebellion and final defeat, 15:1–18:33
- B. David's restoration to power, 19:1–20:26
- C. The famine and the Gibeonites' revenge upon Saul's descendants, 21:1-14
- D. Later wars with the Philistines, 21:15-22
- E. David's psalm of praise and final testimony, 22:1–23:7
- F. The list of David's mighty men, 23:8-39
- G. David's sin in numbering the people; the plague stopped at the site of the temple, 24:1-25

Date of Composition

Judging from internal evidences, the books of Samuel could hardly have been written prior to the death of Solomon. In I Samuel 27:6 we see that the divided monarchy had already begun ("Ziklag pertaineth unto the kings of Judah until this day"). Although there is no obituary of

David, yet the record of his last words would seem to imply the knowledge of his death. Indications of a precise *terminus ad quem* seem to be lacking, and none of such conservative writers as Steinmueller, Young or Moeller can come to a more definite conclusion than that the composition took place between 930 and 722. The author seems to be ignorant of the fall of Samaria, and so it is reasonable to date the composition of the work prior to the captivity of the ten tribes.

Rationalist critics analyze the book as mainly composed of two documents (Pfeiffer) or else possibly of three (Eissfeldt—who specifies L, J, and E). Some parts of it they hold to be Solomonic, with other installments added until about 550 B.C. by a redactor of the Deuteronomic school. It is noteworthy that there are sufficient evidences of an early date in some sections of Samuel that even a divisive critic like R. H. Pfeiffer could assign the earliest stratum of this book to a tenth century author such as Ahimaaz, the priest.[2] Yet other portions are construed to be as late as the Exile, because of the references to Levites to be found in I Samuel 6 and 7.[3] The same general technique of analysis is employed as in Pentateuchal criticism, with the endeavor to isolate parallel accounts and doublets which show such inconsistencies with each other as to indicate authorship in different periods of Israel's history. For example, there are alleged to be two diametrically opposed attitudes toward the establishment of a monarchy in Israel: that of I Samuel 7 and 8 (involving divine condemnation of the people's lack of faith in desiring a king), and that of chapter 9 (especially verse 16), with its gracious promises of blessing to the king Samuel is to anoint.

What these critics fail to see is that condemnation of an untheocratic motive on the part of the nation does not preclude God's blessing upon the human instrument He has chosen to lead His people under the new form of government which they have wrongly preferred. We find numerous instances of this type of divine response to human errors in the course of Hebrew history. For example, despite the crimes perpetrated by David in acquiring Bathsheba as his wife, God graciously elected her second son, Solomon, to be David's successor, the most glorious of his descendants. The artificiality of higher critical stratification is pointed up by the occurrence of interlocking allusions in later parts of the narrative to the earlier sections, for often these allusions cut across all the lines of division which the critics have set up. Certain characteristic phrases in the supposedly distinct sources recur with such frequency as to render the whole analytical technique highly dubious.[4]

Although division into post-Davidical strata cannot be successfully made out, there is little doubt that the compiler of the books of Samuel employed prior written sources, as for example the book of Jasher re-

[2]Pfeiffer, IOT 356.
[3]Cf. Bentzen, IOT, Vol. II, p. 95.
[4]Cf. the phrases listed in Raven, OTI 167.

ferred to in II Samuel 1:18. While other written records are not referred to by name, it is quite likely that the official archives were consulted, including the "Acts of David" composed by Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (according to the statement in I Chron. 29:29).

The Preservation of the Text

For some reason, the text of I and II Samuel seems to have been more poorly preserved in the Masoretic recension than any other book in the Bible. A likely explanation is that the official temple text drawn up in the intertestamentary period[5] relied upon a very ancient *Vorlage* (or earlier manuscript from which it was copied) which contained occasional lacunae (perhaps due to a worm-eaten or frayed condition resulting from overuse). This, for example, would account for the absence of any number preceding the word for "years" in I Samuel 13:1 (ASV). But a study of the Septuagint version of Samuel indicates that its *Vorlage* was in somewhat better condition than that of the Masoretic tradition, and hence it is extraordinarily useful for the textual criticism of these two books. Several important fragments have been discovered in the Qumran caves containing a Hebrew text appreciably closer to that of the Septuagint than to the MT.[6] (Yet even the Septuagint offers no help in discovering the missing number in I Sam. 13:1.) Or again, in I Samuel 12:11 a letter *'ayin* apparently dropped out the name Abdon, one of the twelfth century judges (cf. Judg. 12:13-15); hence his name comes out as B-D-N, rather than '-B-D-N and is vocalized by the Masoretes as "Bedan."

Alleged Inconsistencies in the Narrative

Many of the inconsistencies which divisive critics have pointed out in their analysis of the books of Samuel can be made out only by a deliberate policy of artificial dissection. If the text is read and accepted as it stands, a perfectly obvious reconciliation is apparent. Yet there are a few passages where a harmonizing explanation is not quite so ready at hand.

Some have insisted that the tribal background of Samuel himself was variously given in I Samuel 1 and I Chronicles 6, the latter making Samuel out to have been a Levite of the subtribe of Kohath. Yet I Samuel 1:1 asserts that Elkanah was an Ephraimite, since his home was in Ramathaim-zophim. But actually this latter verse says nothing about Elkanah's tribal affiliation, and only indicates his place of residence. According to the Torah the Levites had no particular tribal territory of their own, but were to be settled in forty-eight different Levitical cities scattered among the twelve tribes (cf. Num. 35:6). There is no reason why Ramathaim or Ramah may not have been one of the cities in Ephraim set apart for the Levites.

[5]Cf. Chap. 3, p. 36.
[6]Cf. Chap. 3, p. 34.

Another difficulty has been found in the twofold introduction of young David to King Saul. In I Samuel 16:14-23 he is introduced as a harpist employed to soothe Saul's troubled spirit. In I Samuel 17:55-58 Saul apparently has to be introduced to him all over again. But a more careful study of this "second introduction" indicates that Saul's only concern at this point was to learn the name of David's father, or rather what kind of man his father was, in view of Saul's policy of attaching the most valiant warriors in his kingdom to his personal bodyguard (I Sam. 14:52). It was quite appropriate for him to look into the possibilities of appointing Jesse or some of his other sons to his elite corps, after being treated to an example of the prowess of his youngest son in slaying the giant Goliath. I Samuel 18:1 suggests that a lengthy conversation ensued after Saul put his question to Abner concerning David, and we may reasonably infer that much more than mere names would have been discussed at that time.

One interesting problem arises in connection with David's encounter with Goliath. Although I Samuel 17 states that Goliath was killed by David, II Samuel 21:19 (ASV) indicates that the giant met his death at the hands of Elhanan. Even though the Septuagint follows closely the reading of the MT in this latter verse, it is quite obvious that a scribal error has marred the transmission of the original text. Fortunately I Chronicles 20:5 affords great assistance in discovering how the error took place. In Chronicles the verse reads: "And Elḥanan the son of Jair slew Laḥmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite." The copyist of II Samuel 21:19 apparently mistook the sign of the direct object (*'t*) for the word *beyt* (probably because the manuscript was smudged or eroded before the final *t*), and thus changed Laḥmi into "the Bethlehemite" (Hebrew: B-t-h-l-ḥ-m-y); then for a similar reason he misread the word brother (*'-ḥ*) for the sign of the direct object (*'-t*), which meant that Goliath himself became the object of the slaying instead of Goliath's brother. In the fifth century B.C. the Hebrew *ḥet* (*ḥ*) greatly resembled the appearance of the letter taw (*t*) and also the letter *yod* had become very tiny. Additional evidence that the verse was poorly copied in II Samuel 21 is afforded by the intrusion of the name *Oregim* after *Jaare*. As I Chronicles 20 shows, this word *'ōrᵉgīm,* meaning "weavers," belonged only after the word for "beam." This transmissional error must have arisen at a time when the letter *ḥet* already resembled *taw* in appearance, but before the Septuagint was translated; that is, between the fifth century and the third century B.C.

Other parallels which are allegedly inconsistent include those two occasions when David had Saul in his power so that he could have killed him in his sleep. (But under the peculiar conditions accompanying the pursuit of guerrillas in mountainous terrain it is quite possible that this could have happened twice.) Or again, in the several episodes of reconciliation and alienation between Saul and David, temporary re-establish-

ment of friendship would be followed by a sudden outbreak of murderous hatred. And yet it should be recognized that in view of Saul's dementia and progressive deterioration under the eroding influence of a besetting envy and a profound sense of insecurity, this sequence of events is altogether true to life. Neither here nor in any of the other less significant examples which source critics have brought up are there any genuine discrepancies to be found.

I AND II KINGS

As has already been indicated, these two books were originally counted as one in the Hebrew canon. The title is altogether appropriate in view of the subject matter, for the books contain a record of the careers of the kings of Israel and Judah from the time of Solomon to the downfall of the Jewish monarchy before the armies of Nebuchadnezzar in 587 B.C. As pointed out before, the Septuagint reckons these two books as III and IV Kingdoms (*Basileiōn*).

The theme of these two books was to demonstrate on the basis of Israel's history that the welfare of the nation ultimately depended upon the sincerity of its faithfulness to the covenant with Jehovah, and that the success of any ruler was to be measured by the degree of his adherence to the Mosaic constitution and his maintenance of a pure and God-honoring testimony before the heathen. The purpose of this record was to set forth those events which were important from the standpoint of God and His program of redemption. The author had no intention of glorifying Israel's heroes out of nationalistic motives; hence he omitted even those passing achievements which would have assumed great importance in the eyes of a secular historian. His prime concern was to show how each successive ruler dealt with God in his covenant responsibilities.

Outline of I and II Kings

I. The Reign of Solomon, I Kings 1:1–11:43
   - A. David's final arrangements and the suppression of Adonijah, 1:1–2:11
   - B. The beginning of Solomon's reign, 2:12-46
   - C. Solomon's prayer for wisdom after his marriage to Pharaoh's daughter, 3:1-28
   - D. Solomon's administration of the kingdom, 4:1-34
   - E. Solomon's erection of the temple, 5:1–7:51
   - F. Dedication of temple and bestowal of God's promise, 8:1-66
   - G. Solomon's wealth and glory; the Queen of Sheba, 9:1–10:29
   - H. Solomon's apostasy and decline, 11:1-43

II. The Early Kings of the Divided Monarchy, 12:1–16:28
   A. Rehoboam's folly; the revolt under Jeroboam, 12:1–14:31
   B. Abijah and Asa of Judah, 15:1-24
   C. Nadab, Baashah, and Elah of Israel, 15:25–16:14
   D. Zimri and Omri of Israel, 16:15-28

III. The Period of Alliance Between Judah and Israel, I Kings 16:29–II Kings 9:37
   A. Ahab and Elijah, in the test on Mount Carmel, I Kings 16:29–18:46
   B. Ahab and Elijah until Ahab's death at Ramoth-Gilead, 19:1–22:53
   C. Ahaziah of Israel; II Kings 1:1-18
   D. The anointing of Elisha and death of Elijah, 2:1-25
   E. Jehoram and Jehoshaphat against the Moabites, 3:1-27
   F. Miracles of Elisha; the cleansing of Naaman, 4:1–5:27
   G. Wars with Ben-Hadad and the deliverance of Samaria, 6:1–7:20
   H. Elisha's mission to Hazael and Jehu; the death of Jezebel, 8:1–9:37

IV. The Decline and Fall of Israel, 10:1–17:41
   A. Jehu's extermination of the house of Omri and the worshipers of Baal, 10:1-36
   B. Athaliah and Joash of Judah, 11:1–12:21
   C. Jehoahaz and Jehoash of Israel, 13:1-25
   D. Amaziah and Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah, 14:1-22; 15:1-7
   E. Jeroboam II, 14:23-29
   F. The last kings of Israel: Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, Pekah, Hoshea, 15:8-31
   G. Jotham and Ahaz of Judah, 15:32–16:20
   H. The fall of Samaria; its resettlement by semi-converted pagans, 17:1-41

V. The Jewish Monarchy after the Fall of Samaria, 18:1–25:30
   A. Hezekiah and Sennacherib, 18:1–19:37
   B. Hezekiah's illness; his display of wealth to the Chaldean envoys, 20:1-21
   C. Wicked King Manasseh; his son Amon, 21:1-26
   D. The reforms of Josiah, 22:1–23:30
   E. The final kings and the fall of Jerusalem, 23:31–25:21
   F. Assassination of Gedaliah; favor shown to Jehoiachin, 25:22-30

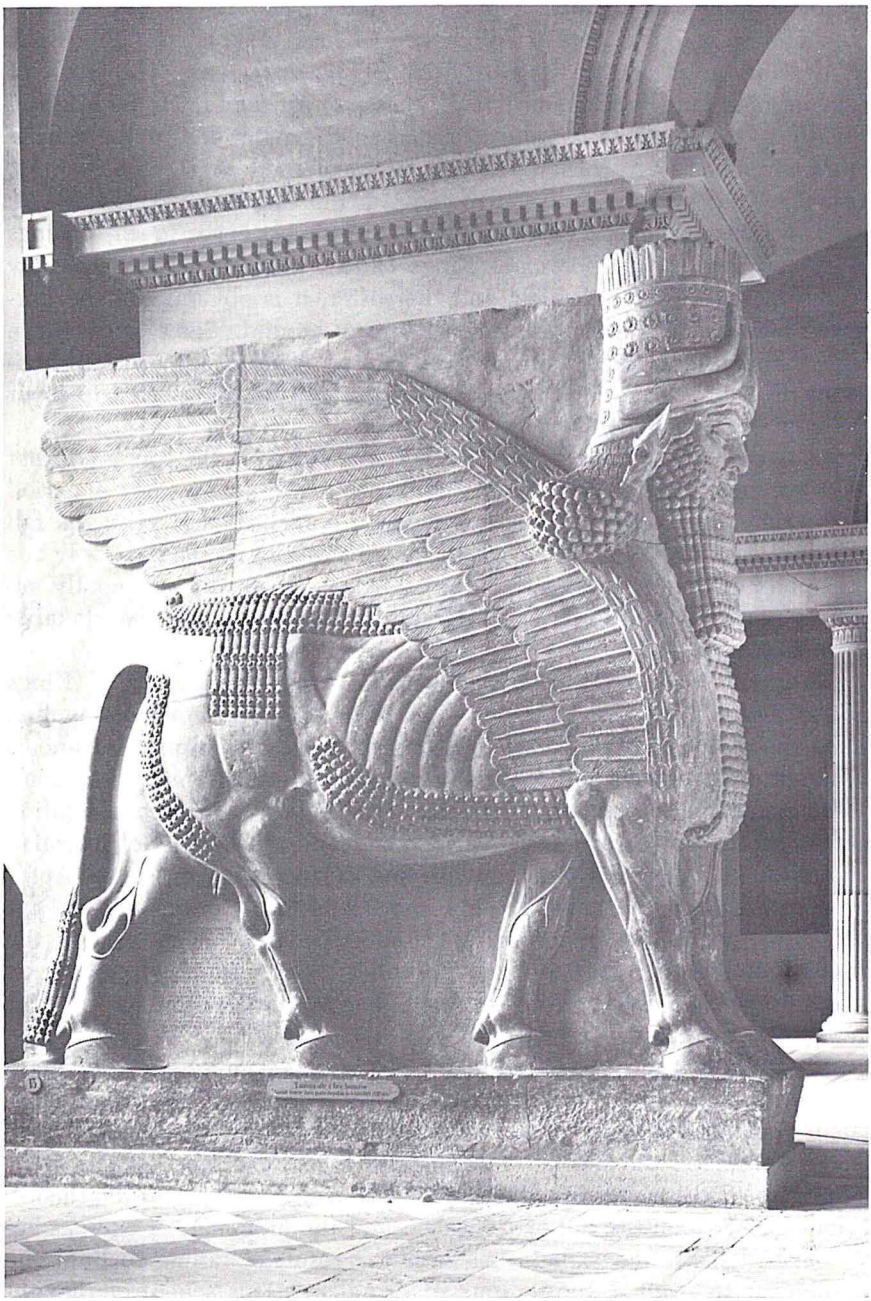
As to the sources of this work, it is obvious that the prophetic author has drawn even more largely upon prior written documents than did the

author of Judges or Samuel. Three such documents are actually named: (1) "The Book of the Acts of Solomon" (I Kings 11:41); (2) "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" (*passim*); (3) "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" (*passim*). It may fairly be inferred that these three works largely consisted in the notations of the official court chronicler or recorder, the *mazkīr* mentioned in II Samuel 8:16. Also not cited but obviously borrowed is a fourth source, Isaiah 36–39, large sections of which have been taken over almost verbatim in II Kings 18–20. (Since the author of II Kings carries the narrative of Hebrew history to the fall of Jerusalem and thereafter, it is obvious that he borrowed from Isaiah rather than the other way around. Some critics have argued that the Isaiah chapters were copied from Kings, but the evidence on which they have relied can just as well be interpreted to favor the opposite conclusion.)

As to the date of the composition, it is obvious from the foregoing that prior written sources were relied upon, coming from as early a period as the reign of Solomon. Final composition is to be dated after the fall of Jerusalem, probably in the early Exile; yet it is possible that only the final chapter comes from Exilic times, inasmuch as the frequently recurring phrase "unto this day" throughout the book indicates unmistakably a pre-Exilic perspective.

Talmudic tradition asserts that Jeremiah was the author of Kings (*Baba Bathra* 15a), a suggestion which commends itself to Steinmueller. Since the author speaks from a consistently prophetic standpoint and is a man of great literary ability, it is possible that Jeremiah may have composed everything except the final chapter. One very strong consideration in favor of this conjecture is that there is no mention whatever of Jeremiah himself in the chapters dealing with Josiah and his successors. Apart from modesty on the part of the author, it is hard to account for the failure to mention so important a factor in Judah's history as was the ministry of Jeremiah, her last great prophet. As for the final chapter, it seems to have been written by someone dwelling in Babylon rather than in Egypt, where Jeremiah met his death.

Liberal criticism regards the books of Kings as composed of two main strata, one a pre-Exilic source which knows nothing of the fall of Jerusalem and regards worship on the high places outside Jerusalem as perfectly legitimate; the second stratum comes from the work of the Deuteronomic school which flourished about 550 B.C., according to the theory. It looks back upon the fall of Jerusalem and the judgment of exile as accomplished facts, and explains them as the result of failing to limit the worship of Jehovah to the temple at Jerusalem. This school of thought allegedly reinterpreted Israelite history so as to imply condemnation even for King Solomon for sacrificing at Gibeah prior to the erection of his temple. It goes without saying that the theory of a Deuteronomic



Huge stone bull with human face from the palace of Sargon II, probable conqueror of Samaria.

(Courtesy of the Louvre)

school depends upon the Josianic dating of the book of Deuteronomy, the evidence for which is being increasingly recognized as too slender for successful defense. That the attitude of Deuteronomy frequently emerges in the moral judgments of I and II Kings may be freely admitted, but this is admirably accounted for by the Mosaic authorship of that book. (The same is true of the Deuteronomic influences which have been noted in the books of Samuel and Judges. Obviously the authors of these earlier works were familiar with Deuteronomy as well as the rest of the Torah, and considered it to be authoritative because given by the inspired author Moses.)

Problems of Chronology

In the earlier days of Old Testament scholarship considerable difficulty was encountered in harmonizing the numbers given in the books of Kings for the reigns of the various rulers of the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. In the case of the Jewish kings particularly, when all the regnal years were added, they came to a total considerably greater than that which could have elapsed between the death of Solomon and the fall of Jerusalem. Later research, however, demonstrated the fact that in many instances the crown prince or immediate successor to the throne was formally crowned and his reign officially begun even in the lifetime of his father. In the case of Uzziah, to take an extreme example, he seems to have been crowned as secondary king back in 790 after his father, Amaziah, had been reigning but six years. He became sole king in 767 when Amaziah died. In 751 he was smitten with the plague of leprosy and had to be set aside from his governmental responsibilities, for the most part at least. His son Jotham was then crowned (in 751) and reigned till his death in 736; but before that happened, in 743 his son Ahaz was crowned as co-regent and reigned until his death in 728. Thus it transpired that between 743 and 739 Judah was ruled over by no less than three kings at once: Uzziah, Jotham, and Ahaz.

Much light has been thrown upon the chronology of the Hebrew dynasties by the synchronisms (or simultaneous dates) contained in the Assyrian monuments. Of especial importance are the Assyrian eponym lists which cover the history of the empire from 893 to 666 B.C. There is also the Greek Canon of Ptolemy (who lived from A.D. 70 to 161), giving the reigns of the kings of Babylon from 747 B.C. onward into the Graeco-Roman period. Astronomical verification of an eclipse which Ptolemy dated as occurring in 522 B.C. has served as a valued reassurance of his accuracy. Contemporary official monuments, such as the Black Stela of Shalmeneser III and the Taylor Cylinder of Sennacherib, occasionally contain dated references to Israelite kings. From such data as these it has been established that there were numerous co-regencies in both Judah

and Israel, and that the years of the co-regency were reckoned in the total figure for the reign of each king involved.

It has also been established[7] that there was a difference in calendar reckoning between the Northern and Southern Kingdoms. The "non-accession-year" system of dating counted the remainder of the calendar year in which a king was crowned to be his first year. This meant that even though he was crowned as late as the last day of the previous year, that one day would be counted as year one in his reign, and year two would begin on the next day when the calendar new year had its commencement. According to the "accession-year" system, however, the year in which the king was crowned was not counted in the numbering at all, but year one of his reign would commence with the following new year. In the case of Judah, from the time of the Schism in 930 B.C. until about 850 the accession-year system was followed. Then from the reign of Jehoram ben Ahab to the reign to Joash ben Ahaziah, the non-accession year system of the Northern Kingdom was followed. Lastly, from the time of Amaziah to the fall of Jerusalem (796 to 587 B.C.), Judah reverted to the accession-year system. As for the Northern Kingdom, it began with the non-accession-year system in 930 and continued it till about 800 B.C. From the time of Jehoash ben Jehoahaz to the fall of Samaria (798-722 B.C.) it shifted to the accession-year method of computation. Thus it could happen that what was reckoned in Judah as Jehoshaphat's tenth year would be regarded in Israel as Jehoshaphat's ninth year.

A still further complication was introduced by the fact that the Northern Kingdom began its new year in Nisan or Abib, the first month of the religious year. With equal consistency the kingdom of Judah throughout its history used the month of Tishri or Ethanim (the seventh month of the religious year) as the first month of its secular year, and computed all dates and reigns on that basis. Why this difference arose, it is impossible to determine; nevertheless it must be taken into account in handling cases where there appears to be a one-year discrepancy in dating.

At this point it should be added that since chronology is a branch of historical science, it is constantly subject to revision. Even among conservative scholars there is some divergence. Thiele computes the time of the Schism as 931 B.C., whereas Payne makes it 930. A certain amount of flexibility must always be preserved and appropriate adjustments made as new evidence comes in.

A more recent work on the later history of Judah has come out under the name of D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings in the British Museum* (1956). The tablets published in this work give a series of precise dates between 626 and 566 B.C. They indicate that Nabopolassar, the father of Nebuchadnezzar, was officially crowned November 23, 626, after defeating the Assyrian army at Babylonia. Asshuruballiṭ II, who

[7]Cf. E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (1951).

assumed the Assyrian throne after the fall of Nineveh in 612, was compelled to abandon his defenses in Haran in the year 610. The battle of Megiddo, at which Josiah perished, took place in 609, and in the same year or the following year, 608, Jehoiakim began his reign under the sponsorship of Necho, shifted allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, and died in 598. The epoch-making battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated the allied armies of Egypt and Assyria, took place in May or June of 605. Nabopolassar died on August 16, 605, and on September 7 Nebuchadnezzar was crowned in Babylon as his successor. In 601 the Babylonian armies were temporarily defeated by the Egyptians on the Egyptian border after a fierce battle. (This fact, not previously known, helps to explain why Jehoiakim risked rebellion against Babylon in the last years of his reign.) Jerusalem capitulated to Nebuchadnezzar the first time on March 15 or 16, 597. In that same month Zedekiah received his appointment as king. Last of all, Jerusalem fell in July, 587.

These tablets clear up one discrepancy between II Kings 24:12, which dates the 597 capture of Jerusalem as the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, and Jeremiah 52:28, which dates it as occurring in his seventh year. It is apparent that at the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar was in sole command of the Chaldean troops, and may well have been recognized in the West as *de facto* king already; hence the Jewish historian of II Kings regarded 605/604 as his first regnal year. But in Babylon, which used the non-accession-year system, his reign did not officially begin until 604/603. Apparently Jeremiah followed the official Babylonian reckoning in this instance.

One thorny problem has arisen in connection with the date of Sennacherib's invasion of Palestine and siege of Jerusalem as recorded in Isaiah 36, 37 and II Kings 18, 19. The monuments of Sennacherib report such an invasion as having occurred in 701 B.C., and it has usually been assumed that this was the time of the great crisis recorded in the Hebrew account. But documents more recently discovered afford some evidence that Tirḥaqa, who is stated to have led the Egyptian army that unsuccessfully tried to raise the siege of Jerusalem (but was defeated by Sennacherib at Eltekeh), could hardly have been older than six years of age by 701 B.C. If this was the same Tirḥaqa, the only reasonable conclusion to draw would be that the invasion recorded in Isaiah and Kings must have been a good deal later, possibly in the 680's B.C. (Such is the view of W. F. Albright and many others.) This would entail the consequence of a major shift in the regnal years of the Jewish kings of this period, since Hezekiah would necessarily have lived until the late 680's rather than dying in 698 or 696.

There is, however, a very good possibility that there was more than one Tirḥaqa, and that it was a Tirḥaqa I who commanded the Egyptian Ethiopian forces in 701 B.C. The Tirḥaqa who appears as a leader of

the Egyptian revolt in the records of Ashurbanipal and who would have been six years old in 701, would have been either the son or grandson of the older Tirḥaqa. Earlier Egyptian history contains many such examples; there were four Amenemhats, three Senwosrets, four Amenḥoteps, and a very large number of Rameses—at least twelve of them by the end of the New Kingdom. In the Twenty-fourth Dynasty there were two kings by the name of Apries (Egyptian: Uaḥibra'), and in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty no less than three who were named Psammeticus (Egyptian Psamtik). Hence it is not unreasonable to assume that there were two Tirḥaqas.

21

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROPHETS OBADIAH, JOEL AND JONAH

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROPHETS

IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED that according to the terminology of the Hebrew Bible the Former Prophets include four books which we have already discussed—Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings. Although these books deal with the history of Israel, they were composed from a prophetic viewpoint and possibly even the authors themselves may have been prophets by profession. But the books considered in this and the next six chapters are classified in the Hebrew Bible as the Latter Prophets. These are subdivided into the Major Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel), and the twelve Minor Prophets, whose writings could all be included in one large scroll, which came to be known in Greek as the *Dōdecaprophēton.*

The Nature of Hebrew Prophecy

By way of general definition, a prophecy is an oral or written disclosure in words through a human mouthpiece transmitting the revelation of God and setting forth His will to man. In the broader sense even events, such as the crossing of the Red Sea or the episode of the brazen serpent, may have a prophetic significance in that their importance is not exhausted by the historical occurrence itself. They in turn point forward to an antitypical fulfillment in the times of the Messiah. The ordinances of the tabernacle and the priesthood were fraught with prophetic significance, for often they provided types pointing to the person and work of the Lord Jesus. Under this heading may be included the priesthood of Aaron, the tabernacle itself, the various articles of furniture which it contained, the rituals of sacrifice, and so forth. In this broader sense, then, a great portion of the Old Testament constitutes prophecy; but in the narrower sense the term is confined to the discourses of those specially chosen and anointed men who occupied the prophetic office.

Even among these men, however, there was a considerable number

whose utterances were never preserved in written form, although their messages are indirectly alluded to in the various historical books. Such was the case with men like Nathan and Gad of David's generation, and in the later period Shemaiah, Ahijah, Elijah, Micaiah, Elisha, Oded, and many others. These are known as the oral prophets, since their messages were transmitted only by word of mouth. In most cases their messages were addressed largely to contemporary crises in the life of Israel and did not have a permanent significance for coming generations in the same sense and to the same degree as did the writings of the prophetic canon. But where a revelation of God contained information relevant to the succeeding ages, the Holy Spirit inspired the authors to commit their messages to writing. These, then, are the documents which have been preserved to us as the Major and Minor Prophets.

The Nature of the Prophetic Office

The responsibility of the Old Testament prophets was not principally to predict the future in the modern sense of the word "prophesy," but rather to tell forth the will of God which He had communicated by revelation. The Hebrew word "to prophesy" is *nibba'* (the *niphal* stem of *nābā'*), a word whose etymology is much disputed. The best founded explanation, however, seems to relate this root to the Akkadian verb *nabū*, which means "to summon, announce, call." In the prologue of Hammurabi's Code the Babylonian king asserts that he was *nibit Bel* ("called of Baal") and that the gods *nibiū* (that is, "called" or "appointed") him to be their viceroy on earth. Thus the verb *nibba'* would doubtless signify one who has been called or appointed to proclaim as a herald the message of God Himself. From this verb comes the characteristic word for prophet, *nābī'*, one who has been called. On this interpretation the prophet was not to be regarded as a self-appointed professional whose purpose was to convince others of opinions of his own, but rather he was one called by God to proclaim as a herald from the court of heaven the message to be transmitted from God to man.

A second designation often applied to the earlier prophets particularly was "the man of God" (*'īsh 'Elōhīm*). This title implied that the prophet must be a man who belonged first and foremost to God, was wholly devoted to His cause, and enjoyed His personal fellowship. Therefore he could be trusted to transmit God's word, because he spoke only as God enlightened him and guided him to speak.

A third term applied to the prophets was that of "seer" (Hebrew *ḥōzeh* or *ro'eh*). The implication of this title was that the prophet would not be deluded by external semblance or the deceitful appearances of the material world, but rather would see the issues as they really were from the perspective of God Himself. As a seer the prophet might receive special visions and *ab extra* revelations from the Lord and be thus qualified

to convey the spiritual realities which other men could not see. As a seer he would avoid evolving ideas or opinions of his own mind and would confine himself to that which God had actually shown him. Related to the term *ḥōzeh* was *ḥāzūt,* a significant word for prophecy, which appears in the title of Isaiah's prophecies (Isa. 1:1). Or else the verb "to see," *hāzah,* might be so employed as in Amos 1:1 ("the words of Amos which he saw").

In the earliest period the prophetic function was assigned to the Levitical priests, who were charged with the responsibility of teaching the implications of the Mosaic Law for daily conduct in the practical issues of life. But even the Torah envisioned the possibility of a special class of prophets distinct from the priests and playing the role analogous to that of Moses (cf. Deut. 18—a passage which not only predicts the Messianic Prophet but also establishes the prophetic order as such). As the priesthood became increasingly professionalistic in attitude and lax in practice (as for example Hophni and Phinehas, the sons of Eli), a new teaching order arose to maintain the integrity of the covenant relationship in the heart of Israel. Some of these prophets came from the priestly tribe of Levi, such as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but the majority came from the other tribes.

The Function of Hebrew Prophecy

As has already been suggested, the function of the prophet went beyond mere prediction of things to come. Four principal elements may be defined in the ministry of the Old Testament prophets.

1. The prophet had the responsibility of encouraging God's people to trust only in Jehovah's mercy and delivering power, rather than in their own merits of strength or in the might of human allies. Just as Moses admonished the Israelites to trust God for the impossible at times when they faced the menaces of the Egyptians or Canaanites, so the great eighth century prophets exhorted their countrymen to put their whole dependence upon the delivering power of the Lord rather than upon the assistance of human allies such as Assyria or Egypt.

2. The prophet was responsible to remind his people that safety and blessedness were conditioned upon their faithful adherence to the covenant, and that this adherence involved not only doctrinal conviction but a sincere submission of their will to obey God with their whole heart and lead a godly life. Apart from such submission no amount of sacrifice or ritualistic worship could satisfy the Lord. In other words, a saving faith involves a sanctified walk. This is perhaps the foremost emphasis in the prophets: "Bring no more vain oblations . . . your hands are full of blood. . . . Cease to do evil; learn to do well. . . . Come now, and let us reason together . . ." (Isa. 1:13-18). It is not that the prophets regarded moral living as the essence of religion, but rather they understood a godly

walk to be the infallible product of a saving faith. They recognized that all men were guilty before God and utterly without hope apart from His redeeming grace (cf. Ps. 14:2, 3; 130:3; Prov. 20:9; I Kings 8:46; Isa. 53:6; 59:4, 12-16; 64:6; Mic. 7:2); no one could be saved by his own virtue or goodness. But on the other hand Israel needed to be reminded (as does the professing church in modern times) that God would accept no substitute for a sincere faith which expresses itself by a law-honoring life. As various moral issues came up, it was naturally the function of the prophets to interpret and apply the Law of Moses to contemporary conditions. They never regarded their teaching prerogative as more than ancillary and interpretive of the uniquely authoritative Torah.

3. The prophet was to encourage Israel in respect to the future. All too often the efforts at revival sponsored by godly kings or promoted by the prophets on their own initiative succeeded in reaching only a small percentage of the population. The controlling majority of the nation would remain hardened in disobedience. Such intransigence could only mean an eventual incurring of divine wrath according to the warnings of Leviticus 26 and Deuteronomy 28, until the covenant nation would be finally expelled from the land of promise. The question naturally arose, would these divine judgments bring Israel to an end as a holy nation set apart to witness to the heathen of the one true God? God's answer through His prophets was that after devastation and exile would come the restoration of the believing remnant of Israel to the land. The nation would yet fulfill its destiny as a testimony to the Gentiles under the leadership of the coming Messiah. This assurance of the future, of the ultimate triumph of the true faith was well calculated to strengthen the sincere believers within Israel to keep faith with God and keep on trusting Him in the face of all contrary appearances and hostile circumstances.

4. Hebrew prophecy was to seal the authoritativeness of God's message by the objective verification of fulfilled prophecy. Thus in Deuteronomy 18 the test of a true prophet was stated to be the fulfillment of what he predicted. Sometimes these fulfillments would come in a relatively short time, as in the case of the scoffing nobleman of II Kings 7, who derided Elisha's claim that the price of flour would drop to a mere fraction of famine rates within twenty-four hours. On other occasions the fulfillment was so far in the future as to be beyond the experience of the generation living at the time the prophecy was given. In such a case naturally the verification would be of benefit only to future ages; nevertheless, circumstances might call for this type of confirmation. "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them" (Isa. 42:9). "And who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it, and set it in order for me, since I appointed the ancient people? And the things that are coming, and shall come, let them show unto them. Fear ye not, neither be ye afraid; have

not I told thee from that time, and have declared it? Ye are even my witnesses" (Isa. 44:7, 8). This last utterance was connected with a prediction of the liberation of the Jews by Cyrus, an event which was not to take place for one hundred fifty years. Again and again the phrase recurs—especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel—as future events are foretold: "And they shall know that I am Jehovah" (i.e., the covenant-keeping God of Israel). This knowledge was to come to observers after the judgments predicted actually befell the offenders threatened. It was recognized by all that such fulfillment of predictive prophecy would provide objective evidence incapable of any other explanation than that He who imparted the prediction was the same Lord of history who would bring its fulfillment to pass. They rightly saw that any other attempted explanation would involve a surrender of man's reason to an authoritarian demand on the part of the dogmatic rationalist for a blind faith in his logically untenable position.

OBADIAH

This shortest book in the Old Testament, consisting of only twenty-one verses, bears the distinction of being the most difficult of all the prophecies to date. Even conservative scholars have offered conflicting conjectures which range all the way from the reign of Jehoram ben Jehoshaphat (848-841 B.C.) to 585, soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (a date preferred by Luther). Most liberal scholars prefer 585 as the time of composition, although a few like Pfeiffer divide it up into two different sources, the later of which wrote at some time during the Exile or soon after the fall of Babylon in 539.

Outline of Obadiah

I. The Coming Destruction of Edom, 1-9
   A. The downfall of impregnable Sela, 1-4
   B. The city to be plundered, devastated and forsaken, 5-9

II. The Cause of Edom's Judgment: Her Malice Against Israel, 10-14

III. The Coming Day of the Lord, 15-21
   A. The impending judgment upon Edom and the rest of the heathen, 15, 16
   B. The future deliverance of Israel, 17-20
   C. The ultimate Messianic kingdom, 21

Time of Composition

As already indicated, some scholars place the authorship of this little book in the period immediately following the fall of Jerusalem. Others,

such as J. H. Raven and J. D. Davis, prefer to date it in the reign of Ahaz (743-728 B.C.), and interpret its historical allusions as referring to his defeats at the hands of the Edomites and Philistines. (II Chron. 28:17, 18 records how these two nations attacked Judah from the south and west soon after the northern coalition of Israel and Damascus had inflicted serious reverses on the armies of Ahaz.) A serious difficulty with this view, however, is derived from the fact that no such capture and despoliation of Jerusalem is reported to have taken place during these campaigns as is implied in Obadiah 11.

A good majority of the evangelical scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have inclined toward a much earlier date, that of Jehoram, 848-841. This is the view espoused by Delitzsch, Keil, Kleinert, Orelli and Kirkpatrick. II Kings 8:20 states concerning Jehoram: "In his days Edom revolted from under the hand of Judah, and made a king over themselves." The succeeding verses speak of Jehoram's unsuccessful campaign against them in which he inflicted much damage but failed to subjugate them once again to Judah's suzerainty. II Chronicles 21:16, 17 adds these details: "And Jehovah stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians that are beside the Ethiopians: and they came up against Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives; so that there was never a son left him, save Jehoahaz, the youngest of his sons" (ASV). Piecing these items of information together, we find it quite probable that the Edomites co-operated with the Arabian-Philistine invasion as subordinate allies, and shared in the booty of Jerusalem when that unhappy capital fell to their combined efforts.

In this way we have a plausible historical setting for Obadiah 11: "In the day that thou stoodest on the other side, in the day that strangers carried away his substance, and foreigners entered into his gates, and cast lots upon Jerusalem, even thou wast as one of them." This verse implies that the enemies of Judah forced their way into Jerusalem and plundered its treasures. As the city was being looted, lots were cast by the co-operating marauders to decide which quarter of the town would be granted to each contingent for the purposes of plunder. Such a description hardly fits in with the complete and permanent destruction of the city such as was inflicted upon it by Nebuchadnezzar in 587-586. Moreover, as correctly translated in the ASV, verse 13 looks forward to other occasions when this same Jerusalem may again be attacked by invading foes: "Enter not into the gate of my people in the day of their calamity . . . neither lay ye hands on their substance in the day of their calamity." Such words would hardly be appropriate if Jerusalem were already a desolate heap of ruins, as the 585 date would imply. Hence we must look for some military action which involved the storming of Jeru-

salem but stopped short of its complete destruction; an engagement, moreover, in which the Edomites might well have played a part (as they probably did not do when the Chaldeans stormed the city in 587). The only recorded episode which fits all these conditions seems to be this invasion in the reign of Jehoram.

The 585 date is also imperiled by the strong evidence that the prophet Jeremiah had read and adapted for his own purposes Obadiah 1-9 (see Jer. 49:7-22). Jeremiah's passage is found as one in a series of oracles based to a large extent on the prophecies of earlier messengers of God. (Cf. Jer. 48 with Isa. 15, 16, and Jer. 49 with Amos 1:13ff.; 8:1ff.) Obadiah could hardly have borrowed from Jeremiah, for he expresses his sentiments more briefly and rapidly than does Jeremiah and in part also more heavily and abruptly. By smoothing down the rugged places in Obadiah's style of expression, Jeremiah shows himself to have been the adapter rather than the original source, and as adapter he has made the whole oracle more lucid and perspicuous.

The later date is largely based upon Obadiah 20, "And the captivity [Hebrew *gālūt*—'captivity'] of this host of the children of Israel . . . shall possess that of the Canaanites. . . ." Apart from the context this might well refer to the deportation of the total population of Judah into Babylonian exile, thus substantiating a 585 date; but *gālūt* may also refer to the capture of single individuals or limited groups of people. Thus Amos 1:9 refers to the guilt of the slave traders of Tyre who delivered over in "entire captivity" (*gālūt shᵉlēmah*) to the Edomites kidnapped individuals for use as slaves in the iron mines. In this case "entire captivity" cannot refer to the deportation of the entire population but only to the inhabitants of isolated communities captured in a sudden slave raid. This episode referred to by Amos must, of course, have happened in the eighth century, long before the Babylonian Captivity of 586 B.C. In Isaiah 20:4 the same term is used of the action of the king of Assyria in leading away Egyptian and Ethiopian prisoners after his victorious campaign in the Nile Valley—an incident which was to take place in the early seventh century, in the reign of Essarhaddon. Thus we may conclude that an author who wrote Obadiah 20 may have lived one or two centuries before the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The fulfillment of this verse is of course another matter, for it cannot be dated any earlier than the Hasmonean dynasty in the second century B.C., and very probably is to be sought for in the events of the last days of the millennial kingdom.

There is one obscure reference in verse 20, a distant locality called Sepharad, the identification of which is much disputed. An old rabbinic tradition relates it to the region of Spain; hence the Spanish Jews became known as the Sephardic communion. Other scholars relate it to the capital of Sardis in Asia Minor and cite recently discovered inscriptions in Aramaic referring to that district by the term S-p-r-d (these being

the consonants of the name Sepharad.)[1] But since there was no deportation or migration of the Jews to Sardis, so far as is known to us from ancient documents, this is hardly a plausible identification.[2] The most likely identification connects Sepharad with a district referred to as Shaparda in southwestern Media mentioned in an inscription of King Sargon of Assyria. It is well known that Sargon deported some of the ten tribes to the "cities of the Medes" (see II Kings 18:11). Therefore this locality would have been very appropriate to mention in Obadiah's prediction.

As already mentioned, some critics divide Obadiah into two sources. Lanchester dates Section A, verses 1-7, 10-14, soon after 586 B.C. and places Section B, verses 8, 9, 15-21, some time during the Exile or even later. R. H. Pfeiffer uses a different division: he makes Section A include verses 1-14, 15b and dates its composition about 460 B.C. (just prior to the time of Ezra). His Section B, comprising 15a, 16-21, comes from a later period which he does not more closely define. Eissfeldt divides the chapter about the same way as Pfeiffer, but he dates Section A as possibly earlier, perhaps soon after 587 B.C. It may seem surprising that so short a work should be parceled out to different authors by these source critics, but their methodology is essentially the same as that employed in the dissection of the larger books of the Old Testament. The effort is made on the basis of a very imperfect knowledge of ancient affairs to link up even the vaguest of references to contemporary affairs with the known historical conditions in each succeeding period, and to operate upon the principle that there is no genuine predictive prophecy but only *vaticinium ex eventu* (i.e., a prophecy after the event). In other words, so-called predictive prophecy is only a record of what has already happened.

As for Obadiah's message of the judgment of God which is to come upon Edom, it should be remembered that the Edomites were regarded by the prophets as typical of the malignant foes of Israel who hated and opposed all that Israel stood for in their witness to the one true God. Thus Edom becomes typical of the corrupt, hate-ridden world, ripe for apocalyptic judgment (cf. Isa. 34). But the prediction is made here that despite Edom's opposition, a future day is coming when Israel shall once

[1]See C. C. Torrey's article, "The Bilingual Inscription from Sardis," in *American Journal of Semitic Languages,* Oct., 1917. This contains the Aramaic text of a Lydian-Aramaic funerary inscription, in which the city of Sardis is mentioned twice, and is spelled S-P-R-D. Torrey feels certain (p. 190) that this is the city intended by Obadiah 20. It carries the date of the tenth year of Artaxerxes, but it is uncertain whether this refers to Artaxerxes I, as Torrey thinks (hence 454 B.C.), or Artaxerxes II, as Cook prefers (hence 394 B.C.). It certainly must be conceded that S-P-R-D could have referred to Sardis, so far as the spelling of the name goes. But the alternative possibility of Shaparda in Media provides exactly the same consonantal spelling, and it fits in much better with the known facts of Hebrew history.

[2]It should be noted that it is favored by the *New Bible Commentary* and by Lanchester in the *Cambridge Bible,* whose discussion in "Obadiah and Jonah," pp. 11-20, is both comprehensive and fair-minded—although he divides Obadiah into two sources.

more be put in sure possession of the Promised Land, including the surrounding territories of Mount Seir, Philistia, Gilead, and even Phoenicia as far as Zarephath. This future Israelite realm shall belong to Jehovah.

As to the fulfillment of this doom upon Edom, it may be fairly inferred from Malachi 1:3-5 that by Malachi's time (430 B.C.) the Edomites had already been driven from Sela and Mount Seir by the overwhelming forces of the Nabatean Arabs. Secular sources inform us that as early as the reign of Darius I (521-485) the Nabateans had pushed the Edomites out of their ancestral territory and driven them into the deserted regions of southern Judea. The Nabateans originally came from Nabaioth in the region of Kedar in northern Arabia. Seventh century Assyrian inscriptions refer to them as the *Nabaitai.* In the course of time the power of this Nabatean kingdom extended up into the Transjordanian region as far as Damascus. By New Testament times Damascus was held for a while at least by King Aretas of the Nabatean dynasty (cf. II Cor. 11:32). As for the dispossessed Edomites, the region in which they settled came to be known as Idumea, where they maintained an independent existence for a time until they were conquered by the Jewish king John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.) and forcibly converted to the Jewish faith. In the following century the dynasty of Herod the Great, descended from the Idumean stock, came into control of the kingdom of Judea.

JOEL

The name Joel means "Jehovah is God" (Hebrew *Yō'ēl*). The theme of this prophet was a solemn warning of divine judgment to be visited upon Israel in the day of Jehovah. This day of judgment is typified by the devastating locust plague which inflicts staggering economic loss upon the nation. But this plague in turn points forward to a time of final destruction to be meted out to all the forces of unbelief.

Outline of Joel

I. The Plague of Locusts as a Type of the Day of Jehovah, 1:1—2:11
   A. The tremendous devastation by the locust horde, 1:1-7
   B. This invasion a prefiguration of the human invaders of the future (Assyrians and Chaldeans), 1:8-20
   C. The day of Jehovah as a day of reckoning, 2:1-11

II. The Call to Repentance, 2:12-19
   A. The external forms of contrition as well as sincere heart repentance, 2:12-15
   B. Repentance on a nation-wide scale, including all classes and ages, 2:16, 17
   C. Promise of the returning mercy of the Lord (apparently fulfilled in the reign of Joash), 2:18, 19

III. Promise of Showers of Blessing, 2:20-32
  A. The terrible overthrow of Israel's invaders from the north, 2:20
    1. Sennacherib
    2. The world power of the last days
  B. Rain from the Lord after locust plague and drought, 2:21-27
  C. This rain a prefiguration of outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the last days (beginning at Pentecost), 2:28-32
    Meteoric signs the final phase of the last days (cf. Matt. 24:29)

IV. The Final Triumph of God in the Day of Jehovah, 3:1-21
  A. The final slaughter of unbelievers; divine judgment upon the final dictator, 3:1-16
    1. The foreshadowing judgment upon Phoenicia and Philistia, now oppressing Judah, 3:1-13
    2. The foreshadowing triumphs of the Maccabean age, 3:14-16
  B. Millennial triumph and peace for Jerusalem, including the whole family of the redeemed, 3:17-21

Time of Composition

The prophecy of Joel has been dated all the way from the ninth century to the fourth century B.C. by the various schools of criticism, conservative and liberal. But on the basis of internal evidence the most reasonable estimate is in the minority of King Joash, during the regency of Jehoiada, the high priest, about 830 B.C. For an excellent presentation of the arguments for an early date, see A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (1890). These evidences may be listed under three categories:

1. The type of government implied by these prophetic utterances best accords with a regency. There is no mention of a king; the elders and priests seem to bear the responsibility of national leadership. This would seem to imply that the king was a minor and that regents ruled in his place. According to II Kings 11:4, Joash was crowned at the age of seven and his uncle, Jehoiada, is said to have exercised a controlling influence in Judah even to the day of his death.

2. There is distinct evidence of borrowing as between Amos and Joel. For example, both Joel 3:18 and Amos 9:13 contain the promise, "The mountains shall drop sweet wine. . . ." While Joel might possibly have quoted from Amos, the contextual indications are that it was the other way around. Another example is found in Joel 3:16 where in the midst of a prophetic discourse he says, "The Lord also shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem." This same verse appears at the beginning of the prophecy of Amos, and it may fairly be inferred that Amos was using it as a sort of text from which he developed his

first sermon. On this basis, then, Joel must have been written earlier than Amos, that is, earlier than 755 B.C.

3. An even more conclusive argument is found in the array of enemies which are mentioned by the author as threatening Judah. There is no reference to the Assyrians or Chaldeans (to say nothing of the Persians), but the foes of Judah are stated to be the Phoenicians, the Philistines, the Egyptians, and the Edomites (cf. Joel 3:4, 19). This points to a period when Assyria and Babylon posed no threat but Egypt and the surrounding neighbors of Israel were still strong and aggressive. Even in the time of Joash, the power of Egypt was still to be feared; in Rehoboam's time Shishak (identified with Sheshonkh I, 947-925 B.C.) ravaged the kingdom and sacked the temple at Jerusalem; and in the reign of Asa occurred the dread invasion of Zerah, the general sent by Osorkon I (925-829) of the Ethiopian dynasty (*New Bible Dictionary*, p. 1359). In the time of Joash's grandfather, Jehoram, and even under Jehoshaphat, the Edomites and Philistines made incursions against Judah which were so successful that they even took the city of Jerusalem by storm (cf. II Kings 8:20-22; II Chron. 21:16, 17). At no time after the reign of Joash was the kingdom of Judah faced by this particular assortment of enemies. It should be added that at no time after the Chaldean period could Egypt have been regarded as an aggressive power, for it had all it could do to maintain its own independence. This would seem to eliminate the possibility of a date in the Persian or Greek period.

Among non-conservative critics of more recent times there is a tendency to date the prophecy of Joel just after the death of Josiah in 609 B.C. This is the position of A. S. Kapelrud (*Joel Studies*, 1948), who argues that the author was a contemporary of Jeremiah and Zephaniah and composed the entire book more or less as it stands. Usually, however, the critics place Joel after the Exile, in view of his foreknowledge of the Babylonian Captivity (2:32–3:1), but more especially because of the mention of the Greeks (*Yāvānim*) in 3:6. They proceed on the assumption that Greeks could not have been mentioned until after the time of the Alexandrian conquest in 330 B.C. But it should be noted that in this context the Greeks are mentioned as a very distant people, and the enormity of the guilt of the Phoenician slave traders is brought out by the fact that they had no scruples about selling Israelite captives even to regions so remote as those inhabited by the Greeks. It cannot be supposed that the Hellenic peoples were unknown to Israel in the pre-Exilic period, since they are found mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as early as the eighth century B.C.[3] Such a reference is quite incompatible with a situation where the Greeks have already made themselves the masters of the whole Persian empire, for at that later period they could not be considered remote from Palestine, as the text clearly implies. (Partly for

[3]J. E. Steinmueller, *Companion to Scripture Studies* (1942), Vol. II, p. 281.

this reason Pfeiffer prefers to date Joel around 350 B.C., in the time of Alexander's father, Philip of Macedon.)

These critics also advance the argument that Joel fails to mention the Northern Kingdom or the rule of any king of Judah or even the idolatrous high places (*bāmōt*). And yet it should be pointed out that none of these things are mentioned in Nahum or Zephaniah either, although both of them are admitted by the critics to date from the seventh century, prior to the Babylonian Exile. As Young points out (IOT 249), there was no particular occasion in Joel to mention the Northern Kingdom by name, for these prophetic discourses were directed only against Judah. It should be added that Joel occasionally employs the name Israel in such a way that it cannot be demonstrated conclusively whether it refers to the entire twelve tribes or only to the Northern Kingdom; therefore it is by no means certain that he ignored the latter completely. The critics have also pointed to verses like 1:9; 1:13 and 2:14 as indicating the practice of presenting a continual burnt offering before the Lord in the temple (the so-called *tāmīd*). They argue that since there is no mention of the *tāmīd* in the Torah until the P document was added in post-Exilic times, Joel must likewise have been post-Exilic. But of course this line of reasoning can carry no weight with those who have not already subscribed to the Documentary Theory.

Although many critics regard Joel as a single literary unit, there are others like Oesterley and Robinson who hold to the theory of dual authorship. Quite considerable portions of Joel which can be regarded as apocalyptic they have assigned to 200 B.C. on the ground of its alleged resemblance to intertestamental apocalyptic productions. Hence they interpret the phrase in 3:6, "the sons of the Grecians" (ASV), to refer to the Seleucid dynasty of Antiochus Epiphanes. Such radical interpretations as these are the outgrowth of an evolutionistic theory, rather than a legitimate deduction from the text itself. According to this view, it was only at a late stage in the history of Israel's religion that the genre of apocalyptic came into vogue. (By the term "apocalyptic" is meant that type of prophetic revelation which envisions the miraculous intervention of God in future history to deliver His people from all their foes and to make them supreme in the earth.) The evolutionary view regards this genre as a product of the despair which gripped the Jewish people after they had failed to achieve political greatness or independence by their own efforts. Not until after the disappointments of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. could the Jews have fallen into such a mood of despair, and turned so exclusively to God as their last and only hope of achieving a national destiny. But here again the force of the argument depends upon evolutionistic and antisupernatural assumptions. Extensive and radical surgery would be needed to excise all such passages from the pre-Exilic

prophets.[4] Moreover, it should be observed that by no stretch of the imagination can the Hebrew style of Joel's prophecy be regarded as belonging to the Persian or Greek period. Its purity of diction and its grammatical constructions point rather to an early pre-Exilic date of composition.

To sum up, then, the internal evidence agrees more closely with the period of 835 B.C. for the composition of this prophecy than with any other. The lack of reference to any reigning king on the throne of Judah, the implication that the responsibility of government rests upon the priests and elders, the allusion to the neighboring nations as the current foes of Judah (rather than Assyria, Babylonia or Persia)—all these factors point quite conclusively to the period of Joash's minority. The linguistic evidence perfectly accords with this early date, and makes a theory of post-Exilic composition quite untenable. It is fair to say that the arguments for a late date are largely based upon humanistic philosophical assumptions rather than upon reasonable deduction from the data of the text itself.

JONAH

The name Jonah (*Yōnāh*) means "dove." This prophet is mentioned in II Kings 14:25 as having predicted the wide extent of the conquests of Jeroboam II (793-753)—a prediction most congenial to such an earnest patriot as he. His native town was Gath-hepher in the tribe of Zebulun in northern Israel. His prophetic ministry would seem to have begun shortly before the reign of Jeroboam, or at least before that brilliant king had attained his more outstanding military triumphs. The theme of this prophecy (which is really a biography rather than a sermonic discourse) is that God's mercy and compassion extend even to the heathen nations on condition of their repentance. It is therefore Israel's obligation to bear witness to them of the true faith; and a neglect of this task may bring the nation, like Jonah himself, to the deep waters of affliction and chastisement. From the prophetic standpoint, Jonah's experience of the living entombment for three days in the belly of the whale serves as a type of the burial and resurrection of the Lord Jesus (Matt. 12:40). (Incidentally, it should be observed that the Hebrew text of Jonah 2:1 actually reads *dāg gādōl*, or "great fish," rather than a technical term for "whale." But since Hebrew possessed no special word for "whale," and since no true fish—as opposed to a marine mammal—is known to possess a stomach as capacious as a whale's, it is reasonable to adhere to the traditional interpretation at this point. The only other available term, *tannīn*, was too vague to be very serviceable here, since it could also mean "shark," "sea serpent," or even "dragon.")

[4]Cf. G. E. Ladd, "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" JBL, LXXVI, III (1957).

Outline of Jonah

I. God's Commission to Jonah Rejected, 1:1-3

II. Jonah's Flight and Jehovah's Pursuit, 1:4-17

III. Jonah's Prayer for Deliverance, 2:1-10

IV. God's Commission Renewed and Discharged at Nineveh, 3:1-9

V. Jonah's Grief at Nineveh's Repentance and Jehovah's Reply, 3:10–4:11

The Time of Composition

The text does not specify the author of this biographical account, but it is fair to assume that it was composed by Jonah himself at the latter end of his career as he looked back on the decisive turning point in his ministry. This would account for the use of the past tense in referring to Nineveh (3:3), for over a period of decades it might be expected that conditions would have changed in that city since the time of Jonah's visit. This would put the time of composition somewhere in the neighborhood of 760 B.C. Although the author does not speak of himself in the first person, this is no more surprising than the fact that Moses in the Torah always referred to himself in the third person, even as Xenophon in his *Anabasis* and Julius Caesar in his *Gallic Wars*.

Critics of the liberal viewpoint date the composition of Jonah about 430 B.C. on the supposition that it was composed as an allegory of a piece of quasi-historical fiction to oppose the "narrow nationalism" of Jewish leaders like Ezra and Nehemiah, at a time when the Samaritans were being excluded from all participation in the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem, and all the foreign wives were being divorced under the pressure of bigoted exclusivism. It was most timely for some anonymous advocate of a more universalistic ideal to produce a tract for the times that would call the nation back to a more liberal viewpoint. Thus the chief ground for the 430 date is a theory of the sequence of the development of ideas in the history of Israel's religion.

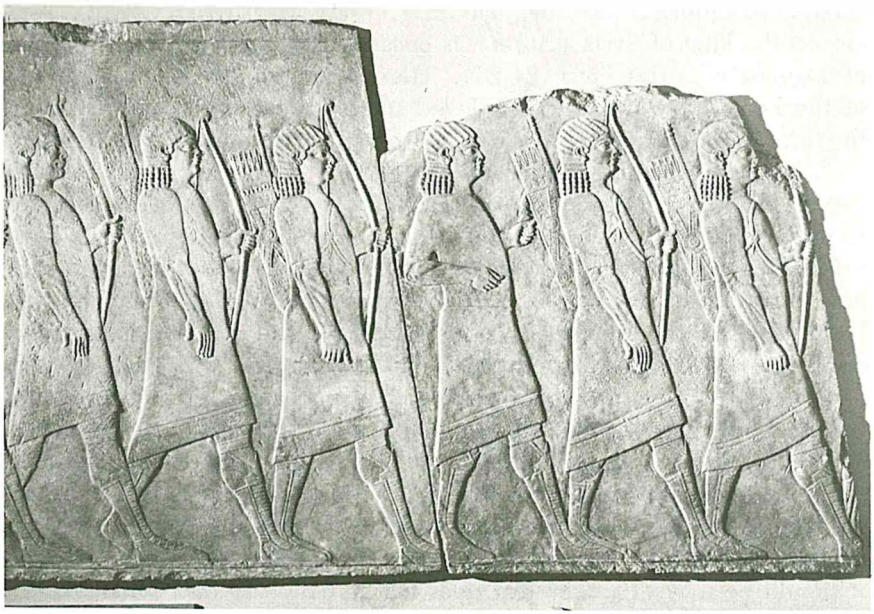
Following through with this concept of Jonah, its allegory is interpreted as follows: Jonah himself represents disobedient Israel; the sea represents the Gentiles; the whale stands for the Babylon of the Chaldean period; and the three days of Jonah's confinement in the whale's belly points to the Babylonian captivity. Just as Jonah was commanded to be true to his evangelistic responsibility to the heathen, so also it was the will of God in fifth century Judah for the Jews to rise to their opportunities of witness to the one true faith and cast aside the hampering limitations of hidebound exclusivism. As for the miraculous gourd whose

sudden demise so grieved Jonah's heart, this has been interpreted by some to refer to Zerubbabel.[5]

A closer examination of the text, however, shows that numerous features of the narrative can scarcely be fitted into the allegorical pattern. If the whale represented Babylon, what did Nineveh represent? As for the ship that set sail from Joppa, it is hard to see what this would correspond with in the allegory, nor is it clear why three days should be selected to represent seventy years of captivity. Furthermore, there is not the slightest historical evidence to show the existence of any such universalistic sentiment among the fifth century Jews, as this theory predicates. While there were undoubtedly some Jews who believed in maintaining harmonious relations with pagan neighbors, their motives seemed to have been materialistic and commercial rather than missionary in character. For critics to point to the books of Jonah and Ruth as testimonies to this zeal is simply a bit of circular reasoning: these two books must have been written at this period because they fit in with the supposed stage attained by Jewish thought as attested by these two books.

Historical Objections to Authenticity

In support of this theory of the quasi-historical character of Jonah, there are at least four main objections which are directed against the



Guards of the king. Relief from the palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh.
(Courtesy of the Louvre)

[5]Cf. Bentzen, IOT, Vol. II, p. 146.

credibility of the Biblical narrative as it stands. Each of these is now discussed in turn and their weaknesses pointed out.

1. It is said to be hardly conceivable that a king of Assyria would have been referred to merely as the "king of Nineveh" by a Hebrew author who lived back in the Assyrian period. Only a writer who lived at a much later age, long after Assyria had passed away, would have employed such terminology. But this explanation for Jonah's use of the title "king of Nineveh" can scarcely be regarded as satisfactory. No ancient author who ever referred to Nineveh in any of the records preserved to us (whether in Akkadian, Hebrew, Greek or Latin) seems to have been unaware that Nineveh was the capital of the Assyrian empire. It is therefore naive to suppose that a writer living in 430 B.C. imagined that the king of Nineveh was not also the king of Assyria. Certainly the Greek authors, like Herodotus of the fifth century and Xenophon of the fourth century, were well aware of the Assyrian empire and Herodotus at least of Nineveh as its capital. We must therefore look to some other explanation for this designation "the king of Nineveh" in the third chapter of Jonah. Well established Hebrew usage in the historical books of the Old Testament provides good analogies for this title. For example, although Ahab was stated to be the king of Israel (that is, of the entire Northern Kingdom), he is occasionally referred to as the "king of Samaria" (I Kings 21:1), inasmuch as Samaria was the capital of the realm. Similarly also, Ben-hadad, who was well known to the chronicler as the king of Syria (*Aram*), is occasionally referred to as the "king of Damascus" (II Chron. 24:23). Here again it was the capital city of the kingdom which was employed in this royal title. Jonah's use of the term "king of Nineveh" furnishes a perfect parallel to these examples.

2. It is also urged that Nineveh is spoken of in the past tense (*hāyᵉtah*, "was") in 3:3 . This could only mean that the city had long since ceased to exist; otherwise the author would have said, "And Nineveh was being (*tihyeh*) a great city." It is readily conceded that the author might well have expressed the size of Nineveh by use of the imperfect tense (*tihyeh*) had he chosen to do so; but it was evidently his particular purpose at that point in the narrative to stress the fact that Nineveh had already become a very sizable city (though it had probably become even larger by the time the book was written, that is, in 760 B.C.). The only way to express this thought, "had become," was by the use of the perfect tense, *hāyᵉtah*.

3. The enormous size attributed to Nineveh is obviously a fabulous element in the narrative. The author states it required three days to walk through the city because of the vastness of its dimensions (3:3, 4). Yet it should be noted that the text does not actually say that Jonah needed three days to walk through Nineveh without stopping. It only states that he took three days to go through it on his preaching mission. Street-corner preaching requires a fairly extended stop at each place the message

is delivered. Three days was certainly not too long a period to complete this assignment in a city which may well have contained as many as 600,000 inhabitants (judging from the 120,000 infants suggested by Jonah 4:11) in the eighth century.[6] To this should be added the population of the suburbs, which would naturally have been quite considerable. The whole administrative district of Nineveh was thirty to sixty miles in diameter.[7] From the context it is only fair to assume that the phrase "a walk of one day" (*mahalak yōm 'eḥād*) referred to that section of the metropolis which he was able to cover as he paused to preach at many different vantage points where he could catch the attention of the people.

4. It is declared to be quite inconceivable that any heathen city such as Nineveh would have repented so quickly and so generally in response to the exhortation of an unknown foreigner from a small and distant country. The king's decree that all the inhabitants should clothe themselves in sackcloth, and even drape their animals in the symbols of mourning, is nothing short of absurd. These too must be regarded as fabulous elements. Well, it must be admitted that such a ready response from a pagan populace was nothing short of miraculous, but the narrative makes it plain that the will and power of God Almighty were behind the whole enterprise. There would have been little point to God's insistence that Jonah go to Nineveh unless He Himself was prepared to make the prophet's preaching effectual. Who can define limits to the power of the Holy Spirit in bringing men under conviction when His truth is preached? If the Ninevites became apprehensive of a general destruction which would engulf the whole city, including the livestock as well as the human inhabitants, what could have been more appropriate from their standpoint than to clothe the very beasts with such symbols of contrition?

Apart from such theoretical considerations, moreover, there are also historical evidences that at one or two strategic periods during Jonah's ministry he would have found a congenial atmosphere for a monotheistic message. In all probability the king of Nineveh and Assyria at this time was Adad-Nirari III (810-783 B.C.). It is well known that this king confined his worship to the god Nebo, and thus advanced more definitely in the direction of monolatry than any other occupant of the Assyrian throne. Secondly, Steinmueller (CSS, Vol. II, p. 289) suggests that if Jonah came to Nineveh somewhat later, in the reign of Assurdan III (771-754), he would have found the populace psychologically prepared to expect a total catastrophe, for a serious plague had befallen the city in 765 and

[6]Felix Jones in 1834 estimated the circuit of the walls of Kuyunjik, ancient Nineveh, as seven and three-fourths miles in length, and its probable number of inhabitants as 175,000 or more. See *New Bible Dictionary*, p. 889.

[7]*Ibid.*

a total eclipse of the sun had taken place on June 15, 763. Another plague had followed in 759.

Linguistic Arguments

Those who espouse a post-Exilic date for Jonah customarily appeal to an assortment of alleged Aramaisms which occur here and there in the text.

1. In 1:5 occurs the word *sᵉpīnah,* "ship," as a variant of a common Hebrew word, *'ᵒniyyah,* which also means "ship." *Sᵉpīnah* is common in Aramaic; it occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless it is obviously derived from the root *sāpan,* to cover, which often occurs in the Old Testament as well as in the Phoenician inscriptions (although this verb never occurs in extant Aramaic). We may conclude that this expression originally signified a covered ship or a boat equipped with a deck, and may well have been borrowed by Aramaic from Canaanite.

2. In Jonah 1:6 occurs the verb *'āshat* (in the *hithpael* stem) meaning "to remember." In Aramaic this verb occurs as early as the Elephantine Papyri. A related noun *'eshet* appears in Song of Solomon 5:14 with the meaning "artifact"; *'ashtōt* (or else it is a singular, *'ashtūt*) occurs in Job 12:5 "as thought, opinion." However, the verb does not occur either in Syriac or in Aramaic in the sense in which it is used in Jonah, that is, "to remember."

3. The relative particle *she* ("who, which") appears in its simple form in Jonah 4:10, then appears in two compounds, *bᵉshellᵉmī* in 1:7 ("on account of whom") and in *bᵉshellī* ("on account of me") in 1:12. Strictly speaking, this can hardly be called an Aramaism, since *she* is not an Aramaic word at all; and yet in later Hebrew it came to be used very much like an Aramaic particle *di.* Yet so far as this writer is aware, the particle *di* never occurs in pre-Christian Aramaic after the preposition *bᵉ* to mean "on account of." On the other hand, *she* occurs as early as the time of the Judges in the song of Deborah (Judg. 5:7), which interestingly enough was composed by a native of northern Galilee (just as Jonah was). It should be noted also that *she* quite often occurs in the Phoenician inscriptions (alongside the more frequent '-š) and there is a good possibility that the sailors who manned Jonah's ship were of Phoenician origin; hence there is every likelihood that this particle would have occurred in their conversation.

There are various other alleged Aramaisms which rest on even more tenuous foundations. For example, the verb *hēṭīl,* "to throw" (Jonah 1:5, 12), occurs in Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and cannot therefore be regarded as a proof of late authorship. As for *qᵉrī'ah* ("preaching"), this noun is formed on a root which is as indigenous to Hebrew as it is to Aramaic, even though the noun itself happens to occur only here in the Hebrew Bible. One other word calls for special

comment: *ṭa'am,* meaning "edict, decree." While it is a common Hebrew word with the meaning "taste" or "understanding," it occurs only here in the governmental sense (Jonah 3:7). However, it is obviously related to the Assyrian word *ṭēmu,* which bears the same meaning, and Jonah's use of it may therefore have been a reminiscence of the actual wording of the Assyrian decree of the king of Nineveh. (It is so used in Ezra 6:14, an Aramaic passage, quoting a decree of the king of Persia.)

In view of the vigorous objections of rationalists to the historicity of Jonah, it is appropriate at this point to refer to the statements of the Lord Jesus as recorded in the Gospels. In Matthew 12:40, 41 Christ refers to two events most forthrightly rejected as fabulous by modern criticism, Jonah's preservation in the belly of the whale, and the effectiveness of his preaching in bringing the Ninevites to repentance. In Matthew 12:40 Christ says: "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." If the story of Jonah had been merely fictional, then Christ's own burial from Good Friday to Easter morning would have to be only fictional; otherwise there would be no basis for the comparison ("as . . . so"). This is especially true where a type and an antitype are involved. Every other instance where an Old Testament typical event is referred to in Scripture (for example, John 3:14; I Cor. 10:1-11), a historical episode is involved. There is no objective evidence whatsoever that Jesus of Nazareth regarded this experience of Jonah's as nonhistorical.

Next we read in Matthew 12:41: "The men of Nineveh shall rise up in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it; because they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and, behold, a greater than Jonah is here." Nothing could be clearer than the fact that Christ is here reproaching His own contemporaries for their unbelief on the ground that they failed to measure up even to the standard of Bibleless pagans in ancient Nineveh. But if those Ninevites in point of fact never did repent at the preaching of Jonah, then Christ's statement here is untrue and His reproach quite unfounded. Inasmuch as even conservative scholars like James Orr have conceded the nonhistorical character of Jonah, it is important to come to terms with these clear statements by the Lord Jesus and to realize that one cannot reject the historicity of Jonah without also rejecting the authority of Christ.

The Integrity of the Text

Liberal scholars regard the book of Jonah as a composite from various sources. In particular, the psalm of thanksgiving (Jonah 2:2-9) is regarded as an alien insertion (1) because 2:1 tells us Jonah prayed (*hitpallēl*), whereas the rest of the composition contains thanksgiving rather than petition; (2) because the thanksgiving was expressed before Jonah

had been ejected on dry land and had reason to express gratitude to God. But these objections, as formulated by Wellhausen (*Die kleinen Propheten,* 1898, p. 221), miss the point of this psalm altogether. In the first place, as is readily apparent from numerous examples in the book of Psalms, praise was regarded by the Hebrews as a very legitimate and important part of prayer. Thus this same verb (*hitpallēl*) occurs with its cognate noun for "prayer" (*tᵉpillah*) in II Samuel 7:27, a passage containing adoration and praise to Jehovah as a prayer-answering God. Secondly, as Young has well pointed out (IOT 257), 2:2-9 does not express thanksgiving for deliverance from the belly of the whale but rather deliverance from drowning, through the agency of the whale. When construed in this way, as it obviously should be, there is no discrepancy at all between Jonah's psalm and the setting in which it is placed by the author. Wilhelm Moeller (GATE 240, 241) calls attention to the fact that there are noteworthy resemblances between this psalm of Jonah's and those of David (cf. Ps. 18:30f. and 69:14 with Jonah 2:3a; cf. Ps. 42:7 with Jonah 2:3b; Ps. 18:6 with Jonah 2:4b; Ps. 69:1,2 with Jonah 2:5; Ps. 42:7, 8 with Jonah 2:6; Ps. 5:7 with Jonah 2:7).

Proceeding on rationalistic grounds, Eissfeldt regarded Jonah as a complex of two legends, one of which (chaps. 1-3) treats of Jonah's disobedience to God's command, and the other (chap. 4) records Jonah's controversy with God over the application of His grace to the heathen. From the fact that the tale of the fish swallowing a man and spewing him out again is found in other literature, he drew the conclusion that the incident was only legendary and therefore could not have happened.[8] In reply to this it needs only to be pointed out that no one has ever yet demonstrated that all incidents recorded in legends are incapable of oc-

[8]Numerous cases have been reported in more recent times of men who have survived the ordeal of being swallowed by a whale. The *Princeton Theological Review* (Oct., 1927) tells of two incidents, one in 1758 and the other in 1771, in which a man was swallowed by a whale and vomited up shortly thereafter with only minor injuries.

One of the most striking instances comes from Francis Fox, *Sixty-three Years of Engineering* (pp. 298-300), who reports that this incident was carefully investigated by two scientists (one of whom was M. de Parville, the scientific editor of the *Journal des Debats* in Paris). In February, 1891, the whaling ship *Star of the East* was in the vicinity of the Falkland Islands, and the lookout sighted a large sperm whale three miles away. Two boats were lowered and in a short time one of the harpooners was enabled to spear the creature. The second boat also attacked the whale, but was then upset by a lash of its tail, so that its crew fell into the sea. One of them was drowned, but the other, James Bartley, simply disappeared without trace. After the whale was killed, the crew set to work with axes and spades removing the blubber. "They worked all day and part of the night. The next day they attached some tackle to the stomach, which was hoisted on deck. The sailors were startled by something in it which gave spasmodic signs of life, and inside was found the missing sailor, doubled up and unconscious. He was laid on the deck and treated to a bath of sea water which soon revived him. At the end of the third week he had entirely recovered from the shock and resumed his duties. . . . His face, neck and hands were bleached to a deadly whiteness and took on the appearance of parchment. Bartley affirms that he would probably have lived inside his house of flesh until he starved, for he lost his senses through fright and not through lack of air."

currence in actual fact. Fundamentally, of course, Eissfeldt's objection is based upon the premise of the impossibility of miracles. Deductions drawn from this *a priori* cannot be regarded as any more trustworthy than the *a priori* itself. But on the grounds of unbiased literary criticism, no convincing case can be made out for multiple sources underlying the book of Jonah.

22

AMOS, HOSEA AND MICAH

IN THE SECOND HALF of the eighth century B.C. Hebrew prophecy attained its golden age of excellence. After the earliest of the writing prophets, Obadiah, Joel and Jonah, had done their work, the stage was set for the appearance of the four great figures who dominated the scene from 755 to the opening of the seventh century: Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah. The first three of these are discussed in this chapter; for the work of Isaiah two additional chapters will be necessary.

AMOS

The meaning of the name Amos is probably "burden-bearer" (derived from the verb *'āmas*, "to lift a burden, carry"). The central theme of his prophecy was Jehovah's faithfulness to His covenant and to His holy law, and the strict accountability of His people Israel to a practical observance of their covenant obligations. Amos earnestly stressed their duty of cordial compliance with the legal code of the Torah, both in letter and in spirit. Israel's failure to present to the Lord a true and living faith and their attempt to foist upon Him the wretched substitute of empty profession could only lead to the utter ruin and destruction of the nation.

Outline of Amos

I. Jehovah's Judgment Upon the Nations, 1:1–2:16
   A. Prelude: The day of wrath at hand, 1:1, 2
   B. Judgment upon heathen neighbors for crimes of inhumanity, 1:3–2:3
      1. Damascus, 1:3-5
      2. Gaza, 1:6-8
      3. Tyre, 1:9, 10
      4. Edom, 1:11, 12
      5. Ammon, 1:13-15
      6. Moab, 2:1-3
      (All these to suffer fire and destruction.)

C. Wrath upon the two covenant nations for neglecting God's Word, 2:4-16
   1. Judah, having turned from God to false teachers, likewise to suffer fire and destruction
   2. Israel also to suffer overpowering destruction for sins of exploiting the poor, of incest, thanklessness toward God, and persecuting the faithful

II. The Offenses of Israel and the Warnings of God, 3:1–6:14
   A. Judgment unavoidable because of Israel's complete depravity, 3:1-15
      1. The greater the privilege, the greater the accountability, 3:1-3
      2. Amos' credentials as God's messenger, 3:4-8
      3. Israel's crimes of oppressing the poor, their luxuries and self-indulgence to be punished by devastation and depopulation, 3:9-15
   B. God's challenge to the stiff-necked pleasure-seekers, 4:1-13
      1. Their pursuit after pleasure and wealth and their carnal forms of worship to seal their doom, 4:1-5
      2. The unheeded warning of the plagues; judgment to come, 4:6-13
   C. Lamentation and final appeal, 5:1-27
   D. The doom of exile for the pleasure-seeking upper classes, 6:1-14

III. Five Visions of Israel's Fate, 7:1–9:10
   A. Locusts—restrained, 7:1-3
   B. Fire—restrained, 7:4-6
   C. Plumbline—all to be leveled flat, 7:7-9
   (Interlude: the clash with Amaziah; his doom foretold, 7:10-17
   D. Late summer fruit—the end at hand, 8:1-14
   E. The smitten temple (of Bethel); Israel to be treated like heathen, 9:1-10

IV. Promises of Restoration, 9:11-15
   A. Preliminary: the New Testament Age, 9:11, 12
   B. The millennial consummation, 9:13-15

The Author

Since the name of his father is not given, it may be assumed that Amos was of humble birth. His native town was Tekoa, situated five miles southeast of Bethlehem in the Judean highlands. By profession Amos was both a herdsman and a cultivator of sycamore figs. He may possibly have tended cattle (as is implied by the term *bōqēr,* "herdsman," in 7:14). Certainly he raised sheep, for he speaks of himself as a *nōqēd*

(cf. *nōqᵉdīm* in 1:1); that is, a shepherd of a small speckled variety of sheep called *nāqōd*. He also made his living by cultivating sycamore or wild fig trees (*shīqᵉmīm*, 7:14), a tree which exuded a ball of sap, if nipped at the right season, which hardened into a sort of edible fruit which the lower classes were able to afford.

Apparently he was an earnest student of the books of Moses, for his style shows strong Pentateuchal influences. Yet he never enjoyed the advantages of a formal education in a "school of the prophets" (such as maintained by Samuel, Elijah and Elisha), nor was he ever officially anointed for his prophetic ministry. At the call of God he left his home in Judea as a mere layman to proclaim a hostile message in the proud capital of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, without any ecclesiastical authorization. Without any status as a recognized prophet he braved the prejudice of the Ephraimite public to carry out faithfully his commission from God. A man of rugged convictions and iron will, he could not be deflected from his purpose even by the highest functionary of Samaritan worship.

Date of Composition

There is general agreement among Old Testament scholars that Amos' ministry is to be dated between 760 and 755 B.C., toward the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II (793-753). This king had enjoyed a brilliant career from the standpoint of military success, for he had accomplished the feat of restoring the boundaries of the Northern Kingdom to the limits with which it had begun in 931 B.C. The result had been a considerable influx of wealth from the booty of war and advantageous trade relations with Damascus and the other principalities to the north and northeast. But along with the increase in wealth, no share of which was granted to the lower classes, there had come a more conspicuous materialism and greed on the part of the rich nobility. They shamelessly victimized the poor and cynically disregarded the rights of those who were socially beneath them. A general disregard for the sanctions of the seventh commandment had undermined the sanctity of the family and had rendered offensive their hypocritical attempt to appease God by observance of religious forms.

The text of Amos gives a precise date for his preaching mission to Bethel: "two years before the earthquake" (1:1), i.e., the severe earthquake in the reign of Uzziah, which was remembered for centuries afterward (cf. Zech. 14:5, " . . . as ye fled from before the earthquake in the days of Uzziah, king of Judah"). Unfortunately the time of this earthquake cannot be more precisely determined, but at all events it served as a preliminary sign from God. The warnings of doom which Amos conveyed were to be of sure fulfillment. The statement in 1:1 also served to indicate that the book of Amos was not published until at least two years after he had orally delivered his message.

Integrity of the Text

Liberal critics concede the authenticity of nearly all the text of Amos, whom they regard as "the first of the writing prophets" (for according to the dating of Wellhausen and Driver, Amos would constitute the earliest written portion of the Old Testament, with the single exception of Document J). There are, however, fifteen verses which have been classified as later insertions. These include 1:9-12 with its stylized formulae of denunciation ("For three transgressions [the name of the city], and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof . . . but I will send a fire upon [the city], which shall devour the palaces thereof"). For the same reason 2:4, 5 is rejected. Expressions of thanksgiving and praise to God, such as 4:13; 5:8, 9; 9:5, 6, are regarded as foreign to Amos because of their cheerful tone. And the Messianic promise of 9:11-15 is said to represent a type of thinking much later than the eighth century B.C. Oesterley and Robinson interpret 9:11, 12 as presupposing the Exile, because of reference to the fall of the "tabernacle of David," interpreted to mean the fall of Jerusalem (IBOT 366). But even Bentzen rejects this inference as ill-founded, pointing out that Amos may have regarded the house of David as fallen "because it had lost the position which it had occupied in David's own time." R. H. Pfeiffer regards the historical Amos as capable only of a pessimistic emphasis upon denunciation for sin and quite incapable of the hopeful view toward the future; any passages which disturb this portrait must be explained as later additions (cf. IOT 583, 584). It will be readily seen that all these passages have been objected to from the ground of a special theory of the historical development of Israel's thought, rather than on the basis of the data of the text itself.

Points of Contact with the Pentateuch

Since documentarian critics regard Amos as the earliest of the writing prophets, it is appropriate to point out that there are numerous references even in Amos to the legal provisions of the Torah (including D and P). Observe the cumulative force of the examples which follow.

1. Amos 2:7, "a man and his father go in unto the same maid," is apparently a reference to religious prostitution, which was expressly forbidden in Deuteronomy 23:17, 18. Amos' audience could hardly have been expected to know that this practice was a crime unless there had been prior laws which condemned it. It is a fair inference that these laws must have been composed long enough before Amos' time to acquire the weight of a sanction from antiquity.

2. Amos 2:8 condemns the keeping overnight of "garments taken in pledge" (a practice forbidden in Exod. 22:26), an offense which is compounded when the creditor even sleeps on the pawned article overnight (cf. Deut. 24:12, 13).

3. Amos 2:12 refers to the consecration of the Nazirites, the sanction for which is found only in Numbers 6:1-21 (a P passage according to Driver, ILOT, p. 55).

4. Amos 4:4 (ASV) mentions tithing "after three days," a specification evidently unknown to the pagans, and ordained in the Old Testament only in Deuteronomy 14:28; 26:12, which state that the tithe of the farmer's produce is to be laid up in store for the Lord.

5. Amos 4:5 (ASV), "offer a sacrifice . . . of that which is leavened," implies that this practice was forbidden by law—a prohibition contained in Leviticus 2:11; 7:13 (which are of course P passages).

6. Amos 5:23 implies that the ritual of sacrifice in Amos' day was accompanied by song, an ordinance attributed in the historical books to King David. It is fair to assume that if P had been composed subsequent to the time of Amos, it would have contained some reference to musical accompaniment in the sacrificial ritual in order to invest this practice with Mosaic sanction. But actually there is no reference to music or song as an accompaniment of sacrifice anywhere in the entire Pentateuch.

7. Several terms for sacrifice alleged by many critics to be post-Exilic are mentioned quite casually and freely by Amos as if they were commonly practiced in his own time. These include (a) the freewill offering (*nᵉdābah*) in Amos 4:5 (cf. Lev. 7:16-18; 22:18; Num. 15:3; Deut. 12:6, 7, etc.); (b) "the solemn assembly" (*ʿᵃṣārah*) in Amos 5:21 (cf. Lev. 23:36; Num. 29:35); (c) "burnt offering," "meal offering," and "peace offering" all occur in a single clause in Amos 5:22; they are so mentioned in combination and also separately in numerous passages of the Torah (cf. Lev. 7:11-14; 8:1-32).

The only way to evade the impact of this evidence is to label them as insertions by later redactors—a question-begging procedure resorted to by Pfeiffer, Eissfeldt, and others. But any fair handling of the evidence clearly indicates that there was by Amos' day a body of law understood to be ancient and authoritative and labeled by Amos himself as "the Torah of Yahweh" (Amos 2:4). This Torah was evidently accepted by all concerned as an established fact in Amos' time. There is no hint or suggestion of any kind that Amos was pioneering with any new monotheistic message or an enlightened moral code which had not previously been acknowledged as binding.[1] The cumulative impact of this evidence is quite conclusive in favor of a priority of the Torah to Amos.

HOSEA

The name of this prophet, *Hōshēaʿ*, means "salvation," and is in reality identical with the name of the last king of the Northern Kingdom, Hoshea.

[1]A very full discussion of these points of contact with the Pentateuch is included by Moeller in his GATE 229-236.

For purposes of distinction, however, the English Bible always spells the name of the minor prophet as Hosea (without the second h).

The theme of this book is an earnest testimony against the Northern Kingdom because of its apostasy from the covenant and its widespread corruption in public and private morals. The purpose of the author is to convince his fellow countrymen that they need to repent and return in contrition to their patient and ever-loving God. Both threat and promise are presented from the standpoint of Yahweh's love to Israel as His own dear children, and as His covenant wife.

Outline of Hosea

I. The Training of the Prophet, 1:1–3:5
   A. His home life symbolic for the nation: punishment and restoration, 1:1–2:1
      1. The marriage with Gomer, a potential adulteress, 1:2
      2. The children: Jezreel, Lo-Ruhamah, Lo-Ammi, 1:3-9
      3. The final triumph of grace, 1:10–2:1
   B. His domestic tragedy a revelation of God's redeeming love, 2:2-23
   C. His dealing with Gomer: a command and a revelation, 3:1-5

II. The Teaching of the Prophet, 4:1–14:9
   A. National pollution and its cause, 4:1–6:3
      1. The findings of the Judge and the pronouncement of sentence, 4:1-19
      2. Warning to priest, people and king: the snare of the shrines, 5:1-15
      3. Exhortation to repent, 6:1-3
   B. National pollution and its punishment, 6:4–10:15
      1. Statement of God's case against Israel, 6:4–7:16
         a. Fickleness, bloodguiltiness: the bloody harvest, 6:4-11
         b. Mercy prevented by persistent rebellion, adultery, wine-bibbing, 7:1-16
      2. Judgment pronounced, 8:1–9:17
         a. Reaping the whirlwind, devoured by the world they doted on, 8:1-14
         b. Bondage in exile, the withering away of Israel, 9:1-17
      3. Recapitulation and appeal: the empty vine, 10:1-15
   C. The love of Jehovah, 11:1–14:9
      1. His inalienable love in dealing with wayward Israel, 11:1-11
      2. Exile God's only alternative because of stubborn rebelliousness, 11:12–12:14
      3. Guiding principles and eventual outcome of exile, 13:1-16
      4. Final appeal to repent; promise of ultimate blessing, 14:1-9

Authorship and Integrity of the Text

The prophet Hosea was apparently a citizen of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, for he refers to the ruler in Samaria as "our king" (7:5). Judah is mentioned only incidentally, whereas the interest is centered on the ten tribes. The author's diction betrays traces of dialect not found in Judah but suggestive of North Israel near the Aramaic-speaking territory of Syria. Hosea's family was of sufficient social standing for his father's name (Beeri) to be mentioned. We have no other biographical details apart from those which he supplies in his own prophecies.

The liberal critics attribute substantially all this prophecy to the historic Hosea. The only passages that have been challenged as later insertions are those which refer to Judah (so Marti and Nowack); or those sections, like 11:8-11 and 14:2-9 (so Volz and Marti), which predict future blessing or national deliverance. Eissfeldt and Bentzen, however, do not feel disposed to rule out categorically every mention of salvation after punishment, nor even every mention of Judah. Since even in the undoubtedly genuine portions of the book, such as chapters 1–3, the possibility is held out of future deliverance of the nation, those few verses which they label as glosses are denied to Hosea on other grounds. As for the mention of Judah, Young rightly points out (IOT 244) that the prophet regards the government of the Northern Kingdom as a usurpation, implying that only the Davidic dynasty is legitimate.

The Time of Composition

Not all the prophecies in this book seem to have been delivered at the same period in the prophet's career. A portion of these must have been given before the death of Jeroboam II (753 B.C.), since chapter 1 interprets the symbolic meaning of Jezreel to signify that the dynasty of Jehu is to be violently ended. This was fulfilled in 752 when Shallum assassinated Zachariah, the son of Jeroboam. On the other hand, chapter 5 seems to have been directed against King Menahem (752-742). Chapter 7 must be dated a decade or two later; it denounces the government's policy of double dealing whereby Egypt is pitted against Assyria, and this policy is not known to have been followed by Israel prior to the reign of Hoshea (732-723 B.C.). Therefore we are justified in regarding the book as combining excerpts from sermons delivered over a period of at least twenty-five years. Possibly the final compilation was published in 725 B.C., perhaps thirty years after Hosea's preaching ministry had begun.

The Problem of Gomer

Much discussion has been devoted to the difficulty created by God's command to marry an adulterous woman. Would Jehovah have commanded a holy man to do that which was expressly forbidden to the

priests and frowned upon for Israel as a whole? In an effort to relieve the moral problem some conservatives have suggested that this experience was not real, only a sort of extended parable. In the interests of this theory some scholars have even suggested that the name Gomer means "completion," that is, completion of sin; the name of her mother, Diblaim, would then mean "raisin cakes," an idolatrous type of sacrificial offering (cf. 3:1).

One very grave objection to this type of interpretation is found in the fact that the story of Hosea's marriage is given as straightforward narrative. There is no evidence in the text itself that it was to be understood as a parable or a purely fictional experience described in order to illustrate a theological teaching. If the transaction did not really take place, even though it is set forth in such a factual manner, then the possibility opens up of questioning the historicity of any number of other episodes which are narrated in Scripture as if they were sober history. A basic hermeneutical principle involved here is that the statements of Scripture are to be interpreted in their plain and obvious sense, unless other Scripture bearing upon the same subject shows that these statements are to be interpreted in some other fashion.

The better solution to this problem is to be found in the supposition that at the time Hosea married Gomer she was not a woman of overtly loose morals. If Hosea delivered his message in later years, he may well have looked back upon his own domestic tragedy and seen in it the guiding hand of God. Hence the Lord's encouragement to him to marry her in the first place, though her future infidelity was foreknown to God, would have been tantamount to a command: "Go, marry an adulterous woman," even though the command did not come to the prophet in precisely these words.

MICAH

The name "Micah" is a shortened form of *Mī-kā-Yāhū*, which means "Who is like Jehovah?" The basic theme of his message is that the necessary product of saving faith is social reform and practical holiness based upon the righteousness and sovereignty of God. Because of the general lack of such saving faith, both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms are destined to experience God's wrath. Yet after the punishment is over, the nation will be restored and the Messiah will eventually come.

Outline of Micah

I. The Sentence of God upon Both Idolatrous Kingdoms, 1:1-16
   A. God to crush Israel's pride because of broken law, 1:1-4
   B. Punishment for idolatry: destruction of Samaria, 1:5-7

C. Lament over the coming (Assyrian) invasion: its progress city by city, 1:8-16

II. Bill of Particulars: Oppression by Upper Classes, 2:1—3:12
A. Exploitation of defenseless by idle rich, 2:1-13
B. The government a devourer instead of a defense, 3:1-4
C. Contrast between the corrupt state religion and the power and the message of God-fearing preachers, 3:5-8
D. The utter destruction to be meted out to these three evil groups, 3:9-12

III. The Ultimate Triumph of God's Grace, 4:1—5:15
A. Messianic triumph of the kingdom of God over the world, 4:1-8
B. Necessary conditions to be first fulfilled: suffering, exile, restoration, judgment upon heathen neighbors, 4:9-13
C. The divine-human Victor who shall bring this to pass, defending His flock, destroying the world powers, 5:1-6
D. Triumph of Israel after humbling and purging from idolatry, 5:7-15

IV. God's Controversy with Ungrateful Israel, 6:1-16
A. Summons to the Northern Kingdom to respond to God in view of His Exodus mercies, 6:1-5
B. Response of an awakened conscience: holy living to accompany valid worship; yet Israel still dishonest and oppressive, 6:6-13
C. Failure to repent to be followed by a crop failure; the "clever" policy of alliance with unbelievers to be discredited, 6:14-16

V. Fulfillment of Covenant Promises to Faithful Remnant, 7:1-20
A. Lament of true Israel over prevalence of barbarous selfishness and shameful corruption, 7:1-6
B. True Israel's continued trust in God's mercy, 7:7-10
C. Christ's triumph through the Church Age and Millennium, 7:11-20

The Authorship of Micah

Micah was a citizen of the Southern Kingdom, having been born at Moresheth near Gath, about twenty miles west of Jerusalem. His father's name is not given, and we may conclude that his family was of humble origin. It is significant that his preaching ministry was especially preoccupied with the sufferings of the common people and of the peasants in the agricultural areas who were exploited by rich and unscrupulous landed nobility. Micah seems to have spent much of his lifetime in the provincial areas rather than at the capital city of Jerusalem. Hence he was not in as close touch with international politics as was his con-

temporary, Isaiah. Yet he did devote at least one chapter (chap. 6) to the declining career of the Northern Kingdom.

Date of Composition

Micah's ministry was contemporary with the earlier career of Isaiah, that is, during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Interestingly enough, the books of these prophets contain one passage in common (Mic. 4:1-3 and Isa. 2:2-4), an oracle relating to the millennial kingdom. Since Israel is addressed in Micah 6 as if it were still capable of escaping divine judgment through a last-minute repentance, it may be fairly deduced that Micah commenced his ministry at least before the fall of Samaria in 722. The conditions of corruption and immorality in Judah as Micah depicts them correspond well with what is known of the reign of Ahaz (736-728), or else possibly of the earliest years of Hezekiah's reign prior to his reforms. Actually Micah's career must have begun even earlier than Ahaz' reign, for 1:1 speaks of his prophesying in the reign of Jotham (751-736). As to the question of when his preaching ministry ceased, there is no certain evidence. From Jeremiah 26:18, 19, we learn that his earnest warnings during the reign of Hezekiah were taken seriously, and made an important contribution to the revival which took place under government sponsorship.

The Integrity of the Text

Some critics have challenged the authenticity of certain portions of chapters 6, 7 and 8 on the ground that they contain thoughts and motifs which occur elsewhere only in passages from a later period of Israel's history. For example, they prophesy the regathering of God's dispersed people after a term of exile, and foretell the destruction of Israel's foes on a catastrophic scale, to be followed by the ultimate triumph of Israel over the heathen under the lordship of the Messiah. Heinrich Ewald assigned chapters 6 and 7 to an unknown author living in the reign of Manasseh (696-642). Julius Wellhausen even regarded 7:7-20 as Exilic in origin and contemporary with Deutero-Isaiah; yet some of his more moderate successors like Driver (ILOT 308-313) question the necessity of so late a date being assigned to it. But all antisupernaturalists unite in denying the genuineness of 4:10: "Thou shalt come even unto Babylon: there shalt thou be rescued; there will Jehovah redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies" (ASV). Such predictions as these are impossible except upon the basis of supernatural revelation. Hence no eighth century author could have written this verse; it requires a foresight which is more than human. Therefore this verse is denied to Micah on the same grounds as Isaiah 40—66 is denied to an eighth century author, as we shall presently see.

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ISAIAH (I)

THE HEBREW NAME of this prophet is *Yesha'-Yahu*, meaning "Yahweh is salvation." Appropriately enough, the basic theme of Isaiah's message is that salvation is bestowed only by grace, by the power of God, the Redeemer, rather than by the strength of man or the good works of the flesh. The holy God will not permit unholiness in His covenant people, and will therefore deal with them in such a way as to chasten and purge them and make them fit to participate in His program of redemption. Isaiah sets forth the doctrine of Christ in such full detail that he has rightly been described as "the evangelical prophet." Deeper Christological insights are to be found in his work than anywhere else in the Old Testament.

Outline of Isaiah

I. The Volume of Rebuke and Promise, 1:1–6:13
   A. First sermon: rebellion confronted with judgment and grace, 1:1-31
   B. Second sermon: present chastisement for future glory, 2:1–4:6
   C. Third sermon: judgment and exile for the stubborn nation, 5:1-30
   D. Fourth sermon: the prophet cleansed and commissioned by God, 6:1-13

II. The Volume of Immanuel, 7:1–12:6
   A. First sermon: rejection of Immanuel by worldly wisdom, 7:1-25
   B. Second sermon: speedy deliverance foreshadowing the coming deliverer, 8:1–9:7
   C. Third sermon: inexorable doom of exile for proud Samaria, 9:8–10:4
   D. Fourth sermon: vanquishing of the false empire; the glorious empire to come, 10:5–12:6

III. God's Judgment—Burdens Upon the Nations, 13:1—23:18
- A. Upon Babylon, 13:1—14:27
- B. Upon Philistia, 14:28-32
- C. Upon Moab, 15:1—16:14
- D. Upon Damascus and Samaria, 17:1-14
- E. Upon Ethiopia, 18:1-7
- F. Upon Egypt, 19:1—20:6
- G. Upon Babylon, second burden, 21:1-10
- H. Upon Edom, 21:11, 12
- I. Upon Arabia, 21:13-17
- J. Upon Jerusalem, 22:1-25
- K. Upon Tyre, 23:1-18

IV. First Volume of General Judgment and Promise, 24:1—27:13
- A. First sermon: universal judgment for universal sin, 24:1-23
- B. Second sermon: praise to the Lord as Deliverer, Victor and Comforter, 25:1-12
- C. Third sermon: a song of rejoicing in Judah's consolation, 26: 1-21
- D. Fourth sermon: punishment for oppressors and preservation for God's people, 27:1-13

V. The Volume of Woes Upon the Unbelievers of Israel, 28:1—33:24
- A. First sermon: God's dealings with drunkards and scoffers in Israel, 28:1-29
- B. Second sermon: judgment upon blind souls who try to deceive God, 29:1-24
- C. Third sermon: confidence in man versus confidence in God, 30:1-33
- D. Fourth sermon: deliverance through God's gracious intervention, 31:1—32:20
- E. Fifth sermon: punishment of treacherous deceivers and the triumph of Christ, 33:1-24

VI. Second Volume of General Judgment and Promise, 34:1—35:10
- A. First sermon: destruction of the Gentile world power, 34:1-17
- B. Second sermon: the ultimate bliss of God's redeemed, 35:1-10

VII. The Volume of Hezekiah, 36:1—39:8
- A. Destruction of Judah averted, 36:1—37:38
- B. Destruction of Judah's king averted, 38:1-22
- C. Judgment upon the king's pride in possessions: Babylonian captivity, 39:1-8

VIII. The Volume of Comfort, 40:1–66:24

A. The purpose of peace, 40:1–48:22

1. The majesty of Jehovah the Comforter, 40:1-31
2. The challenge of the God of providence to unbelievers, 41:1-29
3. The Servant of Jehovah, individual and national, 42:1-25
4. Redemption by grace, 43:1–44:5 (Deliverance through Cyrus.)
5. Dead idols or the living God, 44:6-23
6. The sovereign God employing and converting the heathen, 44:24–45:25
7. Lessons taught by Babylon's downfall and Israel's preservation, 46:1–47:15
8. Judgment upon faithless, hypocritical Israel, 48:1-22

B. The Prince of Peace, 49:1–57:21

1. Messiah to bring restoration to Israel and light to Gentiles, 49:1-26
2. Sinfulness of Israel contrasted with the obedience of the Servant, 50:1-11
3. Encouragement to trust in God alone, not fearing men, 51:1-16
4. Summons to Israel to awake and return to God's favor, 51:17–52:12
5. The divine Servant to triumph through vicarious suffering, 52:13–53:12
6. Consequent blessing to Israel and the Church, 54:1-17
7. Grace for all sinners who trust in Christ, 55:1-13
8. Inclusion of Gentiles in the blessing of Israel, 56:1-8
9. Condemnation of the wicked rulers of Israel, 56:9–57:21

C. The program of peace, 58:1–66:24

1. Contrast between false worship and true, 58:1-14
2. Confession of Israel's depravity to bring deliverance by God's intervention, 59:1-21
3. Glorious prosperity and peace of the redeemed, 60:1-22
4. The Spirit-filled Christ by whom the kingdom comes, 61:1-11
5. Zion to be restored and glorified, 62:1–63:6
6. God's former mercies to cause Israel to plead for deliverance, 63:7–64:12
7. God's mercy for spiritual Israel alone, 65:1-25
8. Externalism in worship to be replaced by heart sincerity, 66:1-24

It is important to note in regard to the last section, The Volume of Comfort, that the twenty-seven chapters, 40 through 66, show a remarkable symmetry in the three subdivisions. The end of subdivision A, The purpose of peace, is virtually identical with the end of subdivision B, The Prince of Peace; that is to say, they both conclude with the formula, "There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked." Each of the three subdivisions sets forth in a systematic way an area of doctrinal emphasis: A. Theology; B. Soteriology; C. Eschatology. This architectonic structure points to a single author rather than to a collection of heterogeneous sources. What is said about the Volume of Comfort as to its systematic arrangement may be extended to the first thirty-nine chapters as well, for even the outline as here given indicates a deliberate use of balance or parallelism in structure.

The Authorship of Isaiah

The prophet Isaiah, the son of Amoz (*'āmōṣ*—"strong" or "courageous"), was apparently a member of a fairly distinguished and influential family. Not only is his father's name given, but he appears to have been on familiar terms with the royal court even in the reign of Ahaz. He must have been a well-educated student of international affairs who spent most of his time in the city of Jerusalem, where he was in touch with the crosscurrents of national and foreign affairs. Directed by God to oppose with vigor any entangling alliances with foreign powers (whether with Assyria as against Samaria and Damascus, or with Egypt as against Assyria), his cause was foredoomed to failure, for both government and people chose to put their trust in the arm of flesh rather than in the promises of God.

Until the death of Hezekiah (in 698 or 696), Isaiah enjoyed a large measure of respect despite the unpopularity of his political views, and in the period of religious reform carried through by Hezekiah, his influence upon religion was most significant. Yet as God warned him in the temple vision (Isa. 6:9, 10), the nation by and large turned a deaf ear even to his spiritual message. Apart from a small minority of earnest believers, his ministry to his contemporaries was little short of a failure. In the reign of Manasseh, the degenerate son of Hezekiah, a strong tide of reaction set in against the strict Jehovah-worship of the previous reign. Isaiah lived to see the undoing of all his own work so far as contemporary politics were concerned. In spiritual matters, his countrymen fell into a more desperate condition of depravity than they had in the reign of Ahaz. Recognizing the inevitability of God's judgment upon the nation, Isaiah's interest during the reign of Manasseh came to be focused increasingly upon the coming overthrow of Jerusalem, the Babylonian Captivity and the Restoration which lay beyond. An old tradition relates

that he was martyred at some time in the reign of Manasseh, possibly by being sawed in two inside a hollow log (cf. Heb. 11:37). Since he records the death of Sennacherib in Isaiah 37:37, 38, it is fair to assume that Isaiah lived until after Sennacherib's death in 681 B.C.

Critical Theories of the Composition of Isaiah

With the growth of deism in the late eighteenth century, it was natural that men of antisupernatural conviction would take exception to those extensive portions of Isaiah which exhibit a foreknowledge of future events. If the book was to be treated as of merely human origin, it was an unavoidable necessity to explain these apparently successful predictions as having been written after the fulfillment had taken place, or at least when it was about to occur. We may distinguish four stages in the history of Isaianic criticism.

1. Johann C. Doederlein (1745-1792), professor of theology at Jena, was the first scholar to publish (in 1789) a systematic argument for a sixth century date for the composition of Isaiah 40–66. He reasoned that since an eighth century Isaiah could not have foreseen the fall of Jerusalem (in 587) and the seventy years of captivity, he could never have penned the words of comfort to exiled Judah which appear in chapter 40 onward. Furthermore, from the rationalistic standpoint it was obviously impossible for anyone back in 700 B.C. to foresee the rise of Cyrus the Great, who captured Babylon in 539 and gave permission to the Jewish exiles to return to their homeland. But not only was his work foreseen, Cyrus was even referred to by name in two texts: Isaiah 44:28 and 45:1. Obviously, therefore, the author of these prophecies must have been some unknown Jew living in Babylon sometime between the first rise of Cyrus as an international figure (around 550 B.C.) and the fall of Babylon to his expanding empire. This supposititious author living in Babylon around 540 came to be known to the critics as "Deutero-Isaiah."

These arguments proved so persuasive that other Old Testament scholars like Professor Eichhorn were convinced and expressed their agreement. In 1819, Heinrich F. W. Gesenius (1786-1842) published a commentary, *Jesaja, Zweiter Theil.* A professor of theology at Halle and an eminent Hebrew lexicographer of rationalistic convictions, he made out a very able argument for the unity of the authorship of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah and refuted the attacks of those who had already attempted to separate even Deutero-Isaiah into several different sources, arguing that all the main themes throughout these chapters were treated from a unified standpoint and employed language exhibiting striking affinities in vocabulary and style from chapter 40 to 66. He insisted that they all came from the pen of a single author who lived sometime around 540 B.C.

2. Inasmuch as conservative scholars had objected to the Exilic date assigned to Isaiah II on the ground that even in Isaiah I impressive evidences could be found of a foreknowledge of the future importance of Babylon in Israel's history, it became necessary to take a second look at the first thirty-nine chapters of Isaiah. Ernst F. K. Rosenmueller (1768-1835), professor of Arabic at Leipzig, took the next logical step in elaborating the implications of Doederlein's position. If an eighth century author could not have written the passages in 40–66 which betray a foreknowledge of Babylon's significance, then those extensive sections in Isaiah I (such as chaps. 13 and 14) which show a similar foreknowledge must likewise be denied to the historical Isaiah and assigned to the unknown Exilic prophet. The removal of such Babylonian sections logically led to the questioning of Isaianic authorship of other passages too, even those in which divine prediction was not a factor. In the process of time, the genuinely eighth century portions of Isaiah came to be whittled down to a few hundred verses.[1]

3. In the course of this debate it became increasingly apparent that numerous passages in so-called Deutero-Isaiah could hardly be reconciled with a theory of composition in Babylonia. The references to geography, flora and fauna were far more appropriate to an author living in Syria or Palestine. Arguing from this evidence, Professor Bernard Duhm (1847-1928) of Göttingen came out with a theory of three Isaiahs, none of whom lived in Babylonia. According to his analysis, chapters 40–55 (Deutero-Isaiah) were written about 540 B.C., somewhere in the region of Lebanon, whether in Phoenicia or Syria was not clear. Chapters 56–66 (Trito-Isaiah) were composed in Jerusalem in the time of Ezra, around 450 B.C. Duhm went on to show, however, that in all three Isaiahs there were insertions from still later periods in Judah's history, all the way down to the first century B.C., when the final redaction was worked out. It was this school of criticism which George Adam Smith adhered to, for the most part, in his homiletical commentary on Isaiah in *The Expositor's Bible*. It hardly needs to be pointed out that with the discovery of a second century B.C. manuscript of the complete Isaiah, Duhm's theory of first century insertions becomes very difficult to maintain.

Perhaps it should be added that this divisive criticism did not go unanswered during the nineteenth century. Among the more notable scholars who upheld the Isaianic authorship of all sixty-six chapters were the following: (a) Carl Paul Caspari (1814-1892), a convert from Judaism who became a professor at the University of Christiania in Norway. He was a pupil of Ernst Wilhem Hengstenberg. (b) Moritz Drechsler, likewise a pupil of Hengstenberg, who published a commentary on Isaiah 1–27, but died before completing the rest of his work. (c) Heinrich A. Hahn (1821-1861), who published and supplemented Drechsler's work

[1]Cf. ISBE 1504-1507.

as far as Isaiah 39. (d) Franz Delitzsch (1813-1889), who ably maintained the genuineness of Isaiah's prophecies through all the editions of his celebrated commentary on Isaiah until the final one (when he finally made room for an Exilic Deutero-Isaiah). (e) Rudolf E. Stier (1800-1862) was another able exponent of the conservative position. In England, the same position was maintained by Ebenezer Henderson, who taught at the Ministerial College, 1830-1850. In America, Joseph Addison Alexander of Princeton Seminary published a very able commentary in two volumes in which he thoroughly refuted the divisive theories of liberal German scholarship.

4. In the twentieth century, the tendency of liberal scholarship has been to lower the date of the non-Isaianic portions of Isaiah rather than to multiply the number of Isaiahs. Thus Charles Cutler Torrey of Yale argued for a single author for Isaiah 34–66 (except for 36–39), composed by a writer who lived in Palestine, quite probably in Jerusalem itself, near the end of the fifth century. This author, according to Torrey, did not address the exiles at all, but the people to whom he spoke were in his own land of Palestine. The mention of Cyrus and the references to Babylon and Chaldea are all mere interpolations which occurred only in five passages and may therefore be disregarded.

Some of the most recent scholars, such as W. H. Brownlee, are coming to the view that the entire Isaianic corpus of sixty-six chapters betrays such strong evidences of unity as to suggest an orderly and systematic arrangement by one or more adherents of a so-called Isaianic school. According to this position, a circle of disciples treasured a recollection of the eighth century prophet's utterances and then gradually added to them with each successive generation until finally an able practitioner of this school, living possibly in the third century, reworked the entire body of material into a well-ordered literary masterpiece.

The Critical Arguments for Source Division

Broadly speaking, the grounds adduced for disproving the Isaianic authorship of chapters 40–66 may be classified under three headings: Differences in Theme and Subject Matter, Differences in Language and Style, and Differences in Theological Ideas. Each of these criteria is now to be analyzed, with a view to its soundness and tenability.

A. ALLEGED DIFFERENCES IN THEME AND SUBJECT MATTER

Divisive critics argue that in Isaiah I (1–39) it is contemporary conditions which occupy the center of the author's attention. In Isaiah II (40–66) the center of interest is shifted to the Babylonian Exile and the prospect of a return to the ancestral homeland. It is argued that a futuristic viewpoint could not possibly have been maintained over such a large number of chapters. This has proved to be a persuasive con-

sideration even to those mediating scholars who are not prepared to rule out the theoretical possibility of genuine prediction. By and large, however, the principal architects of the two-Isaiah theory have simply assumed on rationalistic grounds the impossibility of divine revelation in genuinely predictive prophecy. From this philosophical a priori viewpoint they have addressed themselves to the actual data of the text. As J. A. Alexander pointed out in his *Commentary* (Vol. I, p. 25), the basic assumption of all such critics, however else they may differ among themselves, is that there cannot be such a thing as a distinct prophetic insight of the distant future. He goes on to observe:

"He who rejects a given passage of Isaiah because it contains definite predictions of the future too remote from the times in which he lived to be the object of ordinary human foresight, will of course be led to justify this condemnation by specific proof drawn from the diction, style or idiom of the passage, its historical or archaeological allusions, its rhetorical character, its moral tone, or its religious spirit. On the discovery and presentation of such proofs, the previous assumption, which he intended to sustain, cannot fail to have a warping influence."

This comment contains a valid psychological insight which needs to be borne in mind in any analysis of the structure of the higher critical assault on the genuineness of Isaiah. If there can be no such thing as fulfilled prophecy, it becomes logically necessary to explain all apparent fulfillments as mere *vaticinia ex eventu*, that is, prophecies after the event. The problem for the antisupernaturalist becomes particularly acute in the case of the references to King Cyrus by name (44:28; 45:1). It might be a plausible supposition that some keen political analyst living in the early 540's could have made a successful prediction of the eventual success of the able young king who had already made a name for himself in Media by 550 B.C. But it is quite another thing for an author living in 700 B.C. to foresee events 150 years in advance of their occurrence.

It is usual in this connection to urge that the Scripture seldom predicts a future historical figure by name. Yet it should be pointed out that where the occasion calls for it, the Bible does not hesitate to specify the names of men and places even centuries in advance. For example, the name of King Josiah was, according to I Kings 13:2, foretold by a prophet of Judah back in the time of Jeroboam I (931-910), a full three centuries before he appeared in Bethel to destroy the golden calf and idolatrous sanctuary which Jeroboam had erected. This of course may be explained away as a late interpolation in I Kings; but there are other instances which cannot be so neatly disposed of. Thus Bethlehem is named by Micah (5:2) as the birthplace of the coming Messiah seven centuries before the birth of the Lord Jesus. This was a fact well known to the Jewish scribes in the time of Herod the Great.

It is important to observe that the historical situation confronting

Isaiah in 690 B.C. gave ample warrant for so unusual a sign as the prediction of Cyrus by name 150 years in advance of the fall of Babylon. Judah had sunk to such a low ebb in matters of religion and morals that the very honor of God demanded a total destruction of the kingdom and a removal of the populace into exile (just as had been foretold or forewarned in Lev. 26 and Deut. 28). If God was going to vindicate His holy law and honor His own promises of disciplinary chastisement, there was no alternative but devastation and captivity. But once a people had been carried off into exile in a distant land, there was virtually no hope that they would ever return to their ancestral soil. Such a thing had never happened before in history, and humanly speaking, there was no prospect that the dispersed Judah of a future generation would ever return to the land of promise. It was therefore altogether appropriate for God to furnish a very definite token or sign to which sincere believers might look as an indication of their coming deliverance and restoration to Palestine. This sign was furnished in the specifying of the very name of their future deliverer.

Attempts have been made by C. C. Torrey and others to remove the two references to Cyrus as later insertions which did not truly belong in the text. But the contextual evidence will not permit any such deletion. O. T. Allis in *The Unity of Isaiah* (p. 79) points to the climactic and parallelistic structure of 44:26-28, and shows that this would be quite destroyed or fatally impaired if the name *Kōresh* were removed. In this passage the greatest emphasis is laid on God's ability to foretell the future and to fulfill what He has predicted. The name is then introduced to serve as objective confirmation of the divine authority underlying the entire prophetic utterance.

Allis points out that the references to Cyrus which begin at 41:2-5 reach a climax in 44:28, and then taper off until the final reference (in which the Persian deliverer is alluded to although not named) in 48:14. Counting all the allusions, there are repeated references to Cyrus through these eight chapters; there is vivid description of his person and work, and his character is set forth as two-sided. On the one hand he is represented as God's "anointed shepherd," and on the other hand he is depicted as a pagan foreigner from "a far country" (46:11) who has not known Jehovah (45:5). It goes without saying that all this would be quite pointless if at the time these passages were composed Cyrus had already become a well-known figure who had made his reputation as the consolidator of the Medo-Persian empire (as the 550-540 date would imply). On the contrary, this future deliverer of captive Israel is always presented as a liberator who will make his appearance in the distant future; and his appearance, in confirmation of this promise, is to furnish a remarkable demonstration of the divine authority of Isaiah's message.

It should be pointed out that even in the first part of Isaiah, the greatest emphasis is laid upon fulfilled prediction, and many future events are foretold. Some of these fulfillments took place within a few years of the prediction; e.g., the deliverance of Jerusalem from the power of Sennacherib by sudden supernatural means (37:33-35), the defeat of Damascus within three years by the Assyrian emperor (8:4, 7), and the destruction of Samaria within twelve years after Isaiah foretold it (7:16). Other events were not to take place until long after Isaiah's death; e.g., the fall of Babylon to the Medes and Persians (13:17), and the eventual desolation of Babylon which should render it an uninhabited and accursed site forever (13:19, 20). Also, another long-range prediction was the coming of the glorious Light to Galilee in a future generation (9:1, 2), which was to be fulfilled by the ministry of Christ seven centuries later (cf. Matt. 4:15, 16).

As for a foreknowledge of the Babylonian Exile, it should be pointed out that even chapter 6, which is acknowledged by all critics to be authentically Isaianic, points forward to the utter depopulation and devastation of Judah which took place under Nebuchadnezzar. In verses 11 and 12 we read that God's judgment is to be visited upon Judah "until cities be waste without inhabitant, and houses without man, and the land become utterly waste, and Jehovah have removed men far away, and the forsaken places be many in the midst of the land" (ASV). The following verse, when translated according to the indications of the context, contains a reference to the restoration of the captivity from Exile: "Yet in it shall be a tenth, and it shall return, and shall be eaten up. . . ." Some interpreters have construed *yāshūb* ("will return") as having the force of the adverb "again," but such an interpretation is excluded by the appearance of the name of Isaiah's son three verses thereafter. It is obvious that Shear-jashub (7:3) was a name bestowed upon this child as a token of Isaiah's faith that God would fulfill the promise of 6:13, that a remnant would return (*yāshūb*).

In the latter part of Isaiah, as has already been suggested, the situation confronting Isaiah as a prophet of Jehovah in the midst of the crass idolatry of Manasseh's time demanded a response from the Lord which would be appropriate to the challenge. If God should bring judgment upon disobedient Judah, even to the point of total military defeat and a complete destruction of the land, it might be possible for observers to interpret this as a mere stroke of misfortune such as might happen to any people. Possibly it might even be construed as an expression of displeasure on the part of the national God of Israel toward His unfaithful devotees, for even the pagan religious thinkers were apt to explain national misfortune in this way. (Thus the Babylonian chronicle explains the subjugation of Babylon by Cyrus on the ground that Marduk was vexed at her. Likewise King Mesha of Moab explained the former sub-

jugation of Moab by Israel on the ground that Chemosh was angry with his own devotees.) A decisive testimony to the righteousness and sovereignty of Jehovah as the one true God could be made out only if His acts of punitive judgment and subsequent redemption were solemnly announced by special revelation long before the occurrence of the fulfillment. Only thus could the identity and authority of the Sovereign of the universe be clearly established before the eyes of all mankind. (Cf. Isa. 48:5, where God states that He foretold what He would do, "lest thou shouldst say, Mine idol hath done them, and my graven image, and my molten image, hath commanded them.") So it was that the degenerate age of Manasseh, which threatened to extinguish completely the testimony of Israel, presented a set of circumstances which altogether demanded an extended series of predictive prophecies such as are contained in Isaiah 40–66.

Quite clearly this is the intention of the author. In Isaiah 41:21-23, 26, we read: "Who hath declared it from the beginning, that we may know? and beforetime, that we may say, He is right?" (ASV). (There is an allusion here to previous predictions of Isaiah which had already been strikingly fulfilled.) In 42:9, 23: "Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them." And again in 43:9, 12: "Who among them [i.e., the heathen gods] can declare this, and show us former things? . . . I have declared, and I have saved, and I have showed." Likewise in 44:7, 8: "Who, as I, shall call, and shall declare it . . . ? And the things that are coming, and that shall come to pass, let them [the idols] declare. . . . Have I not declared unto thee of old, and showed it? And ye are my witnesses."

Such passages as these make it abundantly plain that the extensive and precise predictions of the future contained in these chapters of Isaiah II were intended to achieve a very special purpose. They were to furnish confirmation that the prophet's message was in fact the message of the one true God, who is absolute sovereign over the affairs of men; that it was by His decree rather than because of the might of Babylon that the covenant nation would be carried off in captivity. Only through the powerful encouragement of fulfilled prediction would the future generation of exiles summon up the courage to return to Palestine, even after the permission of the new Persian government had been granted. In order to sustain the faith of Israel through all these overwhelming reverses—the complete devastation of cities and farmlands, and the destruction of the temple—it was necessary to furnish an absolutely decisive proof that these events had taken place by the permission and plan of the God of Israel, rather than because He was a puny God overcome by the more powerful deities of the Chaldean empire (a conclusion which all heathendom would inevitably draw after the fall of Jerusalem).

It should also be pointed out that the Babylon-centered chapters

(40–48) do not appear without some advance preparation in the earlier part of Isaiah. As E. J. Young points out,[2] chapters 1–39 constitute a "staircase, as it were, which gradually leads one from the Assyrian to the Chaldean period. The two belong together, since the former is the preparation for the latter, and the latter is the completion of the former." That is to say, the atmosphere of Isaiah's day was filled with the threat of exile. Samaria had already been carried away captive by the Assyrians in 722; Sennacherib made a supreme attempt to do the same to Jerusalem in 701. With deliberate purpose, Isaiah placed chapters 38 and 39 (even though they narrated earlier events from about 712 B.C.) after chapters 36 and 37, which narrate episodes occurring in 701. This is because chapters 38 and 39 lead up to the reason for the coming Babylonian Exile: the pride of Hezekiah in displaying his wealth to the Babylonian envoys. Hence chapter 39 closes with an ominous prediction of the Chaldean Captivity. But even in the prior chapters there are numerous intimations of the coming exile of the nation (cf. 3:24-26; 5:5, 6; 6:11-13; 24:11, 12; 27:13; 32:13-18). Only by the question-begging device of labeling all such references as later interpolations can one evade the impact of this considerable body of evidence that the eighth century Isaiah foreknew that the Exile was coming.

Lastly, it ought to be observed that a Babylonian standpoint does not really prevail as extensively through Isaiah II as advocates of the two-Isaiah theory have maintained. Subsequent to chapter 48, clear allusions to the Exile and Restoration are hard to find. Many of the discourses address themselves to conditions known to have prevailed in Judah in the reign of Manasseh.[3] J. A. Alexander appropriately points out:[4] "How seldom, after all, the book mentions Babylon, the Exile, or the Restoration. . . . An exact enumeration of all such cases, made for the first time, might surprise one whose previous impressions had all been derived from the sweeping declarations of interpreters and critics." In other words, the advocates of Deutero-Isaiah have attempted to find many allusions to the late sixth century situation which are really susceptible of quite other interpretations. It is also a fact that the name of Babylon occurs with less frequency in chapters 40–66 than in 1–39. A statistical count shows that there are only four occurrences in the later section (43:14; 47:1; 48:14, 20), but in 1–39 there are nine occurrences, or more than twice as many.

[2]*Who Wrote Isaiah?* (1958), p. 71.
[3]This point is further elaborated in Chap. 24, p. 329.
[4]*Commentary*, Vol. I, 57, 58.

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ISAIAH (II)

A. Alleged Differences in Theme and Subject Matter (continued)

1. Internal evidence of the composition of Isaiah II in Palestine

A most important criterion for dating ancient documents is found in those references or allusions to contemporary events or surrounding conditions which it may happen to contain. The geographical setting which it presupposes, the kind of plants and animals which it mentions, the climatic conditions which it implies as prevailing in the author's own environment—all these are important data for determining the place and time for the composition of any document whether ancient or modern. A careful examination of such allusions in Isaiah 40–66 points unmistakably to the conclusion that it was composed in Palestine rather than in Babylon. We have already seen that Bernhard Duhm, on a rationalistic basis, came to the same conclusion in 1892.

a. Isaiah 40–66 shows little knowledge of Babylonian geography, but great familiarity with that of Palestine. Thus the trees referred to are native to Palestine, such as the cedar, cypress and oak (cf. 41:19; 44:14: "He heweth him down cedars, and taketh the cypress and the oak . . . he planteth an ash, and the rain doth nourish it"). The writer's geographical viewpoint is clearly Palestinian. Thus Jehovah is said to send off His decree to Babylon (43:14). Israel is called the seed of Abraham which the Lord has taken from "the ends of the earth" (apparently a reference to Babylonia) in 41:9; 45:22. The same is true with the phrases "from the east" and "from a far country" as employed in 46:11, and "from thence" rather than "from hence" in 52:11 ("Depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing")—an exhortation to the future exiles to leave Babylon as soon as the invitation has been given them by the coming deliverer, Cyrus.

b. The author assumes that the cities of Judah are still standing. Compare 40:9: ". . . say unto the cities of Judah, Behold your God!" This verse assumes that Zion and the other cities of Judah are in actual existence at the time of writing, rather than being uninhabited sites in the wake of Chaldean devastation. The same is true of 62:6: "I have set

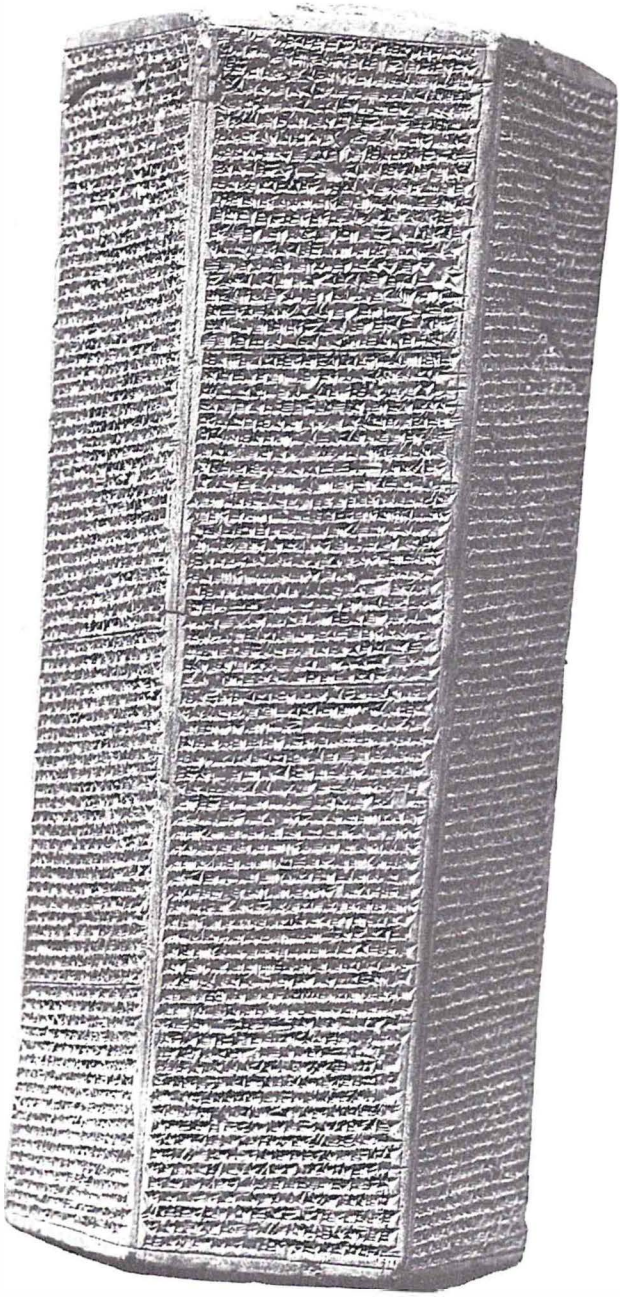
watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem." Antisupernaturalists cannot explain this away as an ideal anticipation of cities which are some day to be rebuilt. Such a defense would violate a cardinal maxim of their own, as expressed by Driver (ILOT 224): "The prophet speaks always, in the first instance, to his own contemporaries; the message which he brings is intimately related to the circumstances of his own time. . . . The prophet never abandons his own historical position, but speaks from it."

It is only to be expected that if the cities are still standing, the Israelites themselves are assumed to be dwelling in Palestine by the author of these prophecies. Thus in 58:6 we read: "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" This would be very strange language to address to a people who were groaning under the bondage of the Chaldeans as a captive people. It is very evident that the Jews are still dwelling in their own land and are competent to hold their own law courts. Only thus would it be possible for corrupt judges to pervert the administration of the law to the disadvantage of the less privileged classes of society.

2. Evidence for the pre-Exilic composition of Isaiah II

We have seen there is no good support for a Babylonian origin of Isaiah II. The internal evidence as it has been detailed above has shown how indefensible was this element in the theory of Deutero-Isaiah, as it was propounded by Doederlein, Eichhorn and Rosenmueller. More recent scholars tend to regard Isaiah II as having been composed either in Palestine or in the region of Lebanon to the north. They nevertheless insist that chapters 40–66 were composed late, either in the Exilic or post-Exilic period. It remains to be shown that this theory also fails to account for the data of the internal evidence.

In the first place, many of the same evils which prevailed in the time of the Eighth Century Isaiah are evidently still current in the generation of the author of Isaiah II. Bloodshed and violence are denounced in 1:15: ". . . yea, when ye make many prayers, I will not hear: your hands are full of blood," and they are still being denounced in 59:3, 7: "For your hands are defiled with blood, and your fingers with iniquity; your lips have spoken lies, your tongue hath muttered perverseness. . . . Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood." In both parts of the book, the prophet inveighs against the prevalent falsehood, injustice and oppression which were practiced in Judah. Compare 10:1, 2: "Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed; to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!" with 59:4-9, where the indictment is very similar: "None calleth for justice, nor any



A clay prism from Sennacherib's palace, telling of his descent on Judah in 701 (Isa. 36:1–39:8).

(Courtesy of the British Museum)

pleadeth for truth: they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity."

Both in Isaiah I and II, a revolting hypocrisy characterizes the religious life of the nation. Compare 29:13: "Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honor me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men . . ." with 58:2, 4: "Yet they seek me daily, and delight to know my ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God: they ask of me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God. . . . Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness: ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high." Moreover, in both sections of the book the Jews are assumed to be practicing their orgiastic rites in the sacred oak groves. Thus in 1:29: "They shall be ashamed of the oaks which they have desired"; and in 57:5: "Ye that inflame yourselves among the oaks, under every green tree" (ASV).

Although the same types of sin are assumed to be prevalent by the author in both parts of Isaiah, it should be observed that there is a difference. In 40–66 the author refers to an extreme degeneracy and breakdown of morals which accords with no known period of Jewish history so closely as with the age of Manasseh, who "shed innocent blood very much, till he had filled Jerusalem from one end to another" (II Kings 21:16). One has only to read II Kings 21 and Isaiah 59 to see the close correspondence. Thus 59:10: "We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes: we stumble at noonday as in the night; we are in desolate places as dead men." So also verses 13, 14: "In transgressing and lying against the Lord, and departing away from our God, speaking oppression and revolt, conceiving and uttering from the heart words of falsehood. And judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter."

A most decisive objection to a post-Exilic date for the composition of Isaiah II is to be found in the numerous passages which refer to idolatry in Israel as a wide and prevalent evil. Isaiah 44:9-20 contains a long diatribe against the folly of making graven images for worship, as if this were a major problem in contemporary Judah. This passage cannot be dismissed as a mere challenge to contemporary pagan nations, for there are too many other passages which speak of idolatry being practiced by the author's own countrymen at that time (cf. 57:4, 5: "Against whom do ye sport yourselves? . . . Enflaming yourselves with idols under every green tree, slaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of the rocks ?").

Not only is ritual prostitution here referred to, but also the sacrificing of babies to Molech and Adrammelech, an infamous practice carried on during the reign of Manasseh in the Valley of the Sons of Hinnom

(II Kings 21:6; II Chron. 33:6). And again, Isaiah 57:7: "Upon a lofty and high mountain hast thou set thy bed; even thither wentest thou up to offer sacrifice." This is an obvious allusion to worship in the high places (*bāmōt*), a type of worship which flourished in the pre-Exilic period, but never thereafter. Again, 65:2-4: "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people . . . a people that provoke me to my face continually, sacrificing in gardens, and burning incense upon bricks; that sit among the graves, and lodge in the secret places; that eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels" (ASV). In the very last chapter we find that idolatry is still being practiced. In 66:17: "They that sanctify themselves and purify themselves to go unto the gardens, behind one in the midst [or: one *asherah*], eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse, they shall come to an end together, saith Jehovah" (ASV). Plainly these things represent vicious evils which were going on at the time the prophet composed these words.

Let us carefully consider the implications of this prevalence of idolatry in Judah. The hilly or mountainous terrain referred to completely excludes the possibility of idolatrous worship being carried on in Babylonia, which was a flat, alluvial terrain. The types of worship alluded to are precisely those which are described as having been cultivated in the reign of Manasseh. So far as the post-Exilic period is concerned, it is agreed by scholars of every persuasion that the returning Jews who resettled Judah from 536 to 450 brought back no idol worship with them. The terrible ordeal of the Babylonian captivity had brought about a complete rejection of graven images on the part of the Jewish remnant. This complete freedom from idolatry in post-Exilic Judea is proved beyond all reasonable doubt by the writings of the admittedly post-Exilic authors, notably the prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, and the historians Ezra and Nehemiah. Many and various were the evils which arose in the second commonwealth during the century which elapsed between Zerubbabel and Malachi, and these evils are clearly described and earnestly denounced both by Ezra and Nehemiah. The book of Malachi contains a list of sins into which his countrymen had fallen. Yet none of these suggests the slightest practice of idolatry. There was intermarriage with foreign women of idolatrous background; there was oppression of the poor by the rich; there was desecration of the sabbath; there was a withholding of tithes—but none of these authors ever mentions the reappearance of idolatry in the land of Judah. The only possible conclusion to draw is that the worship of graven images there was unknown. Not until the age of Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C. was any real effort made to introduce it once more among the Israelite people. Therefore, in the light of this evidence, it is impossible to hold that

Isaiah II was composed at any time after the Exile, or indeed after the fall of Jerusalem.

Some liberal scholars have felt compelled to make slight concessions in this direction and admit the possibility of late pre-Exilic strands in Isaiah II. Thus Bentzen[1] notes that "in like manner 63:7–65:25 may be connected with the events of 587 B.C." W. H. Brownlee likewise comments:[2] "It is not impossible that there are some pre-Exilic prophecies among the oracles of Volume II. Note especially 56:9–57:13; 58:1-9 as of possible pre-Exilic origin." It can easily be seen how damaging to the theory of Isaiah II are such admissions as these. If such considerable passages on the basis of their contemporary allusions are to be dated prior to the fall of Jerusalem, the possibility arises that many other sections which do not happen to contain contemporary allusions may also have been of pre-Exilic origin. In other words, if portions of these twenty-seven chapters demand a time of composition prior to the downfall of the Jewish monarchy, and there are no other passages which demand an Exilic or post-Exilic origin (except upon the basis of a philosophic a priori that all fulfilled predictions are *vaticinia ex eventu*), then the only reasonable deduction to draw is that the entire work was composed prior to 587 B.C. This means that the whole case for Deutero- or Trito-Isaiah falls to the ground, simply on the basis of the internal evidence of the text itself.

B. Alleged Differences in Language and Style

Proponents of the Second Isaiah theory affirm that there are very definite and marked contrasts in style between Isaiah I and Isaiah II, and that these can be accounted for only by a difference in authorship. The purpose of the ensuing discussion will be to show that the stylistic similarities between the two parts are even more significant than the supposed differences, and that such differences as there are may easily be accounted for by the change in situation which confronted Isaiah in his later years, and also by the maturing of his literary genius. Numerous parallels to this may be pointed out in the history of world literature. Thus in the case of John Milton, we find far more striking dissimilarities between *Paradise Lost*, which he composed in later years, and the style of *L'Allegro* or *Il Penseroso,* which appeared in his earlier period. A similar contrast is observable between his prose works such as *Christian Doctrine* and *Areopagitica.* Or, to take an example from German literature, Goethe's *Faust Part II* presents striking contrasts in concept, style and approach as over against *Faust Part I.* These contrasts are far more obvious than those obtaining between Isaiah I and Isaiah II. In his *Dictionary of the Bible* (4th ed., p. 339a), Davis points out that in the

[1]IOT, 2nd ed., Vol. II, p. 109.
[2]*Literary Significance of the Bisection of Isaiah,* p. 5.

twenty-five years of Shakespeare's activity, four distinct periods can be distinguished in his dramatic productions, each period being marked by clear differences in style.

As in the case of Pentateuchal criticism, dissectionists of Isaiah have resorted to lists of rare or unique words or phrases in order to confirm a diversity of authorship. But this type of evidence has to be handled with the greatest care in order to come out to valid results. Mere word lists may prove little or nothing. In the case of the Latin poet Horace, some of the best-known phrases from his *Ars Poetica,* such as *callida junctura, in medias res,* and *ad unguem,* occur nowhere else in the writings of this poet. Yet far from being considered spurious because unique, they are very frequently quoted as examples of Horace's literary skill. So far as Isaiah is concerned, Nägelsbach points out:[3] "For among the chapters of Isaiah that are acknowledged genuine, there is not a single one which does not contain thoughts and words that are new and peculiar to it alone."

1. The stylistic resemblances between Isaiah I and Isaiah II are numerous and striking. Most distinctive of all is the characteristic title of God which occurs frequently throughout Isaiah and only five times elsewhere in the Old Testament. This title is "the Holy One of Israel" (*q*^{e}*dōsh Yiśrā'ēl*), which expresses a central theological emphasis that dominates all the prophecies contained in this book. A statistical count shows that it occurs twelve times in chapters 1–39 and fourteen times in chapters 40–66. Elsewhere in the Old Testament it occurs in Jeremiah 50:29; 51:5; Psalm 71:22; 89:18. Whether or not Isaiah actually invented this title, it became a sort of authoritative seal for all of his writing. Thus it furnishes very strong evidence of the unity of the entire production. The only alternative possible to advocates of the Deutero-Isaiah theory is to assert that the unknown prophet or prophets who contributed to chapters 40–66 were so dominated by the influence and message of the Eighth Century Isaiah that they felt constrained to employ his favorite title of God with even greater frequency than he did himself. But such an explanation does not account for the almost complete absence of this title in the writings of other post-Exilic authors who certainly could not have been ignorant of the Eighth Century Isaiah. Furthermore, this type of evasion appears to savor of circular reasoning: Isaiah II must have been written by a different author from Isaiah I because of the stylistic differences; but where the most striking stylistic similarities are pointed out, these indicate only that the later author was a pupil or imitator of the original author. Thus the facts are made to conform to the theory, rather than deriving the theory from the facts (i.e., from the textual data).

Conservative scholars have pointed out at least forty or fifty sentences

[3]In Lange *Commentary,* p. 283.

or phrases which appear in both parts of Isaiah, and indicate its common authorship.[4] Of these the following are typical:

"For the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it" (ASV) occurs in 1:20; 40:5; 58:14.

"I will work, and who shall let it [turn it back]?" (43:13) is very close to "His hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?" (14:27).

"And the ransomed of Jehovah shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads" (ASV) occurs in both 35:10 and 51:11.

". . . will assemble the outcasts of Israel" (11:12) is very close to ". . . gathereth the outcasts of Israel" in 56:8.

"For Jehovah hath a day of vengeance, a year of recompense for the cause of Zion" (34:8, ASV) greatly resembles 61:2, ". . . to proclaim the year of Jehovah's favor, and the day of vengeance of our God" (ASV).

". . . the lion shall eat straw like the ox. . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain" appears both in 11:6-9 and 65:25.

"For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert" (35:6) is very close to "I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water" (41:18).

"And the Spirit of Jehovah shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding" (11:2, ASV) is quite similar to, "The Spirit of the Lord Jehovah is upon me, because Jehovah hath anointed me . . ." (61:1, ASV).

In 35:8 we meet with the figure of the highway of Jehovah which runs through the wilderness or desert; the same thought occurs in 40:3.

". . . I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts. . . . Your new moons and appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them" (1:11, 14) is very similar to "Thou hast filled me with the fat of thy sacrifices: but thou hast burdened me with thy sins, thou hast wearied me with thine iniquities" (43:24, ASV).

"In that day will Jehovah of hosts become a crown of glory, and a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people" (28:5, ASV) greatly resembles "Thou shalt also be a crown of beauty in the hand of Jehovah, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God" (63:3, ASV).

In view of these and many other parallels which can be cited, it is difficult to see how an unprejudiced observer could fail to be impressed by such numerous instances of resemblance. These distinctive turns of expression which so obviously bear the stamp of originality and yet which occur in both portions of the book indicate that the same author must have composed the entire production.

2. It should be pointed out that the literary resemblances of Isaiah II

[4]Cf. Raven OTI 190, 191.

to the eighth century prophet Micah are numerous and striking. This would hardly be expected of a writer who composed in the sixth or fifth century B.C. Here are some examples:

"For ye shall not go out in haste . . . for Jehovah will go before you" (Isa. 52:12, ASV); "And their king is passed on before them, and Jehovah at the head of them" (Mic. 2:13, ASV).

". . . declare unto my people their transgression, and to the house of Jacob their sins" (Isa. 58:1); "I am full of power . . . to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin" (Mic. 3:8).

"They shall bow down to thee with their face toward the earth, and lick up the dust of thy feet; and thou shalt know that I am the Lord" (Isa. 49:23); "They shall lick the dust like a serpent, they shall move out of their holes like worms of the earth: they shall be afraid of the Lord our God" (Mic. 7:17).

"Behold, I have made thee to be a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth; thou shalt thresh the mountains . . . and shalt make the hills as chaff" (Isa. 41:15, 16, ASV); "Arise and thresh, O daughter of Zion; for I will make thy horn iron . . . and thou shalt beat in pieces many peoples" (Mic. 4:13, ASV).

Whether Isaiah was influenced by Micah or Micah by Isaiah is hard to say; quite possibly they were familiar with each other's preaching. It may also have been that the Holy Spirit moved them both to express God's message to the same generation in similar terms. At any rate, they express the same general mood and viewpoint, and deal very largely with the same issues. In this connection we might mention Hosea 13:4: "Thou shalt know no god but me, and besides me there is no saviour" (ASV). This sentence appears twice in Isaiah II, in 43:11 and 45:21, thus indicating a close relationship. (Since Hosea was slightly earlier than Isaiah, it is quite possible that the younger prophet deliberately borrowed from the older.)

C. ALLEGED DIFFERENCES IN THEOLOGICAL IDEAS

It is asserted by the advocates of the two-Isaiah theory that Deutero-Isaiah dwells upon the infiniteness of God and His sovereign relationship toward the heathen nations in a way that is far more developed and emphatic than in Isaiah I. On the other hand, Isaiah II makes no mention of the Messianic King nor of the faithful remnant; rather, the dominating concept is that of the Suffering Servant. To these allegations it may be replied that no genuine contradictions have ever been pointed out in the theology of the two sections of Isaiah, nor has any critic ever demonstrated that the new emphases which do appear in chapters 40–66 are not sufficiently accounted for by the changed conditions which obtained in the reign of the wicked and idolatrous Manasseh. Actually there is no doctrine set forth in 40–66 which is not already contained, in germ

at least, in 1–39. With the influx of idolatry in the kingdom of Judah and the worship of heathen gods, which became fashionable in Manasseh's time, a challenge was presented to the true faith that called for just such an emphasis upon the uniqueness and sovereignty of Jehovah as we find in Isaiah 40–48. As for the doctrine of the Messiah, the inevitability of judgment upon apostate Israel quite logically led to the development of the doctrine of vicarious atonement, apart from which there could be no reasonable hope for the spiritual survival of the nation. This accounts for the prominence of the concept of the Suffering Servant, or the Servant of Jehovah, in Isaiah II.

Much discussion has been devoted to the question of the identity of the Servant of Jehovah, who is referred to in various passages from chapter 41 to 53. Rationalists are compelled by their philosophical presuppositions to deny that the Suffering Servant was intended as a prophecy of Jesus Christ. In their search for some more contemporary figure with whom the Servant might be identified, most modern antisupernaturalists resort to the same identification as that favored by modern Jewry, that the Suffering Servant is equivalent to the Jewish nation. There can be little doubt that this identification leads to insuperable difficulties in those "Servant songs" which refer to the Messiah. Thus in Isaiah 53:4, 5, 8, 9 this type of exegesis would result in making Israel bear vicariously their own sins; that Israel was smitten instead of the Servant; that the nation of Israel did not open its mouth before its judge, and that the whole Jewish race was carried off by a judicial murder and was buried with a certain rich man.

The only satisfactory explanation for the Servant concept in Isaiah is that it is of a three-dimensional character. As Delitzsch put it, the Servant may be symbolized by a pyramid. At the base of the pyramid is the Hebrew nation as a whole (as in 41:8 and 42:19). Israel is regarded as God's uniquely chosen people charged with the responsibility of witnessing to the true God before the heathen nations, and serving as custodians of His Word. At the middle level, the remnant of true believers in Israel will constitute the redeemed people of God and serve as witnesses to their unspiritual countrymen. At the apex of the pyramid stands a single individual, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is set forth as the true Israel (for apart from Him there could not be a covenant nation of Israel, and from Him the nation derives all its standing before God). It is this Servant who will arise as Redeemer and Deliverer from sin by bearing in His own person the death penalty in the place of sinners.

Additional Proofs of the Genuineness of Isaiah 40–66

1. The New Testament writers clearly regard the author of Isaiah I and Isaiah II to be one and the same. Many of the New Testament quotations could be interpreted as referring to the book merely according

to its traditional title, but there are other references which clearly imply the personality of the historic Isaiah himself.

Matthew 12:17, 18 quotes Isaiah 42:1 as "that which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet."

Matthew 3:3 quotes Isaiah 40:3 as "spoken of by the prophet Isaiah."

Luke 3:4 quotes Isaiah 40:3-5 as "in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet."

Acts 8:28 states that the Ethiopian eunuch was "reading Isaiah the prophet," namely, Isaiah 53:7, 8. In his conversation with Philip (Acts 8:34) he inquired, "Of whom speaketh the prophet [sc. Isaiah] this, of himself, or of some other man?"

Romans 10:16 quotes Isaiah 53:1, stating: "Isaiah saith. . . ."

Romans 10:20 quotes Isaiah 65:1, stating: "Isaiah is very bold, and saith. . . ."

The most conclusive New Testament citation is John 12:38-41. Verse 38 quotes Isaiah 53:1; verse 40 quotes Isaiah 6:9, 10. Then the inspired apostle comments in verse 41:"These things said Isaiah, when he saw his glory, and spoke of him." Obviously it was the same Isaiah who personally beheld the glory of Christ in the temple vision of Isaiah 6 who also made the statement in Isaiah 53:1: "Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" If it was not the same author who composed both chapter 6 and chapter 53 (and advocates of the Deutero-Isaiah theory stoutly affirm that it was not), then the inspired apostle himself must have been in error. It therefore follows that advocates of the two-Isaiah theory must by implication concede the existence of errors in the New Testament.

2. A most formidable difficulty is presented to the Deutero-Isaiah theory by the fact that the author's name was not preserved. It is quite inconceivable that his name should have been forgotten had he been some individual other than the Eighth Century Isaiah himself. By the admission of the dissectionist critics themselves, no sublimer passages of prophecy are to be found in the entire Old Testament than are contained in Isaiah II. It is commonly conceded that the author of these passages must be regarded as the greatest of all the Old Testament prophets. How could it have come about that such a pre-eminent genius should have diminished so rapidly in stature that by the third century B.C. when the Septuagint was translated, his name should have been completely forgotten? The earliest extra-Biblical reference we have to the writings of Isaiah is found in Ecclesiasticus 49:17-25 (180 B.C.). Here the author (Jesus ben Sirach) refers to the fact that "he [Isaiah] comforted them that mourned in Zion. . . . He showed the things that should be to the end of time, and the hidden things before ever they happened" (this last being an allusion to Isa. 48:6). Here the same word for comfort (*parakalein*) is used as was employed by the Septuagint in translating

Isaiah 40:1. It is scarcely conceivable that the pupil could have so far surpassed his master and yet remained anonymous. But this is the incredible assumption, hardly to be paralleled in the rest of world literature, to which the advocates of this divisive theory are driven.

It should be observed in this connection that an almost invariable rule followed by the ancient Hebrews in regard to prophetic writings was that the name of the prophet was essential for the acceptance of any prophetic utterance. This is emphasized by the fact that even so brief a composition as the prophecy of Obadiah bore the name of the author. The Hebrews regarded the identity of the prophet as of utmost importance if his message was to be received as an authoritative declaration of a true spokesman of the Lord. As E. J. Young points out (IOT 205), it is altogether contrary to the genius of Biblical teaching to postulate the existence of anonymous writing prophets. And if the shortest, least-gifted of the minor prophets was remembered by name in connection with his written messages, it surely follows that the sublimest prophet the nation ever produced should have left his name to posterity. We must therefore conclude that the name of the author of Isaiah 40–66 has indeed been preserved and that it was the eighth century prophet himself.

3. The linguistic evidence is altogether adverse to the composition of Isaiah II in Babylon during the sixth century. In the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah, who came from the region of Babylon or from Susa (if not from the Persian centers of Ecbatana and Persepolis), we have a fair sample of the type of Hebrew spoken by Jews who returned from the Exile to Palestine and settled in their homeland during the fifth century. These writings show a certain amount of linguistic intrusion from Aramaic and are studded with Babylonian terms. But there is complete absence of such influence in the language of Isaiah II. It is written in perfectly pure Hebrew, free from any post-Exilic characteristics and closely resembling the Hebrew of Isaiah I.

4. Isaiah 13:1 furnishes serious embarrassment to the theory of an Exilic Deutero-Isaiah. Chapter 13 contains a burden of divine judgment upon the city of Babylon, which in Isaiah's day was a mere subject province under the Assyrian empire. Nevertheless, this opening verse states: "The burden of Babylon, which Isaiah the son of Amoz did see." This constitutes the clearest affirmation possible that the Eighth Century Isaiah foresaw the coming importance of Babylon, her devastation of Palestine and her ultimate downfall before the onslaughts of the Medes (cf. v. 17). In view of the often-repeated argument that Isaiah's name does not appear in chapters 40–66 and that therefore he is not to be regarded as the author of predictions involving a knowledge of sixth century events, it is interesting to observe that his name is expressly affixed to this earlier chapter in which such a knowledge is most clearly implied.

It should be noted that chapter 13 occurs in a series of burdens pronounced against foreign nations who posed a threat to Israel (chaps. 13–23). It is quite clear that the Eighth Century Isaiah wrote denunciations of this sort, and the language of chapter 13 is altogether similar to that employed in the rest of the chapters in this series. It is only in the interests of salvaging the theory of a Deutero-Isaiah that critics have been compelled to assign a late Exilic date to chapter 13. But as E. J. Young points out:[5] "If chapter 13 be denied Isaiah, it is practically impossible to explain its position in the prophecy. Why would a later editor ever have thought that Isaiah had prophesied concerning Babylon?" This point is especially well taken in view of the fact that denunciations of Babylon do occur in other parts of the book (e.g., in chap. 48). It is difficult to see why chapter 13 would not have been placed in close proximity to these other denunciations if in point of fact it was composed at the same time.

5. Lastly, we come to the relationship between Isaiah II and the seventh century pre-Exilic prophets. Zephaniah, Nahum and Jeremiah contain verses which are so similar to Isaiah II as to point to a possible borrowing by one from the other. Thus in Zephaniah 2:15 we read: "This is the joyous city that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none besides me" (ASV). This bears a strong resemblance to Isaiah 47:8: "Now therefore hear this, thou that art given to pleasures, that sittest securely, that sayest in thy heart, I am, and there is none else besides me" (ASV). Nahum 1:15 reads: "Behold, upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!" (ASV). Compare this with Isaiah 52:7: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!" (ASV). Jeremiah 31:35 reads: "Thus saith Jehovah . . . who stirreth up the sea, so that the waves thereof roar; Jehovah of hosts is his name" (ASV). This is very close to Isaiah 51:15: "For I am Jehovah thy God, who stirreth up the sea, so that the waters thereof roar; Jehovah of hosts is his name" (ASV).

In comparing such resemblances as these, it might be argued that Isaiah II was borrowing from the seventh century prophets rather than the other way around, but in the case of Jeremiah 30:10ff. (which bears relationship to Isaiah 43:1-6), such an explanation is hardly possible. In the Jeremiah passage, the term "My Servant" (*'abdī*) occurs as a Messianic title. Nowhere else does it appear in the writings of Jeremiah, and yet it is a frequent term in Isaiah II. There can be no other reasonable conclusion to draw but that Jeremiah did the borrowing and that the Isaiah passage must have been written at an earlier time than his own.[6]

[5]*Who Wrote Isaiah?* p. 43.
[6]E. J. Young in *Who Wrote Isaiah?* (p. 47) cites at least a dozen other passages in Jeremiah which show a dependence on Isaiah II.

In view of all the foregoing evidence, it may fairly be said that it requires a far greater exercise of credulity to believe that Isaiah 40–66 was not written by the historical Eighth Century Isaiah than to believe that it was. Judging from the internal evidence alone, even apart from the authority of the New Testament authors, a fair handling of the evidence can only lead to the conclusion that the same author was responsible for both sections and that no part of it was composed as late as the Exile.

25

NAHUM, ZEPHANIAH AND HABAKKUK

NAHUM

THE NAME of the prophet (*Nāḥūm*) signifies "consolation." His theme deals with the holiness of God, a holiness which involves both retribution toward rebellious unbelievers and compassion toward His own people, especially those who sincerely believe and trust in Him alone. The believer is represented as rejoicing at the sight of God's righteous vindication of His holiness in the destruction of the God-defying power of Assyria.

Outline of Nahum

I. A Psalm of God's Majesty, 1:1–2:2
   A. God's vengeance upon sinners and His goodness toward His own people, 1:2-11
   B. The coming restoration of Judah, 1:12–2:2

II. Prophecy of the Fall of Nineveh, 2:3–3:19
   A. The siege and destruction of the city, 2:3-13
   B. Reason for Nineveh's fall, 3:1-19

The Place of the Author's Origin

Nahum is stated to have been a native of Elkosh, but the identification of this town is in much dispute. There are four competing theories: (1) Jerome identified it as Elkesi or El Kauze in Galilee. (2) Others identified it as Capernaum, since Capernaum (*Kephar-Nāḥūm*) signifies "The Village of Nahum." According to this theory, Elkosh would have been later renamed after its most celebrated citizen. (3) Some identified it with Alqush near Mosul in Assyria, although the foundation of this conjecture is very slight. (4) Still others have pointed to Elcesei, which according to Pseudepiphanius was a village of Judah below Bet Gabre in the territory of Simeon, midway between Jerusalem and Gaza. Eiselen, Raven and Young concur in favoring this fourth conjecture, since the

internal evidence of the text suggests that the author was a native of the kingdom of Judah.

The Date of Composition

Since Nahum refers to the fall of Thebes before the armies of Ashurbanipal as a past event, and this event took place in 661 B.C., the prophecy must have been written subsequently to that time. On the other hand, the fall of Nineveh is predicted as a future occurrence; therefore the work must have been produced prior to 612 B.C. Walter Maier in his posthumous *The Book of Nahum: A Commentary* (1959) marshals considerable evidence to indicate the 654 date when Nineveh was still in its glory. Other scholars prefer a time closer to the fulfillment, perhaps 625 or 620 B.C. Rationalist critics who explain this fulfilled prediction as a *vaticinium ex eventu* naturally date it after 612. Some of them, like Robert Pfeiffer, regard only 2:3–3:19 as original and explain chapter 1 as partly original and partly supplemented by a redactor (sometime around 300 B.C.). Pfeiffer alleges that 1:2-10 has nothing to do with Nineveh but is a corrupted piece of acrostic poetry of a type that did not become popular until the fourth century B.C. It should be pointed out, however, that as the text stands, there is virtually nothing acrostic about it. Instead of following along in the order of the letters of the alphabet (as an acrostic poem is supposed to do), the opening letters of verses 2-10 come in the following order in the Hebrew alphabet: 1, 10, 3, 5, 12, 9, 6, 13 and 11. Only by the most radical emendations and reshuffling of verses can the acrostic theory be made out.

The Message of Nahum

Nahum 2:6 contains a remarkably exact prediction, for subsequent history records that a vital part of the city walls of Nineveh was carried away by a great flood, and this ruin of the defensive system permitted the besieging Medes and Chaldeans to storm the city without difficulty. Some have objected to the joyous attitude with which Nahum greets the prospect of the fall of Assyria's capital, and regard it as an exhibition of nationalistic fanaticism and vengeful malice. This, however, is a misunderstanding of the ground which the prophet occupies. Because he is a man of God, he speaks as one who is wholly preoccupied with the Lord's cause on earth. His earnest desire is to see Jehovah vindicate His holiness in the eyes of the heathen, as over against the inhumane and ruthless tyranny of that God-defying empire which had for such a long time trampled upon all the subject nations with heartless brutality. Only by a crushing and exemplary destruction of Assyria can the world be taught that might does not, in the long run, make right, and that even the mightiest infidel is absolutely helpless before the judicial wrath of God. The fact that the God of Israel could predict with such startling ac-

curacy the fact and the manner of Nineveh's fall was best calculated to prove to the ancient world the sovereignty of the one true God. It was a most remarkable reversal of fortune for the proud pagan capital to fall to its enemies within less than two decades after the reign of the mighty Ashurbanipal. In just fourteen years after his decease in 626 B.C., the apparently invincible empire which he had so successfully maintained toppled in ruins, never to rise again.

ZEPHANIAH

The name of this prophet, *Ṣᵉpan-Yah,* means "Jehovah has hidden (him)." The theme of his message is that Jehovah is still firmly in control of all His world despite any contrary appearances, and that He will prove this in the near future by inflicting terrible chastisement upon disobedient Judah, and complete destruction upon the idolatrous Gentile nations. Only by a timely repentance can this wrath be deferred.

Outline of Zephaniah

I. The Day of the Lord Prefigured, 1:1—3:7
   A. In judgment upon Judah and Jerusalem, 1:1—2:3
   B. In judgment upon the surrounding nations, 2:4-15
   C. The woe upon Jerusalem because of her sin, 3:1-7

II. The Establishment of the Future Kingdom, 3:8-20
   A. The judgment of the nations, 3:8-13
   B. The rejoicing remnant and the Messianic King, 3:14-20

The Time and Authorship of the Prophecy of Zephaniah

Zephaniah is stated to be the son of Cushi and the great-grandson of a Hezekiah, who might possibly have been King Hezekiah himself. (If so, he was the only prophet of royal blood.) Apparently he lived in Jerusalem, for he refers to it as "this place" (1:4), describing its topography with intimate knowledge. He probably delivered his message in the early part of Josiah's reign, doubtless prior to the revival of 621 B.C. The moral and religious conditions then prevailing were still low, owing to the evil influence of the reigns of Manasseh and Amon (cf. 3:1-3, 7).

Some rationalist critics have challenged the authenticity of 2:4-15 and 3:18-20 and have conjectured that these passages were of post-Exilic origin. Their principal criterion for such a dating is a theory of how the Hebrew religious thought developed from stage to stage in evolutionary progress. Eissfeldt and others have preferred a post-Exilic date for the judgment against Moab and Ammon (2:8-11) because of their resemblance to Obadiah (who according to them was early-Exilic). But

as Moeller points out, this passage harmonizes very well with the denunciation of Jerusalem and Judah to which it is juxtaposed.

The Message of Zephaniah

The prophet seems to make reference to the sudden and devastating invasion of the Scythians, who swooped down from the Caucasus region about 630 B.C. and swarmed over Media and Assyria. Next they ravaged Syria, and according to Herodotus, so threatened Egypt that Psammetichus I had to buy them off. (It should be mentioned, however, that this account of Herodotus is not supported by other ancient evidence, and is moreover embellished with such implausible details as to make it unsafe to accept without some reservation.) This scourge of warlike nomads served to warn Israel of the approaching day of Jehovah, when Judah was to be devastated. The prophet states that Philistia also will experience His judgment and become virtually depopulated; likewise Moab and Ammon (which are to be annihilated like Sodom), Ethiopia and Assyria. The Assyrian capital of Nineveh is to become a howling wilderness occupied only by wild beasts.

Along with all this dire warning, there is an appeal for repentance, addressed primarily to the remnant, rather than to the nation as a whole: "Seek ye Jehovah, all ye meek of the earth, that have kept his ordinances; seek righteousness, seek [i.e., aim at, practice] meekness [or humility]" (2:3, ASV). This appeal was the one to which Josiah's sympathizers responded, even though they were unable to retain power in Judah after their hero's untimely death in the battle of Megiddo (609 B.C.).

There seems to be a very definite millennial overtone to the promise of the ultimate blessedness of Israel in 3:13: "The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies . . . for they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make them afraid." (Note here the reminiscence of Micah 4:4 from a previous century.) The future age will be one of universal faith, and all nations, even those beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, shall serve Jehovah with one consent and shall speak the same language of faith (3:9, 10).

HABAKKUK

The name *Ḥabaqquq* is an unusual one of uncertain meaning; possibly it signified "ardent embrace" from *ḥābaq,* "embrace" (Eiselen in ISBE). Some have suggested that it was the name of a garden plant which the Assyrians called *ḥambaqūqu,* but which cannot as yet be identified.

The theme of this prophecy concerns the problems of faith in the face of apparent difficulties hindering the fulfillment of God's promises.

These difficulties are grappled with and solved in the light of God's continuing revelation, and the prophet closes in a psalm of joyous trust.

Outline of Habakkuk

I. The Problems of Faith, 1:1–2:20
   A. How can a holy God permit unholiness to go unchecked? 1:1-12
      1. Oppression unchecked in Judah, 1:2-5
      2. The Chaldean as God's scourge, 1:6-12
   B. How can God permit a wicked nation to triumph over His people? 1:13–2:20
      1. Ruthless cruelty and crass idolatry of the Chaldeans, 1:13-17
      2. The believer to wait humbly, trustingly for God's answer, 2:1-4
      3. Judgment to smite the Chaldeans because of their five sins, 2:5-9
      4. God's continued sovereignty over His earth, 2:20

II. Doubts All Settled: the Prayer of Faith and Unshakable Trust, 3:1-19
   A. Prayer for revival, 3:1, 2
   B. Past judgments of the Lord a sure token for the future, 3:3-16
   C. The believer's joy in God alone, assured of the vindication of God's holiness, 3:17-19

Authorship and Time of Composition

Habakkuk seems to have performed his ministry in the reign of Jehoiakim, since the Chaldeans are mentioned as already well known and of formidable reputation (1:6-10). This would best agree with a time subsequent to the fall of Nineveh in 612, and perhaps even after Nebuchadnezzar had achieved his triumph at the battle of Carchemish in 605. It is fair to conclude that the prediction of the Chaldean subjugation of Palestine was intended for fairly speedy fulfillment. (Whether it referred to Nebuchadnezzar's first invasion in 605 or the second invasion in 597, it is hard to say.) Habakkuk 1:2-4 points to an outbreak of rapacious exploitation of the poor on the part of the Judean nobility; this might imply a time after the death of Josiah (609). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that Habakkuk delivered his message somewhere around 607 or 606 B.C.

Some critics are disinclined to refer 1:2-4 to native Jewish oppressors, but prefer to identify them with the Egyptians (thus dating it at 608, during the brief ascendancy of Necho) or even with the Assyrians (which would make it prior to 612, or even as early as the reign of Ashurbanipal, who died in 626). But there is no good evidence in the text of 1:2-4

that heathen invaders are referred to; the manipulation of the law courts to favor the wealthy points to a domestic evil.

Some critics feel that the material in chapters 1 and 2 has been rearranged by a later editor, even though a pre-Exilic Habakkuk may have been the author of each portion. But the critics uniformly challenge his authorship of chapter 3 on the ground that it is a psalm rather than a prophetic utterance, and that it mentions musical terms in its first and last verses. On these grounds Pfeiffer dates this chapter in the fourth or third century B.C. But such an argument assumes the validity of the supposition that the musical terms in the Davidic psalms are late, and that despite Amos 6:5 and similar references, King David had nothing to do with music or song since he was a man of war. But for those who take seriously the Biblical tradition that David was very much concerned with the writing and singing of psalms, such musical terms constitute no evidence of late authorship. Nor is there any compelling reason why a prophet would have been incapable of composing a psalm of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord. Large portions of the prophetic writings are highly poetic in character, as the critics themselves are swift to point out.

Some scholars have made much of the fact that the Habakkuk Commentary from the First Qumran Cave omits the third chapter. Millar Burrows remarks (DSS 321, 322): "Its absence from the scroll is consistent with this theory, but does not prove it. It does not even prove that the third chapter was unknown to the Judean covenanters. Being a psalm, it does not lend itself to such use as is made of other chapters. It is even possible that the Commentary was never finished. The Septuagint has all three chapters, but whether this particular part of the Septuagint is older than the Habakkuk Commentary is another question."

The Message of Habbakuk

The rapacious nobles allied with corrupt and venal religious leaders were shamelessly robbing and oppressing the common people in Judah. Therefore they were to be punished through the instrumentality of the Chaldeans. It is interesting to note that it was the nobility that were first taken into captivity in the two preliminary deportations of 605 and 597. The majority of the lower classes was left in the land until the third deportation of 586.

But the prophet next sees that the Chaldeans will pose a serious problem to reconcile with the doctrine of the holiness of God, for they are a bloody and ruthless people who have no respect for the moral law. But instead of falling into an impatient cynicism, Habakkuk sets a salutary example of waiting upon the Lord for His answer (2:1). In time, the answer comes: the proud, self-confident sinner shall be condemned, his time is ripe, and only the faithful believer shall stand acquitted before God's judgment. Only he will partake of eternal life, or even survive

in this life in the onward progress of history (2:4). God has taken notice of the sins of the Chaldeans and will gloriously vindicate Himself in the end as He brings judgment upon them (2:13, 14). With all these doubts settled, Habakkuk breaks forth into a psalm of holy rejoicing and harks back to the days of the Exodus, the Conquest and the times of the Judges, to recall past instances when God similarly vindicated His righteousness and demonstrated His sovereignty to the world.

In many ways the prophecy of Habakkuk is unique. It is especially noteworthy in the style of its approach. Instead of addressing the people directly as a spokesman of the Lord, Habakkuk imparted God's message by telling them how it first came to him and answered the questions that were rising in his soul. With the possible exception of Daniel, no other Biblical author employs this particular technique.

26

JEREMIAH AND LAMENTATIONS

JEREMIAH

THE NAME JEREMIAH, *Yirmᵉ-Yāhū*, apparently means "Jehovah establishes" (Orelli in ISBE), if the verb *rāmah* (*"to throw"*) is to be understood in the sense of laying a foundation. The theme of this prophet consists largely in a stern warning to Judah to turn from idolatry and sin to avoid the catastrophe of exile. Every class of Hebrew society was condemned as inexcusably guilty. Because Judah refused to repent, the Babylonian Captivity was inevitable. All Hebrews needed to submit humbly to the Chaldean yoke, rather than to rebel against it, since it was a just chastisement for their unfaithfulness to God's covenant. Nevertheless, the day would come when Israel would be delivered by the Messiah, the Righteous Branch; therefore true Israel should always trust in God alone, never in the arm of flesh.

Outline of Jeremiah

I. Prophecies under Josiah and Jehoiakim, 1:1–20:18
   - A. The prophet's call and commission, 1:1-19
   - B. The sin and ingratitude of the nation, 2:1–3:5
   - C. Prediction concerning devastation from the north (the Chaldeans), 3:6–6:30
   - D. The threat of Babylonian Exile, 7:1–10:25
   - E. The broken covenant and the sign of the girdle, 11:1–13:27
   - F. The drought; the sign of the unmarried prophet; the warning about the sabbath, 14:1–17:27
   - G. The sign of the potter's house, 18:1–20:18

II. The Later Prophecies under Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, 21:1–39:18
   - A. Nebuchadnezzar, God's instrument to punish Zedekiah and Jerusalem, 21:1–29:32
   - B. The future Messianic kingdom, 30:1–33:26
     (The doctrine of individualism, 31:1-40)
   - C. Zedekiah's sin and the loyalty of the Rechabites, 34:1–35:19

D. Jehoiakim's opposition and destruction of the prophetic scroll, 36:1-32
E. Jeremiah in jail during the siege, 37:1–39:18

III. Prophecies after the Fall of Jerusalem, 40:1–45:5
A. Ministry among the remnant in Judah, 40:1–42:22
B. Ministry among the fugitives in Egypt, 43:1–44:30
C. Encouragement to Baruch, 45:1-5

IV. Prophecies Against the Heathen Nations, 46:1–51:64
A. Egypt, 46:1-28
B. Philistia, 47:1-7
C. Moab, 48:1-47
D. Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Arabia, Elam, 49:1-39
E. Babylon, 50:1–51:64

V. Historical Appendix, 52:1-34
(Events of the fall and captivity of Judah)

Biography of the Author

Jeremiah began his ministry at about twenty years of age in the thirteenth year of Josiah, i.e., 626 B.C. For the greater part of his life he lived in his home town of Anathoth (for he was of a priestly family) and appeared at Jerusalem at the annual feast days of the Jewish religious year. He seems to have been well off financially, since he was able to purchase the forfeited estate of a bankrupt kinsman without apparent difficulty. Under God-fearing Josiah, he remained unmolested by the government and enjoyed such cordial relations with the king that he composed an eloquent lamentation at the time of the king's death at the battle of Megiddo. Yet even among his fellow priests and relatives, Jeremiah had built up considerable ill will because of his forthright rebuke of infidelity to the covenant and his condemnation of their worldly practices.

After Josiah's death, with the rise of the idolatrous faction and the pro-Egyptian party, a serious reaction resulted against Jeremiah and all he stood for. It was only through the interposition of a few God-fearing elders and princes that Jeremiah escaped arrest for his unpalatable arraignment of the nation in the temple sermon of chapters 7–10. From that time on he seems to have been forbidden to enter the temple precinct, for he had to send Baruch as his spokesman whenever he had a message of God to proclaim before the people. He therefore dictated his prophecies to Baruch that they might be read to the people of Jerusalem. But soon this copy was turned over to King Jehoiakim, who destroyed it in his fireplace, section by section, as it was read to him by his own secretary. Later, King Zedekiah, a successor of Jehoiakim, permitted the prophet to

be incarcerated by the nationalistically minded nobles, who saw in Jeremiah a traitor because he had urged the nation to submit to Babylon. Nevertheless, Zedekiah was secretly fearful of God's messenger because of the fulfillment of his past predictions relative to the Chaldean invasion of 598. He therefore had the prophet rescued from death when he was at the point of perishing in his brutal confinement and kept him hidden from danger until the fall of Jerusalem.

When the forces of Nebuchadnezzar stormed the city, it was only natural that Jeremiah was offered a place of honor and a pension in Babylon (since he had constantly urged the Jews to submit to Nebuchadnezzar as God's instrument for chastening them). Yet Jeremiah chose to stay with the remnant of his own people in Palestine and minister to the bands of guerillas or partisans who had remained behind after the deportation. But after the treacherous murder of Gedaliah, he was abducted and carried off to Egypt by the fugitive remnant of the Jews, who preferred to take refuge in the land of the Nile rather than to remain in Palestine and face the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar. In Egypt Jeremiah prophesied for a few years longer, and it was probably there that he died.

By nature Jeremiah was gentle, tender and sympathetic, yet he was charged by God to proclaim a stern message of irreversible gloom. Loving his people with a deep affection, he constantly found himself the object of hatred, reproached with treason. Although he was sensitive to the extreme, he was forced to undergo a constant barrage of slander and persecution that would have crushed the spirit of the most callous. Weak and retiring by nature, he was ever thrust into the limelight. Occasionally he attempted to throw off his prophetic responsibility as a burden too heavy for him to bear, but again and again he returned to the call of duty, and by the power of the Lord stood indeed as a "tower of bronze."

The History of the Text

There is good evidence to believe that even apart from the original edition of Jeremiah's prophecy, which was destroyed by Jehoiakim, there was a later edition which preceded the final form of the text as we have it in the Masoretic tradition. At least this is a reasonable deduction to draw from the Septuagint Version, since it appears to be about one-eighth shorter than that of the Masoretic Text. It differs also in the arrangement of the chapters, for chapters 46–51 of the MT are placed after chapter 25 in the Septuagint, and they are arranged in a somewhat different sequence. Jeremiah 33:14-26 of the MT is altogether missing in the LXX. It would seem that this earlier edition was published in the prophet's own lifetime and first disseminated in Egypt. Later, after Jeremiah's death, it appears that Baruch made a more comprehensive collection of his master's sermons and rearranged the material in more

logical order. The MT doubtless preserves this posthumous edition of Baruch. In this connection, note that 36:32 indicates that a second preliminary edition was published in the reign of Jehoiakim, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that Jeremiah kept adding to these earlier sermons the messages the Lord gave him in the reign of Zedekiah and in the period subsequent to the fall of Jerusalem.

The following table is a correlation between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint in order to facilitate comparison:

MT	*LXX*
1:1–25:13	1:1–25:13
25:14–45:5	32:1–51:35
46:1–51:64	25:14–31:44

The Integrity of the Text

Most rationalist critics deny certain portions of Jeremiah both to Jeremiah himself and to Baruch his secretary. Passages challenged include (1) 10:1-16, because it warns the Jews in Exile against idolatry in terms reminiscent of "Deutero-Isaiah"; (2) 17:19-27, because of the emphasis upon strict sabbath keeping, which is reminiscent of Ezekiel or the Priestly Code and therefore a little too late for Jeremiah; (3) chapters 30 and 31, because of the Messianic expectation characteristic of the post-Exilic period and also because of the emphasis upon individual responsibility in the mood of Ezekiel 18 (the assumption being that this passage in Jeremiah must have been later than Ezekiel); (4) chapter 51, because in verse 41 Babylon is spoken of by its *Athbash* equivalent, "Sheshakh," and the *Athbash* is considered a late artificial device. (*Athbash* is so called because it consists of a code in which the last letter of the alphabet indicates the first, the second last indicates the second, etc.; hence the B-b-l of "Babel" comes out as Sh-sh-k, or the code name Sheshakh—Sheshach in AV.)

But it should be noted that all these criteria for later dating depend for their validity upon unproved assumptions such as the post-Exilic dating of Document P of the Torah and of Isaiah II, and an evolutionary hypothesis as to the development of the Messianic hope. It is difficult to justify any extensive chronological gap between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, since according to the Biblical evidence the two prophets were contemporaneous in their ministries, at least during the latter part of Jeremiah's career. There is a very close resemblance between Jeremiah 31:29, 30 and Ezekiel 18:2ff.; yet it would appear that what Jeremiah says in passing is taken up by Ezekiel as a sort of text for an extended sermon.

Miscellaneous Historical Matters

In regard to Jeremiah's prediction in 29:10 concerning the seventy years' captivity, there is some question as to how the seven decades are

to be computed. The main deportation of the population of Judah did not take place until 586 B.C. In 539, Babylon fell to the Persian conquerors, and within a year or two the Jewish remnant who chose to return resettled in Judah under the leadership of Zerubbabel and Jeshua, possibly in 536. Yet only fifty years elapsed between 586 and 536, and so we must look for other termini. Since the first Palestinian invasion of Nebuchadnezzar took place in 605 B.C., and resulted in the deportation of a considerable number of hostages (including Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego), this date might serve as the *terminus a quo;* thus 536 would be approximately seventy years later. Another possibility is to begin the seventy years at the destruction of the temple by General Nebuzaradan in 586 and prolong the Captivity until the second temple had been completely rebuilt, which took place in 516. Of these two choices, the latter seems to be very definitely favored by Zechariah 1:12: "Then the angel of the Lord answered and said, O Jehovah of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these three score and ten years?" (ASV). Since this utterance must have been given in 519 B.C., we can only conclude that, from the standpoint of the angel at least, the seventy years were not yet up; and that the gracious promise in Jeremiah 29:10 was not to be fulfilled until the temple itself was restored.

Until a few decades ago, considerable skepticism was voiced by many critics as to the fulfillment of the prediction made by Jeremiah in 43:9-13 and 44:30 that northern Egypt would be devastated by an invasion of the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar (cf. also Ezek. 29:19ff. which contains a similar prediction). The pagan Greek historians make no mention of such an invasion, although there is a definite record to be found in Josephus' *Antiquities,* X, 9:5-7: "Johanan took those whom he had rescued and came to a certain place called Mandara. On the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-third of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, he made an expedition against Coele-Syria; and when he had possessed himself of it, he made war against the Ammonites and Moabites; and when he had brought all those nations under subjection, he fell upon Egypt in order to overthrow it, and he slew the king that then reigned and set up another; and he took those Jews that were there captives, and led them away to Babylon; and such was the end of the nation of the Hebrews."

Many authorities tended to discount this testimony of Josephus as merely manufactured in order to support the Hebrew Scriptures. But R. Campbell Thompson of Oxford, in "The New Babylonian Empire" (in *The Cambridge Ancient History,* Vol. III), remarks: "The small fragment of a Babylonian chronicle first published by Pinches shows that Nebuchadnezzar launched an expedition against Egypt in his thirty-seventh year, i.e., about 567 B.C. . . . the very distance to which he pene-

trated is a matter of dispute. . . . We might almost assume from the tradition that certain Babylonian deserters built a 'Babylon' in Egypt near the Pyramids, which appears to have existed as an important fort in the time of Augustus, that his army at all events left some mark there." In Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (p. 308) appears a translation of a fragmentary Babylonian text in the British Museum containing the following sentence: "In the thirty-seventh year, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, marched against Mi-sir (Egypt) to deliver a battle." Additional archaeological confirmation is found in an inscription on the statue of Nes-ḥor in the Louvre. Nes-ḥor was a governor of southern Egypt under Hophra (Egyptian *Uaḥ-ib-Ra*). In this biographical record he states that an army of Asiatics and northern peoples who had invaded Egypt attempted to advance up the Nile Valley to Ethiopia, but this was fortunately averted by the favor of the gods. In view of this evidence, therefore, it is hardly justifiable to deny any longer the historicity of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Egypt, or to question that it was a very serious and devastating incursion.

At this point mention should be made of an important archaeological find unearthed at the site of the ancient city of Lachish (Tell ed-Duweir) which brought to light a file of correspondence consisting of about twenty-one ostraca dating from the year 588 B.C. They practically all consist of letters or memoranda written by the captain of a military outpost named Hoshaiah to Ya'ush, the district commander of the Jewish forces stationed in Lachish during the third Chaldean invasion. In most of these letters Hoshaiah seems to be defending himself against slanders and misrepre-

One of the Lachish letters, referring to events of the last days of Judah.
(Courtesy of the Wellcome Archaeological Expedition)

sentations concerning his own loyalty or efficiency. In these communications he refers to various people or incidents in such an elusive way that we cannot be sure of their full import. Some scholars have concluded, for example, that a certain prophet mentioned in these letters might either have been Jeremiah himself, or Urijah, who was extradited from Egypt after uttering an adverse prophecy against Jehoiakim (cf. Jer. 26:20-23). A further study of the evidence, however, has led most scholars to conclude that the prophet mentioned in these letters cannot reliably be identified upon the basis of the data at hand. The most significant light cast upon the period of Jeremiah by the Lachish correspondence is to be found in the linguistic field. The type of Hebrew employed bears a very marked similarity to that which appears in the writings of Jeremiah, and serves to confirm the genuineness of his prophecies as stemming from the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

LAMENTATIONS

The Hebrew title of this relatively short work is the word *'ēkah* ("How . . . !") which appears at the beginning of 1:1. The theme of the book is a lament over the woes that have befallen sinful Judah and the pitiable destruction visited upon the Holy City and the temple of the Lord. By implication the prophet appeals to chastened Israel that they recognize the righteousness of God's dealings with them, and that in a spirit of repentance they cast themselves once more upon His mercy.

Outline of Lamentations

I. Jerusalem Devastated and Forsaken, 1:1-22

II. The Reasons for God's Wrath upon the City; Repentance Its Only Hope, 2:1-22

III. The City's Lament for Its Devastation; Its Repentance at Remembrance of God's Former Mercies, 3:1-66

IV. Zion's Ancient Glory Contrasted with Her Present Misery, 4:1-22

V. The Repentant Nation Casts Itself Upon God's Mercy, 5:1-22

It is interesting to note that the first four chapters are written in the acrostic form. Chapters 1, 2 and 4 are therefore 22 verses long, each verse beginning with the successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Chapter 3, however, contains 66 verses, since three successive verses are allotted to each letter of the alphabet.

Authorship and Composition of Lamentations

The book does not expressly state who its author was, yet there was an early and consistent tradition that Jeremiah composed it. This tradition is reflected in the title of the book in the Greek Septuagint as well as by the Aramaic Targum of Jonathan. The early Church Fathers, such as Origen and Jerome, understood Jeremiah to be the author without any question. Many modern critics, however, have rejected this tradition on the ground of internal evidence; that is, the style is said to be significantly different from that of Jeremiah's prophecies, and two or three historical allusions have been interpreted as referring to much later conditions or events than Jeremiah's time. On the other hand, it is hard to conceive how there could have been a later occasion than the fall of Jerusalem in 586 to serve as the incentive for the composition of such a tragic threnody as this. If Jeremiah was not the composer, whoever wrote it must have been a contemporary of his and witnessed the same pitiless destruction meted out to Zion by its Chaldean conquerors.

In matters of style and phraseology, there are numerous and striking similarities between Lamentations and Jeremiah. Many of these have been acknowledged even by S. R. Driver, who does not accept Jeremiah's authorship; e.g., the oppressed virgin daughter of Zion (Lam. 1:15; Jer. 8:21); the prophet's eyes are said to flow down with tears (Lam. 1:16a; 2:11; Jer. 9:1, 18b). Compare "Among all her lovers she hath none to comfort her" (Lam. 1:2) with "All thy lovers have forgotten thee; they seek thee not" (Jer. 30:14). Both speak of the winecup of God's judgment: Lamentations 4:21 says of Edom, "The cup shall pass through unto thee: thou shalt be drunken, and shalt make thyself naked"; Jeremiah 49:12, "Behold, they whose judgment was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken; and art thou he that shall altogether go unpunished?"

The arguments advanced to indicate a difference in viewpoint between the authors of the two works do not rest upon sound exegesis. Thus it is alleged that unlike Lamentations 4:17, Jeremiah did not expect any help for Judah to come from Egypt. But actually this is a misunderstanding, for Lamentations 4:17 makes no specific mention of Egypt at all. Moreover, it does not purport to be the utterance of the author personally as much as the attitude of the nation as a whole, which the prophet puts into these words: "As for us, our eyes as yet failed for our vain help: in our watching we have watched for a nation that could not save us." The author does not imply here that he was expressing his own political views. Again, it is alleged that whereas Jeremiah regarded the Babylonians as God's instruments for punishment of his disobedient nation, Lamentations 3:59-66 implies that the Chaldeans were wicked enemies who richly deserved God's avenging rod. But it is a mistake to suppose that these two ideas are mutually exclusive. Jeremiah makes

it quite obvious that the Babylonians were used by God for the purposes of chastening, and yet were to experience His ultimate vengeance because of the evil motives of their own heart. (Cf. Isa. 10 for a similar treatment of the Assyrians.) We conclude that there are no valid grounds for making out a difference of authorship based upon a difference in viewpoint.

One final observation ought to be made concerning Lamentations 3. The first 18 verses of this chapter express mournful lamentation and portray God as cruelly severe, but then verses 19-39 abruptly change to a mood of hope and praise to God for His faithfulness and compassion. This is certainly the type of "discrepancy" which critics have utilized in other books of the Old Testament to demonstrate a difference in authorship. In this particular chapter, however, no theory of multiple sources is possible, for the whole composition is firmly and inescapably locked together by the acrostic pattern in which it is written. Hence this chapter may be taken as irrefutable proof that it was possible for an ancient Hebrew author quite suddenly to shift from one mood to another and express sentiments that markedly contrast with each other (even though they are not actually contradictory).

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EZEKIEL

THE HEBREW NAME *Yᵉḥezᵉqēʾl* means "God strengthens." The theme of Ezekiel's prophecy is that the fall of Jerusalem and the Babylonian Captivity are necessary measures for the God of grace to employ if He is to correct His disobedient people and draw them back from complete and permanent apostasy. But the day is coming when Jehovah will restore a repentant remnant of His chastened people and establish them in a glorious latter-day theocracy with a new temple.

Outline of Ezekiel

I. The Prophet's Call and Commission, 1:1–3:27

II. Prophecies Against Judah Prior to the Fall of Jerusalem, 4:1–24:27
   A. Messages of the fifth year (593/2 B.C.), 4:1–7:27
      (Destruction predicted by sign, symbol and sentence.)
   B. Messages of the sixth year (592/1 B.C.), 8:1–19:14
      1. Vision of Jerusalem's idolatry and punishment, 8:1–11:25
      2. Punishment necessary because of its universal corruption, 12:1–19:14
   C. Messages of the seventh year (591/0 B.C.), 20:1–23:49
      1. Israel's ingratitude since the Exodus; Nebuchadnezzar to turn toward Jerusalem; no more Davidic kings until Christ Himself, 20:1–21:32
      2. A catalogue of the sins of adulterous Samaria and Judah, 22:1–23:49
   D. Message of the ninth year (589/8 B.C.), 24:1-27
      No mourning for Ezekiel's wife or for Jehovah's fallen Israel.

III. Prophecies Against the Heathen Nations, 25:1–32:32
   A. Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia (nearest neighbors), 25:1-17
   B. Tyre and Sidon, symbols of proud commercial materialism, 26:1–28:26
   C. Egypt, the symbol of self-confident idolatry, 29:1–32:32

IV. Prophecies of Reconstruction and Restoration after the Fall, 33:1–48:35
  A. Stages of preparation for the new kingdom, 33:1–39:29
    1. Responsibility of the prophet and people; warning and purgation, 33:1-33
    2. False shepherds will give way to the True Shepherd, 34:1-31
    3. The return and revival of captive Israel, after Edom's destruction, 35:1–37:28
    4. Destruction of the godless nations (Gog and others) of the last days, 38:1–39:29
  B. The final kingdom and latter-day temple, 40:1–48:35
    1. The millennial temple, 40:1–43:27
    2. The millennial worship, 44:1–46:24
    3. The millennial land and the river of blessing, 47:1–48:35

Biography of the Author

Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel was of a priestly family. His father's name was Buzi, and he was sufficiently high in rank to warrant inclusion among the hostages whom Nebuchadnezzar took with him to Babylon in 597 B.C. He was settled in a community near Nippur (about fifty miles south of Babylon on the Euphrates River) called Tell-Abib on the "Grand Canal" (which would be a more accurate translation of "the river Chebar"). This canal, the *Nāru Kabari* of the cuneiform inscriptions, ran from the Euphrates above Babylon sixty miles in a southeasterly direction to Nippur, rejoining the Euphrates below Ur and irrigating the alluvial plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. Ezekiel was called to his prophetic ministry in 592 B.C. (the fifth year of the captivity of King Jehoiachin) when he himself was about thirty years of age (1:1). His happy marriage was terminated by the death of his wife in 587 (chap. 24). He became a noted preacher among the exiled Jews in Babylonia and was often resorted to both by the elders and the common people, although without much practical response to his message. His last dated discourse (29: 17ff.) was in the twenty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity, or 570 B.C.

Critical Objections to the Genuineness of Ezekiel

As recently as the eighth edition of Driver's ILOT, the genuineness of Ezekiel had been accepted by the majority of rationalist critics. But in 1924 Gustav Hoelscher advanced the thesis that only a small fraction of the book was by the historical sixth century Ezekiel (that is, only 143 verses out of 1273) and the rest came from some later author living in Jerusalem and contemporaneous with Nehemiah (540-530 B.C.). In 1930 Professor C. C. Torrey published a discussion of his view that no part of Ezekiel came from the sixth century, or even from the two centuries

succeeding. He dated the earliest stratum of the book of Ezekiel at 230 B.C., and deduced that it was written in Jerusalem rather than Babylonia. Not long afterward it was re-edited by a redactor who gave it the appearance of having been written in Babylonia by one of the Captivity. It should be mentioned that Torrey did not believe in the historicity of the Chaldean destruction of Judah or the removal of the Jewish population to Babylonia in any sort of national Captivity. Few scholars, however, have followed him in this skepticism, and in more recent years the cumulative data of Palestinian archaeology (as interpreted, e.g., by W. F. Albright) point to a complete cessation of Israelite occupation in Palestine during the greater part of the sixth century. G. A. Cooke, who put out the ICC volume on Ezekiel in 1937, still adhered to the view that the historic Ezekiel was the basic author of the book, for he felt it would be just as hard to believe in the supposed late redactor as it would be to accept at face value the statements of the text itself. Nevertheless, the more recent trend in liberal circles is to deny the genuineness of Ezekiel and to insist that it was really composed in Palestine some time after the restoration from Exile. Thus N. Messel in 1945 ventured to date the work at about 400 B.C. Bentzen in his IOT declared, "The book as it now stands is no authentic work of the prophet Ezekiel" (II, 125).

Two main grounds have been advanced for the denial of this book to the sixth century prophet Ezekiel:

1. The prophet who pronounced doom upon Israel could not possibly be the same as the one who held forth heartening promises of future blessing. In other words, the historic Ezekiel must have been a preacher of darkness and doom and afforded his nation no ray of light or hope. But it should be pointed out that nearly all the Old Testament prophets who foretell catastrophic judgment also predict subsequent restoration and the ultimate bestowal of covenant grace on the chastened nation of Israel. This observation applies to Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah, just to name a few of the outstanding examples. Only by a rigid dogmatism can these various Old Testament prophets be carved up into different sources and thus preserve the hypothesis that the threatener can only threaten and the promiser can only promise. Even Hugo Gressmann was led by an extensive study of these prophets to this conclusion: "World renewal necessarily follows upon world catastrophe."

2. It is alleged that the author of Ezekiel betrays a Palestinian viewpoint rather than that of an author writing in Babylonia. For example, Ezekiel is portrayed as enacting symbolic prophecies for the benefit of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which of course they could not have witnessed had he been living in the land of the Chaldeans more than a thousand miles away. In answer to this it should be pointed out that there is no hint or suggestion in the text of Ezekiel itself that the prophet performed his symbolic actions in the presence of Jerusalemites living in Jerusalem.

On the contrary, it indicates that his audience was composed of citizens of Jerusalem who shared exile with him in Babylonia. In II Kings 24:14 we read that when King Jehoiachin was taken into captivity in 597 B.C. with his princes and "mighty men of valor," the number of captives deported to Babylon (including the craftsmen and skilled workers) numbered no less than ten thousand. Since the great majority of these must have been residents of Jerusalem, there is no difficulty in supposing that Ezekiel had a very considerable audience of Jerusalemites to whom he might preach.

Secondly, it is objected that the author betrays an eyewitness knowledge of such events as took place in Jerusalem itself and which could have been witnessed only by actual bystanders. Thus in chapter 8 the author describes the idolatrous worship of the elders in the Jerusalem temple; in 11:13 he refers to the sudden death of one of their number (Pelatiah, the son of Benaiah); in 12:3-12, he refers to Zedekiah's attempt to escape from Jerusalem by night; in 21:18ff. he depicts Nebuchadnezzar consulting omens at a crossroads on the way to Jerusalem; and in 24:2 he refers to his encampment outside the city walls. The only reasonable conclusion to draw, according to these critics, is that the author lived in Jerusalem in the last years before the final destruction of 587 B.C. (Most advocates of this theory, however, make the author subsequent to the Exile and understand his work as a mere fictional account pieced together from oral tradition.)

Yet it should be noted that many of these references in Ezekiel are perfectly compatible with the supposition that tidings of the events related might have had opportunity to get to the exiles in Babylon by the time the author wrote what he did. In other cases, an introductory statement is given (e.g., in chap. 8) that what the author relates consists of a vision supernaturally imparted to him by the Lord. Only on the basis of antisupernaturalistic presuppositions can the factor of divine revelation be ruled out as an explanation of how Ezekiel could have had such an exact knowledge of what was going on in the Lord's house back in his native land. Nor can it be successfully maintained that even the assumption of an author living in Jerusalem can satisfactorily explain all the material contained in the text, for some of these visions are obviously of supernatural origin. This is pre-eminently the case with the vision of the departure of the glory of the Lord from the temple as set forth in 10:4 and 11:23. Only upon the supposition that Jehovah miraculously conveyed these scenes to His prophet in the form of a spiritual vision can these passages in Ezekiel be intelligently understood.

Discrepancies Between Ezekiel and the Priestly Code

Reference has been made in Chapter 12 to the role assigned by the Wellhausen school to the sixth century prophet Ezekiel in laying the

foundation for the work of the Priestly school. To him or his immediate disciples were attributed the Holiness Code (Lev. 17–26) and the first stages of a new doctrine that the priesthood should be confined to the descendants of Aaron rather than allowed to the tribe of Levi as a whole (cf. Ezek. 44:7-16, which assigns a privileged status to the family of Zadok). But the advocates of this school insisted that Document P could not have been in existence before Ezekiel's time; otherwise he would not have ventured to prescribe regulations which markedly differ from those laid down in the Priestly Code. As a matter of fact, there are striking divergences in three general areas: (1) temple dimensions, (2) temple furniture, (3) the ritual of sacrificial worship. It was for this reason, of course, that some of the ancient Jewish authorities, especially those connected with the school of Shammai, entertained doubts as to the canonicity of Ezekiel—overlooking the possibility that the temple regulations in chapters 40–48 were not intended to be implemented in the period of the old covenant, but rather in the final kingdom of the Messianic Age.

It should be observed that the theory of post-Exilic origin for the Priestly Code does not really furnish an adequate explanation for the divergences just referred to. It is an undeniable fact that the provisions in Ezekiel differ just as much from Document D, and even Document H, as they do from P. For example, there is absolutely no mention in Ezekiel of the tithes and gifts which are to be presented for the first-born (such as are prescribed in D and E), nor of the Feast of Pentecost and the regulations pertaining to it, nor of such particular provisions as the avoidance of ascending by steps to an altar. Since all these matters just mentioned are included in Deuteronomy, the same type of logic which makes Ezekiel earlier than P would compel us to make him earlier than D as well.[1] It is noteworthy that Ezekiel presupposes the same general system for sacrificial worship as that set forth in P: burnt offerings, sin offerings, peace offerings, and a clear distinction between the ritually clean and unclean. All these regulations are set forth with the implication that this sacrificial system was well known to its readers and had been practiced from ancient times.

Perhaps the most striking evidence along this line is that the temple dimensions given in the last part of Ezekiel differ not only from those in the Priestly Code but also those of the Solomonic temple as described in I Kings 6, 7. If Ezekiel's divergence indicates earlier authorship, then a consistent application of this criterion would compel us to understand Ezekiel as earlier than the erection of the Solomonic temple! Here

[1]Cf. Koehler, *Biblische Geschichte,* III, 154ff., containing a survey of evidence that the contents of the entire Torah are presupposed and recognized both by Jeremiah and Ezekiel as dating from ancient times; and that too including not only the book of the covenant (Exod. 21–23, JE) and Deuteronomy, but also H and various parts of P.

again then we must acknowledge that this whole line of reasoning leads to ridiculous results and cannot be adhered to as a serviceable criterion.

Another type of divergence which the post-Exilic date for P does not explain is found in Ezekiel's apportionment of the Holy Land among the twelve tribes during the millennial kingdom. As the metes and bounds are given in chapter 48, a geography somewhat different from that which presently obtains in Palestine seems to be quite definitely implied. Since Ezekiel had been brought up in Judah and must have been thoroughly familiar with the lay of the land in his own generation, he could not have been speaking of an apportionment to be enacted in the near future. He must have had reference to a new state of affairs to be ushered in at the end time. If this is true in regard to geography, there seems to be no reason why it may not also apply to the cultus itself.

The Problem of the Fulfillment of Ezekiel 40—48

These chapters contain a long and detailed series of predictions of what the future Palestine is to be like, with its city and temple. To an open-minded reader, it is safe to say the predictions of these nine chapters give the appearance of being as literally intended as those contained in the earlier part of the book (e. g., the judgments upon Tyre and Sidon in 26—28, which found literal fulfillment in subsequent history). The question is whether the plans set forth in chapters 40—48 are ever to be realized. If no temple is ever going to be erected in accordance with these specifications, and if there is to be no such Holy City as the prophet describes, and if there is to be no such apportionment of the land among the twelve tribes as he indicates, we are faced with a portion of Scripture containing false prophecy.

The only way to avoid this conclusion, according to many interpreters, is to understand all these provisions as intended in a purely figurative way. These chapters should be understood as referring to the New Testament Church, the spiritual Jerusalem. This line of interpretation is widely held even by scholars of undoubted orthodoxy. In the *New Bible Commentary* (Davidson-Stibbs-Kevan) we read (p. 664): "The conclusion of Ezekiel's prophecy, therefore, is to be regarded as a true prediction of the kingdom of God given under forms with which the prophet was familiar, viz., those of his own (Jewish) dispensation. Their essential truth will be embodied in the new age under forms suitable to the new (Christian) dispensation. How this is to be done is outlined for us in the book of Revelation (21:1—22:5)." Substantially similar views were espoused by C. F. Keil as well as Wilhelm Moeller on "Ezekiel" in ISBE (Vol. II, pp. 1071-1081).

The application of Ezekiel 40—48 to the New Testament Church sidesteps some of the difficulties attendant upon a more literalistic interpretation. This is especially true of the regulations for blood sacrifice which

appear in these chapters and which can hardly be fitted into a post-Calvary economy of salvation if the sacrifices themselves retain their atoning significance (with which of course they were invested in the Law of Moses). In the Epistle to the Hebrews such passages as 10:4 make it clear that no more animal sacrifices are necessary or efficacious for the atonement of sin. Hebrews announces that the one atoning deed of the Lord Jesus has a permanent efficacy which does away with the Old Testament priesthood of Aaron and the sacrifices of the Levitical code. As H. L. Ellison puts it in his *Ezekiel, the Man and His Message* (1956, p. 142): "In addition they [the opponents of the literalistic interpretation] cannot see why, when water, bread and wine have met the symbolic needs of nearly a thousand [sic!] generations of Christians, the millennium will need more. The King has returned and the curse on nature has been lifted; why should the animal creation still lay down its life?" It cannot be denied that this is a persuasive line of reasoning, and it is not surprising that a great majority of conservative scholars are content to dismiss Ezekiel's temple as a mere allegory of the Christian Church.

It nevertheless remains true that this matter cannot be so easily disposed of, for the stubborn fact still remains that we have here eight or nine chapters of prophetic Scripture which assure believers that God has a definite plan in the future for Jerusalem, the temple, and Palestine, and which give definite and precise measurements and bounds for the temple buildings and precincts and for the division of the tribal territories of the Promised Land. It is also true that the passages referred to in the book of Revelation provide rather dubious support for identification of Ezekiel's temple with the Church Age. Thus in Revelation 21:22, we learn that in the New Jerusalem there is to be no temple at all, and this appears to be a rather startling type of fulfillment for four chapters (Ezek. 40–43) which describe the temple in great detail, especially in view of the fact that Ezekiel makes a clear separation between the temple and the city (48:8, 15).

A similarity has been pointed out between the symbolic river in Ezekiel and that in Revelation 22:1, but it should be noted that the river of John's vision flows from beneath the throne of God and of the Lamb, whereas the river in Ezekiel 47:1 flows from the threshold of the temple. Undeniably there is a relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament passages involved, but it seems to be a relationship of the intermediate or typical to the consummate and eternal. In other words, the future millennial kingdom is to be a provisional economy which points forward to the new heavens and the new earth announced in Revelation 21 and 22.

It is quite significant that even some who hold that the New Testament Church is the fulfillment of Ezekiel's temple feel hesitant to affirm that the Church is what Ezekiel had in mind as he composed these chap-

ters. In the *New Bible Commentary* article referred to above, on page 663 we read: "Ezekiel has advanced plans which he expected to be carried out to the letter. To make them a deliberately symbolic description of the worship of the Christian Church is out of the question." This comment of course raises the question, was Ezekiel mistaken in his expectation? If these plans of the temple and Holy City were of his own devising, it is perhaps conceivable that he could have been in error (although such error could hardly have become part of Holy Scripture). But the prophet makes it abundantly plain that he did not devise these plans himself; they were revealed to him by the angel of the Lord who showed him the splendors of the completed temple precinct and measured for him all its metes and bounds. If then there was a mistake in expectation, it must have been shared by the angel of the Lord (unless, of course, Ezekiel has not given us a trustworthy account).

In view of the foregoing considerations, the present writer has come to the view that a moderately literal interpretation of these chapters is attended by less serious difficulties than a figurative interpretation. Much caution should be exercised in pressing details, but in the broad outline it may be reasonably deduced that in a coming age all the promises conveyed by the angel to Ezekiel will be fulfilled in the glorious earthly kingdom with which the drama of redemption is destined to close. The sacrificial offerings mentioned in these chapters are to be understood as devoid of propitiatory or atoning character, since Christ's sacrifice provided an atonement which was sufficient for all time (Heb. 10:12). Nevertheless, the Lord Jesus ordained the sacrament of holy communion as an ordinance to be practiced even after His crucifixion, and He specified that it was to be observed until His second coming (I Cor. 11:26: "till He come"). By premillennial definition, the millennium is to follow His sacred advent. If, then, there was a sacramental form practiced during the Church Age, why should there not be a new form of sacrament carried on during the millennium itself?[2]

We in this age are hardly more competent to judge concerning the new requirements and conditions of the future millennial kingdom than were Old Testament believers competent to judge concerning the new forms and conditions which were to be ushered in in the New Testament Age after Christ's first advent.[3]

It should be added that some writers on this subject have introduced questionable precision of detail in their interpretation of what the millennial kingdom will be like, such as the exclusive Jewishness of the

[2]Cf. Erich Sauer, *From Eternity to Eternity* (1954), pp. 179-184, in which the author makes clear the symbolic and sacramental character of the sacrifices and shows the untenability of both the spiritualizing interpretation and also of that theory which makes the second temple of Zerubbabel the fulfillment of Ezekiel 40—48.

[3]For a lucid discussion of this subject from a strict dispensationalist standpoint, see M. F. Unger's articles in *Bibliotheca Sacra,* No. 106, pp. 312-324.

citizenry, or the supremacy of the Hebrew race as an ethnic unit over all the nations of the earth. Yet there are many indications in the Old Testament prophets that Jewish and Gentile believers shall be incorporated into one body politic in the coming age. For example, we find it clearly implied in Isaiah 11:10-12 that both the Hebrew *'am* (AV, "people") and the Gentile *gōyīm* (AV, "Gentiles") will be included under the rule of the same Messiah and enjoy equal standing before Him. The symbol of the good olive tree in Romans 11 seems to indicate that all Christians, whether Jewish or Gentile in background, are brought into organic relationship as members of the same body, and there is a suggestion that this condition will continue even in the end time (cf. Gal. 6:16, which seems to speak of the Church as the "Israel of God").

For these reasons the sharp dichotomy maintained between Israel and the Church in Unger's "Objections to the Literal Futuristic Interpretation of Ezekiel's Temple Answered" (in *Great Neglected Bible Prophecies*, 1955, pp. 88-95) seems very difficult to maintain. However, it should be recognized that a belief in the millennial fulfillment of Ezekiel 40—48 does not necessarily involve any clear separation between Jewish and Gentile believers, nor does it require any identification between the "prince" or ruler of the latter-day commonwealth mentioned in these chapters (44:3; 46:2; etc.) and the person of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself. It is far more likely that this "prince" is to be understood as a vice-regent, ruling under the authority of the Messiah (whose empire, of course, will extend to all the nations of the earth).

28

DANIEL (I)

THE NAME DANIEL in Hebrew is *Dāniyyē'l,* which means either "God is Judge" or "God is my Judge" (depending upon the force of the medial *-iy-*). The basic theme of this work is the overruling sovereignty of the one true God, who condemns and destroys the rebellious world power and faithfully delivers His covenant people according to their steadfast faith in Him.

Outline of Daniel

I. The Training and Testing of the Remnant, 1:1-21
   A. The captivity of the hostages by Nebuchadnezzar, 1:1, 2
   B. The training of the Jewish youths for the king's service, 1:3-7
   C. Daniel's first test of obedience, his challenge of faith, 1:8-16
   D. Consequent reward: attainment in wisdom, promotion in position, 1:17-21

II. Nebuchadnezzar's Dream and God's Plan for the Ages, 2:1-49
   A. The enigma of the dream beyond the wisdom of this world, 2:1-13
   B. Daniel's undertaking to interpret it, and his prayer for God's revelation, 2:14-23
   C. Daniel's recall and interpretation of the dream, 2:24-45
   D. The resultant glory to God and the promotion of Daniel, 2:46-49

III. The Golden Image and the Fiery Furnace, 3:1-30
   A. Erection of the image and compulsory state religion, 3:1-7
   B. Accusation and trial of the steadfast remnant, 3:8-18
   C. The execution of the sentence, 3:19-23
   D. God's miracle of deliverance and the Fourth Man, 3:24-27
   E. Nebuchadnezzar's second submission to God, 3:28-30

IV. Nebuchadnezzar's Warning Dream and Subsequent Humbling, 4:1-37

A. The alarming dream, unexplained by worldly wisdom, 4:1-7
B. Daniel's recognition as interpreter of dreams, 4:8-18
C. Daniel's interpretation and warning to the proud king, 4:19-27
D. The king's great humiliation, 4:28-33
E. The king's repentance and acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, 4:34-37

V. Belshazzar's Feast and God's Judgment upon the Profanation of Holy Things, 5:1-31

A. Belshazzar's arrogant misuse of the holy vessels of God, 5:1-4
B. The handwriting on the wall and the king's terror, 5:5-9
C. The request of the helpless world ruler to the man of God, 5:10-16
D. The judgment of God against the proud king: the pronouncement of doom, 5:17-28
E. The honoring of Daniel and the slaying of Belshazzar, 5:29-31

VI. In the Lions' Den: The Believer's Preservation Against the Malice of the World, 6:1-28

A. The conspiracy of envy: the decree forbidding all prayer except to Darius, 6:1-9
B. Daniel's detection at prayer and the enforcement of the decree, 6:10-17
C. His miraculous deliverance and the punishment of his foes, 6:18-24
D. Darius' testimony to God's sovereignty, 6:25-28

VII. The Triumph of the Son of Man, 7:1-28

A. The beasts (lion of Babylon, bear of Medo-Persia, leopard of Greece, the terrible beast of Rome), 7:1-8
(The "little horn" of vv. 8 and 20 refers to the Beast.)
B. The kingdom of God and Messiah's enthronement, 7:9-14
C. The angel's interpretation of the dream to Daniel, 7:15-28

VIII. The Conquest of Persia by Greece and the Rise of Antiochus Epiphanes, 8:1-27

A. The vision of the ram, the he-goat and the little horn (Antiochus), 8:1-12
B. The interpretation of the vision by Gabriel, 8:13-27

IX. The Vision of the Seventy Weeks: God's Perfect Plan for Israel, 9:1-27
   A. Daniel's persistent, promise-based prayer, 9:1-19
   B. Gabriel's appearance with the answer: 70 heptads of years for Israel, 9:20-27
      (An accurate prediction of the interval between the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem and the crucifixion of Christ.)

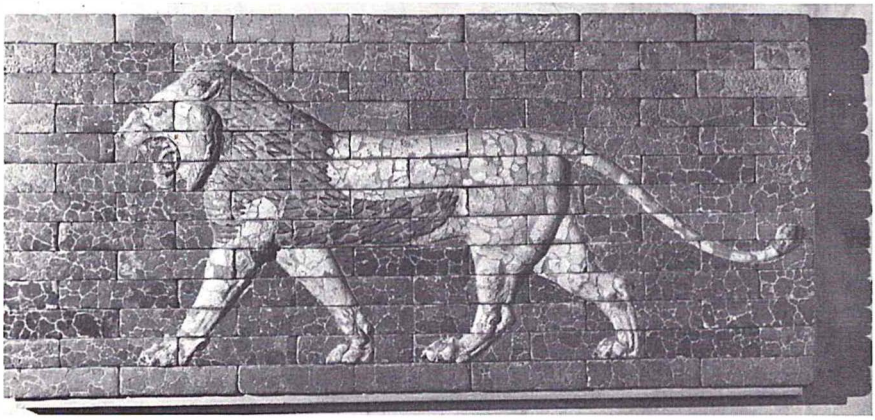
X. The Triumph of Persistent Prayer, 10:1-21
   A. The angel's appearance with the answer to Daniel's queries, despite infernal opposition, 10:1-14
   B. The angel's encouragement of Daniel, promising further revelation, 10:15-21

XI. The Proto-Tribulation Under Antiochus, Typical of the Final Tribulation, 11:1-45
   A. From the Persian empire to the death of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C., 11:1-4
   B. Wars between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires up to 168 B.C., 11:5-20
   C. Persecution of Israel by Antiochus IV, 11:21-39
   D. The analogous war of the antitype of Antiochus in the last days, 11:40-45

XII. The Tribulation and Final Triumph of God's People, 12:1-13
   A. The Great Tribulation, 12:1
   B. The resurrection and judgment, 12:2, 3
   C. The sealing of these prophecies for future fulfillment, 12:4
   D. The angels and the man clothed in linen: prediction of three and a half years, 12:5-7
   E. The final commission to Daniel; the 1290 days and the 1335 days, 12:8-13

The Authorship of Daniel

Despite the numerous objections which have been advanced by scholars who regard this as a *vaticinium ex eventu* (or prophecy written after the event), there is no good reason for denying to the sixth century Daniel the composition of the entire work. This represents a collection of his memoirs made at the end of a long and eventful career which included government service from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar in the 590's to the reign of Cyrus the Great in the 530's. The appearance of Persian technical terms indicates a final recension of these memoirs at a time when Persian terminology had already infiltrated into the vocabulary of Aramaic. The most likely date for the final edition of the book, therefore, would be about 530 B.C.



A lion in enameled brick from the Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar's day.
(Courtesy of the Louvre)

The Theory of a Maccabean Pseudepigraph

The great majority of critics regard this book as entirely spurious and composed centuries after the death of the sixth century Daniel. They understand it to be a work of historical fiction composed about 165 B.C. and intended to encourage the resistance movement against the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes. There are a good many scholars, however, who are not completely satisfied with the Maccabean date for the earlier chapters in Daniel. Many like Eichhorn (in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries), Meinhold, Bertholdt and (in the twentieth century) Sellin, Hoelscher and Noth have held that chapters 2–6 (some would include chap. 7) originated in the third century B.C. This multiple-source theory of Daniel is examined later in the chapter. The arguments for dating the composition of this book in the Greek period may be divided into four general headings: the historical, the literary or linguistic, the theological and the exegetical. Each of these areas is now examined in detail.

A. HISTORICAL ARGUMENTS FOR THE LATE DATE OF DANIEL

1. The Jewish canon places Daniel among the *Kethubhim* or *Hagiographa,* rather than among the Prophets. This is interpreted to mean that the book must have been written later than all the canonical Prophets, even the post-Exilic Malachi and "Trito-Isaiah." But it should be noted that some of the documents in the *Kethubhim* (the third division of the Hebrew Bible) were of great antiquity, such as the book of Job, the Davidic Psalms and the writings of Solomon. Position in the *Kethubhim,* therefore, is no proof of a late date of composition. Moreover, from the standpoint of classification, there was very good reason for placing Daniel in the Writings rather than among the Prophets. In the first place, Daniel

was not appointed or ordained as a prophet, but remained a civil servant under the prevailing government throughout his entire career. Secondly, a large percentage of his writings does not bear the character of prophecy, but rather of history (chaps. 1–6), such as does not appear in any of the books of the canonical Prophets. Little of that which Daniel wrote is couched in the form of a message from God to His people relayed through the mouth of His spokesman. Rather, the predominating element consists of prophetic visions granted personally to the author and interpreted to him by angels. (Here a comparison may be drawn with Zechariah, which likewise features a series of visions. But in Zechariah far more emphasis is laid upon God's communicating His message to Israel through a prophetic mouthpiece.) It was doubtless because of the mixed character of this book, partaking partly of historical narratives and partly of prophetic vision, that the Jewish scribes relegated it to the third or miscellaneous category in the canon.

2. It has been pointed out that Jesus ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) makes no mention of Daniel even though he refers to all the other Prophets (in 170 B.C.). But since Daniel was not included in the second division of the canon, there is no particular reason why ben Sirach should have referred to him in that connection. Other important authors like Ezra (likewise not of the Prophets) received no mention either. Critics have also pointed to ben Sirach's statement that there never was a man who was like unto Joseph, and yet, it is alleged, Daniel's career greatly resembled that of Joseph. Note, however, that in none of the particulars specified did Daniel resemble Joseph: "Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph, a governor of his brethren, a stay of the people, whose bones were regarded of the Lord" (Ecclus. 49:15).

3. It has been alleged that such historical inaccuracies occur in Daniel as to render it likely that the author lived much later than the events he describes. For example, in Daniel 1:1, it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Palestine in the third year of Jehoiakim, whereas Jeremiah 46:2 says that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar was the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Since the Chaldean conqueror became king upon his father's death in the year that he invaded Judah, there is a discrepancy of one year between Daniel and Jeremiah. More recent investigations, however, have shown that the Jews reckoned their regnal year from the first month preceding the year of accession (reckoning the year as commencing in the month of Tishri, or the seventh month of the religious calendar). This would mean that 605 B.C. would have been the fourth year of Jehoiakim who came to the throne in 608. The Babylonians, however, reckoned the first regnal year from the next succeeding new year's day, i.e., from the first of Nisan (the first month of the Hebrew religious calendar). Therefore, the year 605 would be only Jehoiakim's third year according to the Chaldean reckoning. Thus in D. J. Wiseman's *Chronicles of the*

Chaldean Kings (1956), it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar's first regnal year began in April, 604, even though he had been crowned in September, 605.

4. Critics point to the fact that one class of wise men or soothsayers in the book of Daniel is referred to as the "Chaldeans" (*Kasdīm*). They allege that this ethnic term for Nebuchadnezzar's race could not have become specialized to indicate a class of soothsayers until a much later time. In Nebuchadnezzar's own time it surely would have carried only a racial connotation. This indicates that the author of Daniel must have written at a time long after the Neo-Babylonian empire had collapsed and had become an almost forgotten memory. This theory, however, fails to fit the data of the text, for the author of this work was certainly aware that *Kasdīm* was the ethnic term for the race of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus in Daniel 5:30 Belshazzar is referred to as the king of the Chaldeans; in this case the term certainly could not refer to any class of wise men. Therefore, the theory of late origin fails to explain the facts as we have them. We must look to other explanations for this twofold use of *Kasdīm*. Herodotus (I, §181-183) refers to the Chaldeans in such a way as to imply that they were speedily put into all the politically strategic offices of Babylonia as soon as they had gained control of the capital. If this was the case, then "Chaldean" may have early come into use as a term for the priests of Bel-Marduk.

Another suggestion has been offered by R. D. Wilson (*Studies in the Book of Daniel,* Series One) to the effect that the Akkadian *Kasdu* or *Kaldu,* referring to a type of priest, was derived from an old Sumerian title *Gal-du* (meaning "master builder"), a term referring to the building of astronomical charts which were used as an aid to astrological prediction. Wilson cites such a use of *Gal-du* in a tablet from the fourteenth year of Shamash-shumukin of Babylon (668-648 B.C.). It should be noted that a good many Sumerian titles have been found which contain the element *Gal* ("great one," "chief," "master"). On a single page in Jacobsen's *Copenhagen Texts* (p. 3) we find these titles Gal-LU KUR, Gal-UKÚ, Gal-DAN-QAR, and Gal-SUKKAL. The resemblance between this *Gal-du* or *Kaldu* and the ethnic term *Kaldu* as a by-form of *Kasdu* would be purely accidental. Such an explanation clears up the divergent usages of this term by the author of Daniel.

5. The appearance of King Belshazzar in chapter 5 was interpreted by earlier critics to be unhistorical, inasmuch as Nabonidus was known to be the last king of the Chaldean empire. Later discoveries of cuneiform tablets referring to Belshazzar as "the son of the king" serve to discredit that criticism almost completely. Nevertheless it is still objected that Belshazzar is referred to in chapter 5 as a son of Nebuchadnezzar, whereas his father was actually Nabonidus (*Nabuna'id*) who reigned until the fall of Babylon in 539. It is alleged that only a late author would have sup-

posed that he was Nebuchadnezzar's son. This argument, however, overlooks the fact that by ancient usage the term "son" often referred to a successor in the same office whether or not there was a blood relationship. Thus in the Egyptian story "King Cheops and the Magicians" (preserved in the Papyrus Westcar from the Hyksos Period), Prince Khephren says to King Khufu (Cheops), "I relate to thy Majesty a wonder that came to pass in the time of thy father, King Neb-ka." Actually Neb-ka belonged to the Third Dynasty, a full century before the time of Khufu in the Fourth Dynasty. Moreover, it is a distinct possibility that in this case there was a genetic relationship between Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. If Nabonidus married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar in order to legitimize his usurpation of the throne back in 556 B.C., it would follow that his son by her would be the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar.

There is fairly conclusive evidence that Belshazzar was elevated to secondary kingship during his father's lifetime (just as Jotham had been during the lifetime of his father Uzziah in the kingdom of Judah—a common practice in ancient times in order to secure a peaceful succession). Recent archaeological discoveries indicate that Belshazzar was in charge of the northern frontier of the Babylonian empire while his father Nabonidus maintained his headquarters at Teman in North Arabia. Among the discoveries at the site of Ur is an inscription of Nabunaid containing a prayer for Nabunaid himself followed by a second prayer for his first-born son, Bel-shar-uṣur (Belshazzar)—such prayers being customarily offered only for the reigning monarch. Still other cuneiform documents attest that Belshazzar presented sheep and oxen at the temples in Sippar as "an offering of the king." The fact that by the time of Herodotus (ca. 450 B.C.) the very name of Belshazzar had been forgotten, at least so far as the informants of the Greek historian were concerned, indicates a far closer acquaintance with the events of the late sixth century on the part of the author of Daniel than would have been the case by the second century B.C.

There is an additional detail in this account that makes the theory of late authorship very difficult to maintain, i.e., the writer of chapter 5 quotes Belshazzar as promising to the interpreter of the inscription on the wall promotion to the status of third ruler in the kingdom (5:16). Why could he only promise the third, and not the second? Obviously because Belshazzar himself was only the second ruler, inasmuch as Nabonidus his father was still alive.

6. It is alleged that the figure of "Darius the Mede" is an evidence of historical confusion. It is supposed that the author must have confused him with Darius the son of Hystaspes, who was the third successor after King Cyrus, and who was really a Persian instead of a Mede. But this interpretation is impossible to defend in the light of the internal evidence of the text itself. (a) No explanation can be found for calling Darius

the son of Hystaspes a Mede, when he was known to be the descendant of an ancient Persian royal line. (b) The author asserts that Darius the Mede was sixty-two years old when he assumed the rule in Babylonia, yet it was well known to the ancients that Darius the Great was a relatively young man when he commenced his reign. (c) In Daniel 9:1 it is asserted that Darius the Mede was made (*homlak*) king over the realm of the Chaldeans. This term indicates that he was invested with the kingship by some higher authority, which well agrees with the supposition that he was installed as viceroy in Babylonia by Cyrus the Great. Note in this connection the reference of Darius I in the Behistun Inscription to his father Hystaspes as having been made a king. Since chronological reckoning shows that he must have been only a sub-king who ruled under the authority of Cyrus, this established that it was Cyrus' policy to permit subordinate rulers to reign under him with the title of king.

It has been objected that a mere viceroy would not have addressed a decree to the inhabitants of "all the earth" (Dan. 6:25). If the word "earth" refers to the whole inhabited Near East, the objection is well taken (since the authority of Darius the Mede would necessarily have been confined to the former dominions of Nebuchadnezzar, which did not include Asia Minor, North Assyria, Media or Persia). But it should be pointed out that the Aramaic word *'ar'ā* (like its Hebrew cognate *'ereṣ*) may signify only "land" or "country" rather than having the wider significance. So construed, the term presents no difficulty at all. Yet it should also be pointed out that part of the ancient titulary of the king of Babylon ever since the time of Hammurabi was the phrase *shar kishshati* or "king of the universe" (lit., "king of all"). In his decree, therefore, Darius the Mede may simply have been following ancient custom in using terminology which implied universal dominion.

The question remains, however, who was this Darius the Mede? No ancient historian refers to him by this name. Nevertheless, there is powerful cumulative evidence to show that he is to be identified with a governor named Gubaru, who is referred to both by the cuneiform records and by the Greek historians as playing a key role in the capture of Babylon and its subsequent administration. For some decades it has been customary to identify this Gubaru (Greek, Gobryas) with the ruler mentioned by Daniel. Nevertheless, there have been some puzzling discrepancies in the ancient records concerning this personage, and these have encouraged critical scholars like H. H. Rowley to reject the identification between Gubaru and Darius the Mede as altogether untenable.

Rowley's arguments have been superseded, however, by the able work of J. C. Whitcomb in his *Darius the Mede* (1959). Whitcomb has gathered together all the ancient inscriptions referring to Ugbaru, Gubaru and Gaubaruva to be found in the Nabonidus Chronicle, the Contenau Texts, the Pohl Texts, the Tremayne Texts, and the Behistun Inscription.

By careful comparison and the process of elimination, Whitcomb shows that the former assumption that Ugbaru and Gubaru were variant spellings of the same name is quite erroneous and has given rise to bewildering confusion. Ugbaru was an elderly general who had been governor of Gutium; it was he who engineered the capture of Babylon by the stratagem of deflecting the water of the Euphrates into an artificial channel. But according to the cuneiform records, he lived only a few weeks after this glorious achievement, apparently being carried off by an untimely illness. It would appear that after his decease a man named Gubaru was appointed by Cyrus as governor of Babylon and of *Ebir-nāri* ("beyond the river"). He is so mentioned in tablets dating from the fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth years of Cyrus (i.e., 535, 533, 532 and 531 B.C.) and in the second, third, fourth and fifth years of Cambyses (528, 527, 526 and 525 B.C.). He seems to have perished during the revolts of Pseudo-Smerdis and Darius I, for by March 21, 520 B.C., the new satrap of Babylonia is said to be Ushtani.

Whitcomb goes on to say (*ibid.*, p. 24): "It is our conviction that Gubaru, the governor of Babylon and the region beyond the river, appears in the book of Daniel as Darius the Mede, the monarch who took charge of the Chaldean kingdom immediately following the death of Belshazzar, and who appointed satraps and presidents (including Daniel) to assist him in the governing of this extensive territory with its many peoples. We believe that this identification is the only one which satisfactorily harmonizes the various lines of evidence which we find in the book of Daniel and in the contemporary cuneiform records."

Whitcomb further cites the statement of W. F. Albright in "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler" (JBL, XL, p. 11, n. 2): "It seems to me highly probable that Gobryas did actually assume the royal dignity along with the name 'Darius,' perhaps an old Iranian royal title, while Cyrus was absent on a European campaign. . . . After the cuneiform elucidation of the Belshazzar mystery, showing that the latter was long co-regent with his father, the vindication of Darius the Mede for history was to be expected. . . . We may safely expect the Babylonian Jewish author to be acquainted with the main facts of Neo-Babylonian history." As Albright suggests, it is quite possible that the name Darius, Persian *Darayavahush,* was a title of honor just as "Caesar" or "Augustus" became in the Roman empire. In Medieval Persian (Zend) we find the word *dara,* meaning "king." Possibly *Darayavahush* would have meant "the royal one."

In this connection a word should be said about the remarkable decree referred to in Daniel 6 which forbade worship to be directed toward anyone else except Darius himself during the period of thirty days. Granted that the king later repented of the folly of such a decree when he discovered it was merely part of a plot to eliminate his faithful servant

Daniel, it still is necessary to explain why he ever sanctioned the measure in the first place. In view of the intimate connection between religious and political loyalty which governed the attitude of the peoples of that ancient culture, it might well have been considered a statesmanlike maneuver to compel all the diverse inhabitants with their heterogeneous tribal and religious loyalties to acknowledge in a very practical way the supremacy of the new Persian empire which had taken over supreme control of their domains. A temporary suspension of worship (at least in the sense of presenting petitions for blessing and aid) was a measure well calculated to convey to the minds of Darius' subjects the reality of the change in control from the overlordship of the Chaldeans to that of the Medes and Persians. In the light of ancient psychology, therefore, it is unwarrantable to rule out of possibility such a remarkable decree or to condemn it as fabulous or unhistorical, as many critics have done.

B. LITERARY AND LINGUISTIC ARGUMENTS FOR THE LATE DATE OF DANIEL

1. Foreign loanwords in the Aramaic of Daniel

It has been alleged that the numerous foreign words in the Aramaic portion of Daniel (and to a lesser extent also in the Hebrew portion) conclusively demonstrate an origin much later than the sixth century B.C. There are no less than fifteen words of probable Persian origin (although not all these have actually been discovered in any known Persian documents), and their presence proves quite conclusively that even the chapters dating back to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar could not have been composed in the Chaldean period. This contention may be freely admitted, but conservative scholars do not maintain that the book of Daniel was composed, in its final form at least, until the establishment of the Persian authority over Babylonia. Since the text indicates that Daniel himself lived to serve, for several years at least, under Persian rule, there is no particular reason why he should not have employed in his language those Persian terms (largely referring to government and administration) which had found currency in the Aramaic spoken in Babylon by 530 B.C.

But it is alleged that the presence of at least three Greek words in Daniel 3 indicates that the work must have been composed after the conquest of the Near East by Alexander the Great. These three words (in 3:5) are *qayt^{e}rōs* (Gr. *kitharis*), *psant^{e}rīn* (Gr. *psaltērion*), and *sūmpōnyah* (Gr. *symphonia*). The last of these three does not occur in extant Greek literature until the time of Plato (ca. 370 B.C.), at least in the sense of a musical instrument. From this it has been argued that the word itself must be as late as the fourth century in Greek usage. But since we possess less than one-tenth of the significant Greek literature of the clas-

sical period, we lack sufficient data for timing the precise origin of any particular word or usage in the development of the Greek vocabulary.

It should be carefully observed that these three words are names of musical instruments and that such names have always circulated beyond national boundaries as the instruments themselves have become available to the foreign market. These three were undoubtedly of Greek origin and circulated with their Greek names across national boundaries, just as foreign musical terms have made their way into our own language, like the Italian *piano* and *viola*. We know that as early as the reign of Sargon (722-705 B.C.) there were, according to the Assyrian records, Greek captives who were sold into slavery from Cyprus, Ionia, Lydia and Cilicia. The Greek poet Alcaeus of Lesbos (fl. 600 B.C.) mentions that his brother Antimenidas served in the Assyrian army. It is therefore evident that Greek mercenaries, Greek slaves and Greek musical instruments were current in the Semitic Near East long before the time of Daniel. It is also significant that in the Neo-Babylonian ration tablets published by E. F. Weidner, Ionian carpenters and shipbuilders are mentioned among the recipients of rations from Nebuchadnezzar's commissary—along with musicians from Ashkelon and elsewhere (cf. "Jojachin König von Juda" in *Mélanges Syriens*, II, 1939, pp. 923-935).

Two or three other words have been mistakingly assigned by some authors to a Greek origin, but these have now been thoroughly discredited. One of them was *kārōz* (herald) which was supposedly derived from the Greek *kēryx* (so Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon*). But in more recent works like Koehler-Baumgartner's *Hebrew Lexicon* this derivation is explicitly rejected in favor of the old Persian *khrausa*, meaning "caller." C. C. Torrey and A. Cowley regarded *pathgām* as derived from Greek, but Kutscher, in *Kedem* II, 74, published a leather roll of Arsames from about 410 B.C. in which this term occurs more than once. Needless to say, this renders a Greek derivation impossible. In all probability it was derived from the Old Persian *pratigama*, which meant originally something which has arrived, hence a "communication" or "order" (cf. Albright in *The Biblical Period*, p. 65).

Actually, the argument based upon the presence of Greek words turns out to be one of the most compelling evidences of all that Daniel could not have been composed as late as the Greek period. By 170 B.C. a Greek-speaking government had been in control of Palestine for 160 years, and Greek political or administrative terms would surely have found their way into the language of the subject populace. The books of Maccabees testify to the very extensive intrusion of Greek culture and Greek customs into the life of the Jews by the first half of the second century, particularly in the big cities.

This is especially significant in view of the fact that the Aramaic of Daniel was a linguistic medium which readily absorbed foreign terminol-

ogy. It includes approximately fifteen words of Persian origin, almost all of which relate to government and politics. It is hard to conceive, therefore, how after Greek had been the language of government for over 160 years, no single term pertaining to politics or administration had ever intruded into Palestinian Aramaic. The same generalization holds good for the Hebrew portions of Daniel as well. It contains such Persian terms as "palace" (*appeden* in 11:45, from *apadāna*), "noblemen" (*part^{e}mīn* in 1:3, from *fratama*) and "king's portion" (*patbāg* in 1:5, from *patibaga*). Yet the Hebrew chapters contain not a single word of Greek origin (even though, according to some critics, Daniel's Hebrew is later than his Aramaic sections).

It was formerly asserted that the Aramaic of Daniel is of the Western dialect and hence could not have been composed in Babylon, as would have been the case if the sixth century Daniel was its real author. Recent discoveries of fifth century Aramaic documents, however, have shown quite conclusively that Daniel was, like Ezra, written in a form of Imperial Aramaic (*Reichsaramäisch*), an official or literary dialect which had currency in all parts of the Near East. Thus the relationship to the Aramaic of the Elephantine Papyri from southern Egypt is a very close one, inasmuch as they too were written in the Imperial Aramaic. E. Y. Kutscher (JBL, Dec. 1957, p. 338), in a review of G. R. Driver's *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century* B.C. (1954), comments upon linguistic peculiarities of these letters which were sent from Babylon and Susa in the Eastern Aramaic area. He states: "With regard to Biblical Aramaic, which in word order and other traits is of the Eastern type (i.e., freer and more flexible in word order) and has scarcely any Western characteristics at all, it is plausible to conclude that it originated in the East. A final verdict on this matter, however, must await the publication of all the Aramaic texts from Qumran."

2. Grammatical evidences for early date of Daniel's Aramaic

One noteworthy characteristic in the Aramaic of Daniel which marks it as of early origin is to be found in the fairly frequent internal-vowel-change passives. That is to say, instead of adhering exclusively to the standard method of expressing the passive (by the prefix *hit-* or *'et-*) the Biblical Aramaic used a *hophal* formation (e.g., *honḥat* from *n^{e}ḥat*, *hussaq* from *s^{e}laq*, *hūbad* from *'^{a}bad* and *hu'al* from *'^{a}lal*). No such examples of *hophal* forms have as yet been discovered in any of the Aramaic documents published from the Dead Sea caves (some of which, like the Genesis Apocryphon, date from scarcely a century later than the Maccabean wars). Such forms cannot be dismissed as mere Hebraisms employed by the Jewish author of Daniel, since even the Jewish scribes of the Targums never used such forms, but only the *'et-* type of passive.

If Hebrew influence could have produced internal-vowel passives it might reasonably be expected to have shown itself even in the Targums.

Largely because of the close relationship of Biblical Aramaic to the Elephantine Papyri (which date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.), many scholars have been forced to date chapters 2–7 of the book of Daniel as no later than the third century B.C. Even H. H. Rowley concedes that the evidence is conclusive that Biblical Aramaic stands somewhere between the Elephantine Papyri and the Aramaic of the Nabatean and Palmyrene Inscriptions. Sachau states quite plainly that the language of the Papyri is in all essential respects identical with Biblical Aramaic.

Torrey and Montgomery came to the conclusion that Daniel 1–6 was written between 245 and 225 B.C., and that a later editor translated chapter 1 into Hebrew around 165 B.C.[1] Eissfeldt (*Einleitung*, 1934) likewise indicated that the first six chapters came from the third century B.C. and the last six were from the Maccabean period and were intended as a continuation of the older work. Gustav Hoelscher in *Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel* (1919) followed the view of Ernst Sellin, who stated that an older Aramaic Daniel apocalyptic or biography comprised chapters 1–7 (chap. 1 being later translated into Hebrew, and Maccabean insertions having been made in chaps. 2 and 7), whereas chapters 8–12 were truly Maccabean in date. Hoelscher states that it might have been possible that the author of the collection of legends (chaps. 2–6) took them directly from oral tradition or found them already in older written form. Yet he points out that they show unmistakably the hand of a single author running throughout the text because of a certain uniformity in style and method of treatment. Both Hoelscher and Martin Noth (*Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel*, 1926) attempted to date the origin of certain elements and motifs by a correlation with current events of Hellenistic history insofar as they were known to them.

The mere fact that chapters 2–7 of Daniel were written in Aramaic and the remainder in Hebrew has been adduced by some writers as a ground for a late dating of the document. Some have argued that Aramaic would hardly have been favored over the traditionally sacred Hebrew until a period so late in Jewish history that Hebrew had become almost unintelligible and forgotten by all except the rabbis themselves. It should be understood, however, that the claim of the sacrosanctity of Hebrew is a mere theory which rests on slender foundations. The Jews apparently took no exception to the Aramaic sections in the book of Ezra, most of which consist in copies of correspondence carried on in Aramaic between the local governments of Palestine and the Persian imperial court from approximately 520 to 460 B.C. If Ezra can be accepted as an authentic document from the middle of the fifth century, when so many of its chapters were largely composed in Aramaic, it is hard to see why

[1]C. F. Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament* (1929), p. 9.

the six Aramaic chapters of Daniel must be dated two centuries later than that. It should be carefully observed that in the Babylon of the late sixth century, in which Daniel purportedly lived, the predominant language spoken by the heterogeneous population of this metropolis was Aramaic. It is therefore not surprising that an inhabitant of that city should have resorted to Aramaic in composing a portion of his memoirs.

As to the question of why half the book was written in Aramaic and half in Hebrew, the reason for the choice is fairly obvious. Those portions of Daniel's prophecy which deal generally with Gentile affairs (the four kingdoms of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, the humiliation of that king in the episode of the fiery furnace and by his seven years of insanity, and also the experiences of Belshazzar and Darius the Mede) were put into a linguistic medium which all the public could appreciate whether Jew or Gentile. But those portions which were of particularly Jewish interest (chaps. 1, 8–12) were put into Hebrew in order that they might be understood by the Jews alone. This was peculiarly appropriate because of the command in chapter 12 to keep these later predictions more or less secret and seal them up until the time of fulfillment (12:9).

So far as the Hebrew of Daniel is concerned, we have already seen that it contains a significant number of Persian governmental terms, indicating its origin during the period of Persian domination. There is no trace whatsoever of Greek influence on the language. It is interesting to observe that the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, dating from about 200-180 B.C., shortly before the Maccabean period, furnishes us with a fair sample of the type of Hebrew which would have been current at the time Daniel was written—according to the late-date theorists. Since Ecclesiasticus is a document of the Wisdom Literature, it is to be expected that it would bear no great stylistic resemblances to the later chapters of Daniel. Nevertheless, it is quite striking that Ecclesiasticus exhibits much later linguistic characteristics than Daniel, somewhat rabbinical in tendency. Israel Lévi in his *Introduction to the Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus* (1904) lists the following: (a) new verbal forms borrowed mainly from Aramaic, (b) excessive use of the *hiphil* and *hithpael* conjugations, and (c) peculiarities of various sorts heralding the approach of Mishnaic Hebrew (pp. xi. xii).

So far as the Qumran material is concerned, none of the sectarian documents composed in Hebrew ("The Manual of Discipline," "The War of the Children of Light Against the Children of Darkness," "The Thanksgiving Psalms") in that collection show any distinctive characteristics in common with the Hebrew chapters of Daniel. Nor is there the slightest resemblance between the Aramaic of the Genesis Apocryphon and the Aramaic chapters of Daniel. Neither in morphology, nor syntax, nor style of expression can any evidence be found in Daniel for a date of composition approaching the period of these sectarian documents. Ac-

cording to the Maccabean date theory, the entire corpus of Daniel was composed in Judea in the second century B.C., only a few decades before these documents from Qumran. In the light of this newly discovered linguistic evidence, therefore, it would seem impossible to maintain any longer a second century date for the book of Daniel.

At this point mention should be made of one phonetic characteristic of Daniel's Aramaic to which appeal has been made by H. H. Rowley, J. A. Montgomery, and others as an evidence for a later date of composition. In the earlier Aramaic inscriptions, as well as in the Elephantine Papyri of the fifth century, a certain phoneme appears as *z* which in Biblical Aramaic almost always appears as *d*. It is urged that if Daniel had been written as early as the fifth century B.C. (to say nothing of the sixth century) the older spelling with *z* should have been retained.

In answer to this, it ought to be pointed out that up to the present time no Aramaic documents from any region have been discovered from the sixth century B.C., much less from the eastern or Babylonian section of the Aramaic-speaking world. Until such documents are discovered, it is premature to say whether the shift from *z* to *d* had taken place by that period. It certainly ought to be recognized that this shift had consistently taken place in the Aramaic chapters of Ezra (at least so far as the text has come down to us), which presumably reflected the pronunciation of Aramaic in Persia, from which Ezra came. It would therefore appear that the shift from *z* to *d* took place earlier in the East than it did in the West (since the Elephantine Papyri show this shift only in the verb *'ᵃḥad*, representing the earlier *'ᵃḥaz*). It is by no means necessary to suppose all the consonantal shifts took place simultaneously in Aramaic throughout the whole area of the Near East where this language was current. For example, in the history of Medieval German it may be verified from documentary evidence that the High German consonantal shifts took place earlier in some regions of Germany than they did in others.

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DANIEL (II)

C. Theological Arguments Advanced to Show the Late Date of Daniel

Adherents to the Maccabean theory customarily lay great emphasis upon the supposed development or evolution of religious thought of the Israelite nation. They point to motifs and emphases in Daniel which they believe to be akin to those characterizing the apocryphal literature of the intertestamental period (such works as the Book of Enoch and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, or even such books of the Apocrypha as Tobit and Susanna). These emphases include the prominence of angels, the stress upon the last judgment, the resurrection of the dead, and the establishment of the final kingdom of God upon earth with the Messiah as the supreme ruler of the world. It is conceded that there are occasional references to angels and judgment, the kingship of God, and the Messiah in some earlier books of the Old Testament, but it is felt that these teachings have achieved a far more developed form in Daniel than in Ezekiel or Zechariah. The angelology in particular is thought to resemble that of the Book of Enoch (first century B.C.).

This, however, is a very difficult statement to substantiate. Any reader may easily verify the fact that Zechariah also mentions the Messiah and angels on several occasions in his prophecies, which date from 519 to approximately 470 B.C. (2:3; 3:1; 6:12; 9:9; 13:1ff.; 14:5). Furthermore, angels play a very similar role in Zechariah to that in Daniel, namely, that of interpreting the significance of visions which were presented to the prophet. The affinity is close enough to warrant the deduction that either Zechariah had influenced Daniel or Daniel had influenced Zechariah.[1] There are two significant references to the Messiah in Malachi as well (Mal. 3:1 and 4:2) and to the last judgment also in chapter 3. On the other hand, works which are admittedly of the second century B.C., such as I Maccabees and the Greek additions to Daniel, Baruch and Judith, show none of the four elements (angelology, resurrection, last

[1]Cornill and Farrar are therefore unjustified in their contention that Hebrew literature prior to 200 B.C. shows no trace of Daniel's influence; cf. Robert Dick Wilson's article "The Influence of Daniel" in *Princeton Theological Review,* XXI, July and Oct. 1923.

judgment and Messiah) which are asserted to be so characteristic of this period that they betray the second century origin of Daniel. Even the Jewish apocryphal literature from the first century A.D. contains only two works (out of a possible sixteen) having all four characteristics, namely, the Vision of Isaiah and the Ascension of Isaiah.

Perhaps it would be well at this point to review the occurrence of these four elements in the earlier books of the Old Testament. Concerning the ranks of angels, Genesis mentions cherubim, Joshua refers to a prince of the angels. Their function was said to be the delivery of messages to Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, and various prophets such as Isaiah, Zechariah, and Ezekiel. Thus as early as the Torah we find the angels revealing the will of God, furnishing protection for God's people, and destroying the forces of the enemy. So far as the resurrection is concerned, there is the famous affirmation of Job in Job 19:25, 26 (although another interpretation of this passage is possible); Isaiah's affirmation in 26:19 ("Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise," ASV); Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, and possibly the resuscitation of the dead by Elijah and Elisha. On the other hand, of the large number of post-canonical works, only the Book of the Twelve Patriarchs refers to a resurrection of both the righteous and the wicked as is found in Daniel 12:2. The doctrine of the last judgment is mentioned in Isaiah, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and in many of the psalms. In many instances this judgment pertains to the nations of the world as well as to Israel. References to the book of life or a book of remembrance go back as far as Exodus 32:32, 33 and Isaiah 4:3; cf. also Isaiah 65:6; Psalm 69:28, and Malachi 3:16. The concept of the Messiah appears as early as Genesis 3:15 and 49:10; cf. also Numbers 24:17; Deuteronomy 18:15; Isaiah 9:6, 7; 11:1; Jeremiah 23:5, 6; 33:11-17; Ezekiel 34:23-31; Micah 5:2.

Doubtless it is possible to make out some kind of progression in the development of these doctrines during the history of God's revelation to Israel, but it is a mistake to suppose that Daniel contains anything radically new in any of the four areas under dispute. Moreover, these precise doctrines were most appropriate for Israel's comfort and encouragement during the time of Captivity and on the threshold of their return to the Promised Land.

D. EXEGETICAL ARGUMENTS FOR THE LATE DATE OF DANIEL

Champions of the Maccabean date theory allege that it was impossible for a sixth century author to have composed such detailed predictions concerning coming events in the history of Israel as are contained in the prophetic chapters of the book of Daniel. They also allege that it is a suspicious circumstance that such accurate predictions only extend to the reign of Antiochus IV (175-164) but nothing beyond his time. The ob-

vious conclusion to draw, therefore, is that the entire work was composed by one who lived in the reign of Antiochus IV and who composed this literary fiction in order to encourage the Jewish patriots of his own generation to join with the Maccabees in throwing off the Syrian yoke. Thus, all of the fulfilled predictions can be explained as *vaticinia ex eventu.*

This explanation of the data in Daniel, which is as old as the neo-Platonic polemicist Porphyry (who died in A.D. 303), depends for its validity on the soundness of the premise that there are no accurate predictions fulfilled subsequently to 165 B.C. This proposition, however, cannot successfully be maintained in the light of the internal evidence of the text and its correlation with the known facts of ancient history. Yet it should be recognized that considerable attention in Daniel is devoted to the coming events of the reign of Antiochus, for the very good reason that this period was to present the greatest threat in all of subsequent history (apart, of course, from the plot of Haman in the time of Esther) to the survival of the faith and nation of Israel. Assuming that these predictions were given by divine inspiration and that God had a concern for the preservation of His covenant people, it was to be expected that revelations in Daniel would make it clear to coming generations that He had not only foreseen but had well provided for the threat of extinction which was to be posed by Antiochus Epiphanes.

This prophetic emphasis was all the more warranted in view of the fact that Antiochus and his persecution were to serve as types of the final Antichrist and the Great Tribulation which is yet to come in the end time (according to Christ's Olivet Discourse, recorded in Matt. 24 and Mark 13). This is made evident from the startling way in which the figure of the Greek emperor Antiochus suddenly blends into the figure of the latter day Antichrist in Daniel 11, beginning with verse 40. It is interesting to note that even S. R. Driver admits that these last-mentioned verses do not correspond with what is known of the final stages of Antiochus' career; actually, he met his end at Tabae in Persia after a vain attempt to plunder the rich temple of Elymais in Elam.

It is fair to say that the weakest spot in the whole structure of the Maccabean theory is to be found in the identification of the fourth empire predicted in chapter 2. In order to maintain their position, the late-date theorists have to interpret this fourth empire as referring to the kingdom of the Macedonians or Greeks founded by Alexander the Great around 330 B.C. This means that the third empire must be identified with the Persian realm established by Cyrus the Great, and the second empire has to be the short-lived Median power briefly maintained by the legendary Darius the Mede. According to this interpretation, then, the head of gold in chapter 2 represents the Chaldean empire, the breast of silver the Median empire, the belly and the thighs of brass the Persian empire, and the legs of iron the Greek empire. Although this identification of the four

empires is widely held by scholars today, it is scarcely tenable in the light of internal evidence. That is to say, the text of Daniel itself gives the strongest indications that the author considered the Medes and Persians as components of the one and same empire, and that despite his designation of King Darius as "the Mede," he never entertained the notion that there was at any time a separate and distinct Median empire.

In the first place, the symbolism of Daniel 7 precludes the possibility of identifying the second empire as Media and the third empire as Persia. In this chapter, the first kingdom is represented by a lion. (All scholars agree that this represents the Chaldean or Babylonian realm.) The second kingdom appears as a bear devouring three ribs. This would well correspond to the three major conquests of the Medo-Persian empire: Lydia, Babylon and Egypt (under Cyrus the Great and Cambyses). The third empire is represented as a leopard with four wings and four heads. There is no record that the Persian empire was divided into four parts, but it is well known that the empire of Alexander the Great separated into four parts subsequent to his death, namely, Macedon, Asia Minor, the Seleucid empire (including Syria, Babylonia and Persia), and Egypt. The natural inference, therefore, would be that the leopard represented the Greek empire. The fourth kingdom is presented as a fearsome ten-horned beast, incomparably more powerful than the others and able to devour the whole earth. The ten horns strongly suggest the ten toes of the image described in chapter 2, and it should be noted that these toes are described in chapter 2 as having a close connection with the two legs of iron. The two legs can easily be identified with the Roman empire, which in the time of Diocletian divided into the Eastern and the Western Roman empires. But there is no way in which they can be reconciled with the history of the Greek empire which followed upon Alexander's death.

In Daniel 8 we have further symbolism to aid us in this identification of empires two and three. There a two-horned ram (one horn of which is higher than the other, just as Persia overshadowed Media in Cyrus' empire) is finally overthrown by a he-goat, who at first shows but one horn (easily identified with Alexander the Great) but subsequently sprouts four horns (i.e., Macedon, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt), out of which there finally develops a little horn, that is, Antiochus Epiphanes.

From the standpoint of the symbolism of chapters 2, 7 and 8, therefore, the identification of the four empires with Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome presents a perfect correspondence, whereas the identifications involved in the Maccabean date theory present the gravest problems and discrepancies.

In this connection it ought to be noted that the strongest argument for identifying Daniel's fourth empire with that of Alexander and his

Greek successors is derived from the appearance of the little horn in chapters 7 and 8. That is to say, in chapter 7 the little horn admittedly develops from the fourth empire, that is, from the fearsome ten-horned beast who overthrows the four-winged leopard. But in chapter 8, the little horn develops from the head of the he-goat, who plainly represents the Greek empire. As we have already mentioned, this goat commenced its career with one horn (Alexander the Great), but then produced four others in its place. There can be no question that the little horn in chapter 8 points to a ruler of the Greek empire, that is, Antiochus Epiphanes. The critics therefore assume that since the same term is used, the little horn in chapter 7 must refer to the same individual. This, however, can hardly be the case, since the four-winged leopard of chapter 7 clearly corresponds to the four-horned goat of chapter 8; that is, both represent the Greek empire which divided into four after Alexander's death. The only reasonable deduction to draw is that there are two little horns involved in the symbolic visions of Daniel. One of them emerges from the third empire, and the other is to emerge from the fourth. It would seem that the relationship is that of type (Antiochus IV of the third kingdom) and antitype (the Antichrist who is to arise from the latter-day form of the fourth empire). This is the only explanation which satisfies all the data and which throws light upon 11:40ff., where the figure of the historic Antiochus suddenly blends into the figure of an Antichrist who is yet to come in the end time.

Two other considerations should be adduced to show that the author regarded the Medes and Persians as constituting the one and same empire. In Daniel 6, Darius is said to be bound by "the law of the Medes and Persians," so that he could not revoke the decree consigning Daniel to the lions' den. If the author regarded Darius as ruler of an independent Median empire earlier in time than the Persian, it is impossible to explain why he would have been bound by the laws of the Persians. Secondly, we have the evidence of the handwriting on the wall as interpreted by Daniel in 5:28. There Daniel is represented as interpreting the inscription to Belshazzar, the last king of the first empire, that is, the kingdom of the Chaldeans. He says in interpreting the third word, *peres*, "Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." This is obviously a word play in which the term *parsīn*, or rather its singular *peres*, is derived from the verb *pᵉras*, meaning to "divide" or "separate." But it is also explained as pointing to *pārās*, or "Persian." This can only mean that according to the author, the Chaldean empire was removed from Belshazzar as the last representative of the first empire and given to the Medes and Persians who constituted the second empire. This cannot mean that the rule was first given to the Medes and only later to be transmitted to the Persians, because the significant word which appeared in the handwriting on the wall was quite specifically the word

"Persia." The sequence, therefore, is clear: the empire passed from the Chaldean to the Persian. There can be no legitimate doubt that the author regarded the Persians as masters of the second empire. This being the case, it can only follow that the fourth empire indeed represented Rome.[2]

If, then, the fourth empire of chapter 2, as corroborated by the other symbolic representations of chapter 7, clearly pointed forward to the establishment of the Roman empire, it can only follow that we are dealing here with genuine predictive prophecy and not a mere *vaticinium ex eventu.* According to the Maccabean date theory, Daniel was composed between 168 and 165 B.C., whereas the Roman empire did not commence (for the Jews at least) until 63 B.C., when Pompey the Great took over that part of the Near East which included Palestine. To be sure, Hannibal had already been defeated by Scipio at Zama in 202 B.C., and Antiochus III had been crushed at Magnesia in 190, but the Romans had still not advanced beyond the limits of Europe by 165, except to establish a vassal kingdom in Asia Minor and a protectorate over Egypt. But certainly, as things stood in 165 B.C., no human being could have predicted with any assurance that the Hellenic monarchies of the Near East would be engulfed by the new power which had arisen in the West. No man then living could have foreseen that this Italian republic would have exerted a sway more ruthless and widespread than any empire that had ever preceded it. This one circumstance alone, then, that Daniel predicts the Roman empire, is sufficient to overthrow the entire Maccabean date hypothesis (which of course was an attempt to explain away the supernatural element of prediction and fulfillment). As we shall presently see, there are other remarkable predictions in this book which mark it as of divine inspiration and not a mere historical novel written in the time of the Maccabees.

It should also be pointed out that the Maccabean date theory fails to explain how the book of Daniel ever came to be accepted by the later Jews as Holy Scripture. In Deuteronomy 18:22 the principle was laid down: "If the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which

[2]One alternative has been suggested by Zoeckler in the Lange *Commentary,* and while it has little to commend it, it is worthy of mention. Zoeckler suggests that the third empire represented that of Alexander the Great, and the fourth empire, that of the Seleucids. That is to say, one of the four main subdivisions into which the Alexandrian empire fell, namely, that established by Seleucus I, c. 311 B.C., is construed to be the final empire in Daniel's scheme. This would mean that the third empire lasted only from 334 to 323, when Alexander died, plus twelve more years of transition. Thus it was from the fourth empire, or the dynasty of Seleucus, that Antiochus Epiphanes came in the year 175 B.C. But this identification of the fourth empire runs afoul of the fact that our author plainly states that the fourth empire was greater, stronger and more extensive than the third (cf. Dan. 7:7). It is hardly conceivable that a mere fraction of Alexander's empire which occupied less territory and often experienced defeat on the battlefield could be considered as more fierce and powerful than the irresistible Alexander whose domain stretched from Yugoslavia to India, and who never tasted military defeat during his entire career. In the light of subsequent history, it must be conceded that the portrait of the fourth empire clearly corresponds to that of Rome and to Rome only.

the Lord hath not spoken." That is to say, any person claiming to be a genuine prophet of the Lord, whose predictions of coming events do not come to pass, is to be utterly rejected. There can be no doubt that the description given in Daniel 11:40ff. relative to the latter end of the little horn does not at all correspond to the manner in which Antiochus Epiphanes met his death; there is a definite break in the prophetic revelation beginning at 11:40. This break is indicated by the words, "and at the time of the end." Those who espouse the liberal theory can only allege that the Maccabean author of Daniel was unsuccessful in his effort to predict the manner of Antiochus' downfall. He did his best, but it simply did not come out that way. Yet if this was actually the case, it is impossible to conceive how the Jews could have continued to regard this writing as canonical or authoritative, since it contained false prophecy. If, however, the work was composed by the historic Daniel, it is easy to see how this work would have been preserved as the genuine Word of God. The fact that so many events in subsequent history were accurately predicted back in the sixth century by the historic Daniel would serve as an authentication of its trustworthiness as a divine revelation.

Additional Proofs of Daniel's Authorship

First of all, we have the clear testimony of the Lord Jesus Himself in the Olivet Discourse. In Matthew 24:15, He refers to "the abomination of desolation, spoken of through [*dia*] Daniel the prophet." The phrase "abomination of desolation" occurs three times in Daniel 9:27; 11:31; 12:11. If these words of Christ are reliably reported, we can only conclude that He believed the historic Daniel to be the personal author of the prophecies containing this phrase. No other interpretation is possible in the light of the preposition *dia*, which refers to personal agency. It is significant that Jesus regarded this "abomination" as something to be brought to pass in a future age rather than being simply the idol of Zeus set up by Antiochus in the temple, as the Maccabean theorists insist.

Secondly, the author of Daniel shows such an accurate knowledge of sixth century events as would not have been open to a second century writer; e.g., in 8:2, the city of Shushan is described as being in the province of Elam back in the time of the Chaldeans. But from the Greek and Roman historians we learn that in the Persian period Shushan, or Susa, was assigned to a new province which was named after it, Susiana, and the formerly more extensive province of Elam was restricted to the territory west of the Eulaeus River.[3] It is reasonable to conclude that only a very early author would have known that Susa was once considered part of the province of Elam.

Thirdly, we have in chapter 9 a series of remarkable predictions which defy any other interpretation but that they point to the coming of Christ and His crucifixion ca. A.D. 30, followed by the destruction of the city

[3]Cf. Strabo XV:3, 12; XVI:1, 17; Pliny, *Natural History* VI:27.

of Jerusalem within the ensuing decades. In Daniel 9:25, 26, it is stated that 69 heptads of years (i.e., 483 years) will ensue between a "decree" to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and the cutting off of Messiah the Prince. In 9:25, 26, we read: "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks. . . . And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary."

There are two ways of computing these 69 heptads (or 483 years). First, by starting from the decree of Artaxerxes issued to Nehemiah in 445 B.C. (cf. Neh. 2:4, 8) and reckoning the 483 years as lunar years of 360 days each,[4] which would be equivalent to 471 solar years and would result in the date A.D. 31 for the appearance of the Messiah and His "cutting off" (or crucifixion).[5] Or, more reasonably, the starting point may be identified with the decree of Artaxerxes in his seventh year, issued for the benefit of Ezra in 457 B.C. This apparently included authority to restore and build the city of Jerusalem (as we may deduce from Ezra 7:6, 7, and also 9:9, which states, "God . . . hath extended lovingkindness unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, to give us a reviving, to set up the house of our God, and to repair the ruins thereof, and to give us a *wall in Judea and in Jerusalem,*" ASV). Even though Ezra did not actually succeed in accomplishing the rebuilding of the walls till Nehemiah arrived thirteen years later, it is logical to understand 457 B.C. as the *terminus a quo* for the decree predicted in Daniel 9:25; 483 solar years from 457 B.C. would come out to A.D. 25 as the time of Christ's ministry. Note that the wording of verse 26, "and after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off," does not compel us to understand the 483 as pinpointing the time of the actual crucifixion; it is simply that after the appearance of the Messiah, He was going to be cut off.

The Theory of Diverse Sources for the Origin of Daniel

Mention has already been made of the concessions by Hoelscher and Torrey that the Aramaic portions of the book of Daniel originated from the third century B.C., although they feel that the chapters in Hebrew were quite definitely composed by an unknown Maccabean novelist. Since the allowance of such earlier components would seem to undermine

[4]In his *Commentary* on Daniel (§683), Jerome records this tradition from Africanus, who in his *Tempora* says: "On the other hand, the interval from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to the time of Christ completes the figure of seventy weeks, if we reckon according to the lunar computation of the Hebrews, who did not number their months according to the movement of the sun, but rather according to the moon. . . . For according to their computation, these years can be made up of months of twenty-nine and one-half days each."

[5]Note that John Davis in his *Bible Dictionary* proceeds on the basis of a lunar year of 358 days 8 5/6 hours, and thus interprets the 483 as equivalent to 469 lunar years, coming to the result A.D. 24.

the supporting structure for the Maccabean date as a whole, it is appropriate to summarize the suggestions made by proponents of this earlier-source theory and to append a few pertinent comments.

In 1909 C. C. Torrey published his view that the first half of Daniel was composed about the middle of the third century B.C., whereas the second half originated with a Maccabean author who translated chapter 1 into Hebrew and then composed chapter 7 in Aramaic in order to make it dovetail more closely with chapters 2–6. Montgomery in the ICC accepted this suggestion with this exception: he regarded chapter 7 as a composition distinct from the other two sections. Otto Eissfeldt in his *Einleitung* (1934) espoused the same view: that the first six chapters were from the third century, and the last six were from the Maccabean period and composed as a continuation of the older work.

Gustav Hoelscher in *Die Entstehung des Buches Daniel* (1919) had strongly supported the pre-Maccabean origin of chapters 1–7, demonstrating very convincingly that Nebuchadnezzar as portrayed in chapters 2–4 represented a far more enlightened and tolerant attitude toward the Jewish religion (generally speaking) than did the Greek tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes, and therefore could not have served as a type of the latter. Martin Noth in *Zur Komposition des Buches Daniel* (1926) went so far as to date the original portions of chapters 2 and 7 from the time of Alexander the Great; then, during the third century, the legends of chapters 1–6 were collected and the vision of the four kingdoms was included in a remolded form.

H. L. Ginsburg in 1948 undertook to isolate six different authors who contributed to the corpus of Daniel: chapters 1–6 were composed between 292 and 261 B.C.; chapter 2 was then subjected to reworking and insertions between 246 and 220 B.C.; chapter 7 came from the Maccabean period generally; chapter 8 was composed between 166 and 165; chapters 10–12 came from a different author from the same period; and chapter 9 came from a slightly later period than 165. H. H. Rowley in *The Unity of Daniel* (1952) conceded the earlier existence in oral form of some of the materials composing chapters 1–6, but nevertheless undertook to defend quite vigorously the essential unity of the composition of Daniel in its present literary form—that is, in the time of the Maccabees.

It should be noticed that the assignment of considerable sections of Daniel to a century or more before the time of the Maccabean revolt serves to endanger the whole hypothesis of a second century origin as propounded by advocates of the late-date theory. Thus, if the portrait of Nebuchadnezzar greatly contrasts with the character and attitude of Antiochus Epiphanes, his relevance to the Maccabean situation becomes rather obscure. The same is true with the rest of the historical episodes in which the heathen government seems to treat the Jews with toleration and respect.

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POST-EXILIC HISTORICAL BOOKS: I AND II CHRONICLES, EZRA, NEHEMIAH, ESTHER

I AND II CHRONICLES

THE HEBREW TITLE of these books is *Dibᶜrēy hay-yāmīm* or "the accounts of the days" or, more literally, "the words of the days." The purpose of these two volumes is to review the history of Israel from the dawn of the human race to the Babylonian Captivity and the edict of Restoration. This review is composed with a very definite purpose in mind, to give to the Jews of the Second Commonwealth the true spiritual foundations of their theocracy as the covenant people of Jehovah. This historian's purpose is to show that the true glory of the Hebrew nation was found in its covenant relationship to God, as safeguarded by the prescribed forms of worship in the temple and administered by the divinely ordained priesthood under the protection of the divinely authorized dynasty of David. Always the emphasis is upon that which is sound and valid in Israel's past as furnishing a reliable basis for the task of reconstruction which lay ahead. Great stress is placed upon the rich heritage of Israel and its unbroken connection with the patriarchal beginnings (hence the prominence accorded to genealogical lists).

Outline of I and II Chronicles

It is to be noted that I Chronicles carries the narrative up to the death of David; II Chronicles continues with the reign of Solomon, the temple builder, and finishes with the Exile and the decree of Restoration. Originally the two books were accounted as one, but as early as the Septuagint (which gives them the title *Paraleipomenōn*, "of things omitted") there seems to have been a division into two parts. We follow here the brief outline of M. F. Unger (in IGOT 407).

I. Genealogies from Adam to David, I Chron. 1:1–9:44
   A. From Adam to Jacob, 1:1–2:2
   B. Jacob's generations, 2:2–9:44

II. History of King David, 10:1–29:30
   A. The death of Saul, 10:1-14
   B. Capture of Zion, and David's heroes, 11:1–12:40
   C. David's prosperous reign, 13:1–22:1
   D. David's accomplishments in behalf of ritualistic worship, 22:2–29:30

III. History of King Solomon, II Chron. 1:1–9:31
   A. Solomon's wealth and wisdom, 1:1-17
   B. His building and dedication of the temple, 2:1–7:22
   C. His various activities and death, 8:1–9:31

IV. History of the Kings of Judah, 10:1–36:23
   A. From Rehoboam to Zedekiah, 10:1–36:21
   B. The edict of Cyrus, 36:22, 23

The Authorship and Date of Chronicles

Like the other historical books, Chronicles does not specify the name of its author. Internal evidence points to a period between 450 and 425 B.C. as its time of composition. It is quite possible that the Talmudic tradition (*Baba Bathra* 15a) is correct in assigning the authorship to Ezra. As the chief architect of the spiritual and moral revival of the Second Commonwealth he would have had every incentive to produce a historical survey of this sort. As a Levite from the priestly line his viewpoint would have been in perfect agreement with that of the author of this work and he would be very apt to lay the stress just where the Chronicler has. It is pertinent to note that there was embodied in II Maccabees 2:13-15 a tradition that Governor Nehemiah owned a considerable library: "He, founding a library, gathered together the books about the kings and prophets, and the books of David and letters of the kings about sacred gifts." If Nehemiah did possess such a sizable collection of reference works, it might very well be that his close collaborator, Ezra, would have had ready access to these reference works and used them in the compilation of Chronicles.

E. J. Young favors the theory of Ezra's authorship, although he has some reservations about the last two verses of the book (containing Cyrus' decree) which give indications of being earlier than the first chapter of Ezra. M. F. Unger inclines to the same view, although he seems to entertain the possibility that the books were not written until the first half

of the fourth century (IGOT 407). J. E. Steinmueller discounts the Talmudic tradition and regards the author as unknown. D. N. Freedman[1] espouses the view that the basic work of the Chronicler, starting with I Chronicles 10, dates from about 515, when the second temple had just been completed. He was doubtless a co-laborer with the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, who regarded Zerubbabel as the legitimate heir of the divine promise to the Davidic dynasty.[2]

Among liberal scholars there is no unanimity as to the time of composition. W. F. Albright was until recently inclined to the view that the Ezra who composed the work lived in the reign of Artaxerxes II in the first half of the fourth century.[3] Many others place the time of the composition in the second half; that is, 350-300 B.C. Still others, like Pfeiffer, make it as late as 250 or even 200 B.C. Supposing that the testimony of I Chronicles 3:19ff. (according to a variant attested by the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac) points to eleven generations after the time of Zerubbabel, W. Rudolph assigned the nucleus of Chronicles to a period around 400-380 B.C. This was later supplemented by material too varied and contradictory to have proceeded from a single editor (Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 1955).

As already suggested, one of the most frequently used arguments in favor of the late authorship of Chronicles is to be found in I Chronicles 3:19-24, which according to the Masoretic Text indicates six generations after Zerubbabel. But actually, as Young points out in his *Introduction to the Old Testament* (p. 383), the listings in Chronicles do not always give straight series of successive generations from father to son, but some of them include several sons born to the parent previously named. In this particular instance it is possible that the genealogy is carried on only to the second generation after Zerubbabel. The text indicates that Hananiah was the son of Zerubbabel, and that Pelatiah and Jeshaiah were merely his grandsons. None of the names following these (from v. 21 and thereafter) have anything to do with the genealogy of Zerubbabel; hence

[1]*The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, XXIII, 436-442.

[2]The most persuasive evidence that Freedman advances for this position is to be found in the remarkable gap in the record of Ezra between the work of Zerubbabel and Joshua and the advent of Ezra himself. If the Chronicler composed his original work shortly after the completion of the temple, this gap admits of easy explanation. The Chronicler's work came to an end with Ezra 3. The Aramaic documents of Ezra 4–6 constitute a later supplement. From chapter 7 to the end of the book we have the personal memoirs of Ezra himself, who, according to Freedman (*ibid.*, p. 441) was roughly contemporaneous with Nehemiah. Ezra's own emphasis, as gathered from his long prayer recorded in Nehemiah 9:6-37, was upon the tradition of Moses and the Exodus; he scarcely mentioned the dynasty of David at all. This furnishes a sharp contrast with the Chronicler, who showed the keenest interest in the Davidic dynasty and the Davidic promise (II Sam. 7). It is therefore inconceivable, according to Freedman, that Ezra himself could have been the author of the books of Chronicles.

[3]But cf. last paragraph under "The Authorship and Date of Ezra-Nehemiah," p. 398 in this chapter.

this verse can hardly be regarded as furnishing real support for a late date of composition.

For some reason, another verse which is often referred to as proving a late date is I Chronicles 29:7, which mentions a sum of money in darics (*adarkōnīm*). Since the daric apparently received its name from Darius I (520-486 B.C.), its mention in connection with the time of King David must be regarded as anachronistic. At the same time it must be conceded that darics had for many decades been in circulation before Ezra's time and there would be no difficulty in his referring to them as a current unit of exchange. Since the daric represented a well known weight in gold, there is no particular reason why Ezra could not have computed the amount of bullion actually contributed by the Israelite princes for the service of the temple and then have converted the sum into an equivalent number of darics as more meaningful to the public of Ezra's own generation.[4]

The Sources of Chronicles

Well over half the material contained in Chronicles is paralleled by other books in the Old Testament, especially Genesis, Samuel, and Kings. The author mentions many of his extracanonical sources by name: (1) the Book of the Kingdoms (or Kings) of Judah and Israel (or of Israel and Judah)—which may be the same as the Book of the Kings of Israel and the Words of the Kings of Israel (Young regards them as mere variants of the same title); (2) the Story (*midrash*) of the Book of the Kings (which may or not be different from the one previously mentioned); (3) the Words of Uzziah composed by the prophet Isaiah; (4) the Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer; (5) the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo; (6) the Words of Jehu the son of Hanani; (7) the Words of Hozai. It is much disputed whether the Chronicler actually copied from Samuel and Kings; most authorities assume that he did so (cf. Davidson's *New Bible Commentary*). Others like Zoeckler (in Lange's *Commentary*, pp. 18-20) and E. J. Young (IOT 384-385) believe that he copied from common earlier sources, but that differences in detail and arrangement preclude the possibility of any direct borrowing.

The Historical Reliability of Chronicles

There has been a tendency among liberal critics to challenge the reliability of nearly every statement in Chronicles which is not also found in Samuel or Kings. Such skepticism is altogether unjustified inasmuch as the Chronicler cites many sources which are not mentioned in Samuel or Kings and which therefore would be apt to include information not

[4]The more recent evidence points to the identification of this term *adarkōnīm*, as well as the *darkᵉmōnīm* of Nehemiah 7:70, with Greek drachmae rather than Persian darics. Cf. point 6 on p. 401.

discoverable in the latter. It is noteworthy also that these additional items by and large conform to the basic purposes of the book as outlined in the opening paragraph of this chapter. Thus the concern for religious institutions, as essential for the perpetuating of a true theocracy, leads to a mention of the temple musicians and singers, the priestly genealogies and cultic variations of various sorts. So also the concern for great decisions of faith leads to inclusion of additional information about kings and prophets who had these decisions to confront. Thus there is also mention of Rehoboam facing Shishak's invasion and Asa confronting Zerah the Ethiopian; the attempt of Uzziah to attain security by a large standing army and ambitious mercantile enterprises; the latter-day repentance of Manasseh; the great national Passover of Josiah, etc. Additional information is given concerning the prophets Samuel, Gad, Nathan, Ahijah, Shemaiah, Hanani, Jehu, and even Elijah. Other prophets are referred to who do not appear elsewhere in Scripture: Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, Iddo, the two prophets named Oded, and also Jehaziel and Eliezer.

True to his basic principles, the Chronicler omits from the time of David on all that is not strictly connected with the Davidic dynasty, inasmuch as that was the only valid line for the theocracy. Thus the crimes of David, Amnon, Absalom, Adonijah and Solomon are largely omitted because they contributed nothing of significance to the upbuilding or preservation of the theocracy. So also the Northern Kingdom is alluded to only as it came in contact with the kingdom of Judah, because the ten tribes had no valid king ruling over them by God's authority, and because they upheld a heretical schism which largely cut them off from worship at the Jerusalem temple.

If it is true that the genealogies in this book are often sketchy and incomplete, it may well be that the author assumed other sources of knowledge (both Samuel and Kings and the non-canonical books) were usually accessible and well known to his public. Thus in II Chronicles 26:17 and 31:10 Jehoiada and two Azariahs are omitted. Of course we cannot rule out completely the possibility that subsequent copyists of Ezra's manuscript inadvertently omitted some of these names. W. J. Beecher (in ISBE) suggested that perhaps the Chronicler had recourse to fragmentary clay tablets, ostraca and papyri, and that in some cases he copied them just as they were, failing to indicate the gaps or lacunae by dots and dashes as modern copyists would have done.

There are several indications of careless transmission of the text of Chronicles. Thus we find a goodly number of differences in the spelling of names, as compared with the spelling found in Genesis, Samuel and Kings. Some of these errors are easily explained by the mistaking of similar letters for each other such as *daleth* (the letter d) and *rēsh* (the letter r). "Dodanim" in Genesis 10:4 appears as "Rodanim" in I Chroni-

cles 1:7 (ASV). (In this particular instance the spelling in Chronicles seems superior, since the probable reference is to the inhabitants of Rhodes.) Or again, *mēm* is confused with *hē* in "Abijah," the Chronicler's spelling for "Abijam" (although in this case the two letters never resembled each other in appearance). Since the vowel points were not supplied by Jewish scribes until A.D. 500 or later, we should not be surprised at discrepancies in the vowels contained by these divergent proper names.

Inferiority in textual transmission also appears in the numerals given in statistical statements. Liberal critics have tried to show a consistent tendency on the part of the Chronicler to exaggerate the numbers wherever a discrepancy occurs between Chronicles and Kings. This is alleged to represent a consistent policy of glorifying the past by deliberate exaggeration. Actual check of the textual data, however, indicates the unsoundness of these conclusions. In the vast number of instances where numerical values are given in Chronicles, Kings and Samuel, they are in perfect agreement. There are only eighteen or twenty examples of discrepancy. Of these about one-third involving precisely the same statistics display a larger number in Samuel or Kings than in Chronicles (cf. I Chron. 11:11 and II Sam. 23:8; I Chron. 21:5b and II Sam. 24:9b; II Chron. 3:16b and I Kings 7:20b, cf. v. 42; II Chron. 8:10 and I Kings 9:23; II Chron. 36:9 and II Kings 24:8). Often the discrepancy is of a very minor character in so far as numbers are concerned, and the great majority of them are explainable as not referring to precisely the same group of people or things at precisely the same time or in precisely the same category. Occasionally the figure given in Chronicles is lower and more credible than that in the parallel passage. For example, the number of horse stalls Solomon built is stated by I Kings 4:26 to have been 40,000, but the number appears as 4,000 in II Chronicles 9:25. Or again, the number of enemies the battle hero Jashobeam slew in a single engagement is given as 300 in I Chronicles 11:11 but 800 in II Samuel 23:8 (ASV marg.).

In dealing with this matter of numerical discrepancy we must take account of the type of notation used in ancient times. Keil points out that practically all the suspiciously high numbers are expressed in thousands as if they were round numbers based upon the approximate estimate of contemporaries. He suggests that the numbers themselves were undoubtedly expressed by alphabetic letters and in that form were most liable to corruption by later copyists, especially where they had to deal with a manuscript that was worn and smudged. (It is interesting to note that the earliest Jewish currency, certainly from the time of the first revolt in A.D. 67 if not from the Hasmonean period in the second century B.C., employed alphabetic letters for numbers, especially in the recording of dates.) Thus exaggerated figures like 50,070 recorded by

I Samuel 6:19 as the number slain by the Lord at Beth-shemesh are to be explained by a garbling of the digits. Note that the alphabetic system of numerical notation needed only a few dots above or below to multiply by one thousand; thus the letter nun with two dots above it would signify 50,000 (cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*, #5, 1).[5]

The discovery of the Elephantine Papyri, however, gives rise to the possibility that while the Hebrews used a numerical notation system to indicate large numbers, they may have used vertical or horizontal strokes rather than alphabetic letters. In these papyri, for example, the digits up to ten are indicated by vertical strokes with a special sign for the number five. The numbers ten and above are indicated by horizontal strokes; and there are special signs for hundreds and thousands derived from the initial letter of names of these numbers.[6] In the light of all this evidence it is impossible to construct an air-tight case proving any original discrepancy between the autograph manuscript of Chronicles and the relevant passages in the other canonical books. It is safe to say that all the so-called discrepancies that have been alleged are capable of resolution either by textual criticism or by contextual exegesis.

We should not close this discussion without mentioning one interesting observation from W. F. Albright ("The Old Testament and Archaeology," p. 63 in Alleman and Flack, *Old Testament Commentary*). He states that the critics were mistaken in regarding the Chronicler to be in error in tracing the musical guilds of the temple back to King David. "We can now say with entire confidence that the principal musical guilds traced their origin back to Canaanite times long before David. The Canaanites of the second millennium had developed music to a high point, as we know from Egyptian sources, which often refer to Canaanite musical instruments and portray Canaanite musicians. The names of the putative founders of these guilds, Heman, Ethan (Jeduthun), Asaph, are demonstrably of the Canaanite type, and the proverbial wise men, Calcol (ASV) and Darda, associated with them in I Kings 4:31, bear names of a type particularly common among musicians." Thus, Calcol appears in a thirteenth century Egyptian inscription recently discovered at Megiddo, as the name of a great Canaanite musician at Ashkelon.

EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

The name Ezra seems to be an Aramaic form of the Hebrew *'ezer*, "help." The name Nehemiah, Hebrew *Neḥem-Yah*, means "the comfort of Jehovah." These two books are treated as one by the Hebrew scribes; there is no gap in the MT between the end of Ezra 10 and the com-

[5]C. F. Keil discusses this problem at some length in his commentary on Chronicles, pp. 43-45.

[6]A good discussion of these numbers and their bearing upon numerical discrepancies in Nehemiah and Ezra is to be found in the article by H. L. Allrik, "The Lists of Zerubbabel and the Hebrew Numeral Notation" in BASOR 136, Dec. 1954, pp. 21-27.

mencement of Nehemiah 1, and the verse statistics are given for both at the end of Nehemiah. The theme of this composite book is a record of the reconstruction of the Hebrew theocracy upon the physical and spiritual foundations of the past. As God protected His remnant from the hatred of external foes, so also He delivered them from the insidious corruption of the false brethren within the commonwealth.

Outline of Ezra-Nehemiah

I. The First Return of the Exiles, Ezra 1:1–2:70

II. The Restoration of the Worship of Jehovah, Ezra 3:1–6:22

III. The Second Return under Ezra, Ezra 7:1–10:44

IV. The Restoration of the City Walls, Nehemiah 1:1–7:73

V. The Reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, Nehemiah 8:1–13:31

As was mentioned in the chapter on the canon, Ezra and Nehemiah were regarded as a single book by the earliest authorities, such as Josephus, who gave the number of the Old Testament books as twenty-two. Christian authorities like Melito of Sardis (quoted by Eusebius) and Jerome followed this same tradition. The LXX also grouped the two books as one, calling the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah Esdras B or II Esdras, in contradistinction to the aprocryphal I Esdras. The Vulgate, however, divided them into I Ezra and II Ezra. The soundness of this division appears from the duplicate list of returning Jews as recorded in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7, for it is difficult to imagine why the same list should have been given twice in the same original work.

The Authorship and Date of Ezra-Nehemiah

On the assumption that Artaxerxes mentioned in Ezra 7:1 was Artaxerxes I Longimanus, Ezra's arrival at Jerusalem must have occurred in 457 B.C. ("the seventh year of the king," Ezra 7:8). Thus Ezra's career at Jerusalem commenced twelve years before that of Nehemiah, who did not come until the twentieth year, or 445 B.C. Ezra himself undoubtedly wrote most of the book named after him. (Note the use of "I" in Ezra 7–10.) But he evidently incorporated into the final edition the personal memoirs of Nehemiah (i.e., the book of Nehemiah) including even his form of the list of returnees. Using Nehemiah's library facilities, Ezra probably composed Chronicles during this same period.

As already suggested, Albright formerly placed Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, 404-359; but this theory would render passages like Nehemiah 8:2 quite spurious, since they mention Ezra as Nehemiah's contemporary. It would also conflict with the evidence of the Elephantine Papyri, which mention the high priest Johanan and Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. This Johanan was a grandson of

the Eliashib mentioned in Nehemiah 3:1 and 20, and Nehemiah was a contemporary of Eliashib. It therefore follows that when the Biblical record speaks of Nehemiah going to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (Neh. 1:1) and again in his thirty-second year (Neh. 13:6), the reference must be to Artaxerxes I (yielding the dates 445 and 433 respectively) rather than the reign of Artaxerxes II (which would result in the dates 384 and 372 respectively—far too late for the high priesthood of Johanan).

It is interesting to note that in his most recent pronouncement on the subject, Albright has receded somewhat from his earlier position. In "The Biblical Period" (in L. Finkelstein's *The Jews,* 1955, p. 53) he says: "We are very unsatisfactorily informed about the date of Ezra. The most recent evidence favors a date for Ezra's mission in or about the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes; that is, about 428 B.C.E. It is not clear whether Nehemiah was in Jerusalem at the time; he is not specifically mentioned in the Ezra memoirs proper; the evidence is conflicting. There can, however, be little doubt that his influence was directly responsible for the royal rescript giving Ezra extensive powers in connection with his plan to reform the religious organization at Jerusalem."

More recently John Bright (*History of Israel,* 1959, pp. 377, 378) has defended this "thirty-seventh year" theory on the following grounds.

1. If Ezra had really arrived in the seventh year of Artaxerxes, it would have meant that thirteen years had elapsed before he, whose express purpose in coming to Jerusalem had been to teach the Torah (Ezra 7:10), got around to reading the Torah to the people (as recorded in Neh. 8:1-8). Yet Nehemiah 8 only records a solemn reading of the Law in a public meeting on the occasion of the Feast of Tabernacles. It by no means implies that Ezra had not been diligently teaching the Law to smaller groups of disciples and Levites during the preceding twelve years.

2. If Ezra's reforms, as listed in Ezra 9 and 10, really preceded those of Nehemiah, then we are forced to "the conclusion that Ezra in one way or another failed" (*ibid.,* p. 377). Presumably, therefore, these reforms of Ezra (regarding intermarriage with the heathen) must have been contemporaneous with those of Nehemiah (who took corrective measures regarding usury in chap. 5, and in chap. 13 regarding the temple quarters granted Tobiah the Ammonite, the neglect of the payment of tithes, the desecration of the sabbath, and intermarriage with foreign women). But it should be noted that it is only the evil of mixed marriages which was dealt with by both Ezra (ca. 457 B.C.) and Nehemiah (ca. 434). It is naive to suppose that in an interval of twenty-three years this abuse could not have normally arisen again, so as to require renewed attention on Nehemiah's part. It is altogether unwarranted, therefore, to describe this as a "failure."

3. When Ezra first came to Jerusalem, it is alleged, he found the city "inhabited and relatively secure," whereas Nehemiah found it "largely in ruins." But neither of these statements can be supported by the Scriptural text. Nowhere does Nehemiah state that Jerusalem was not inhabited or that it was largely in ruins. What it does explain is that the walls of the city had not been rebuilt, and that there were some quarters that still showed the ravages of war. The same was true of both Berlin and London after the Second World War; yet who would deduce from this that those cities were not inhabited? True, Nehemiah had to bring pressure upon the outlying cities to contribute more population for the proper maintenance and defense of the newly fortified capital (chap. 11), but this was a measure dictated by military considerations. Ezra nowhere implies that the old city limits of Jerusalem were completely repopulated in his day. As for the apparent security of the city, there is no indication whatever that the neighboring states concerned themselves with the Jews until they began rebuilding their walls—a development which apparently did not take place (although Ezra doubtless had permission to rebuild them, Ezra 9:9) until the wealthy new governor came along with his troops and resources a dozen years later.

4. The fact that Nehemiah 12:26 lists the name of Nehemiah before that of Ezra is supposed to prove that he preceded Ezra in point of time (*ibid.*, p. 378). But quite obviously the reason his name was mentioned first is that he was the head of the state, as governor appointed by Artaxerxes, and therefore outranked Ezra, who was only the spiritual leader of the community.

5. It should be observed that the supposition that "seventh year" in Ezra 7:7 was an error for "thirty-seventh year" is greatly embarrassed by the fact that Nehemiah's reforms of chapter 13 were apparently carried out in the "thirty-second year" of Artaxerxes (Neh. 13:6). It seems far more improbable that the measures against intermarriage with idolaters would have to be repeated by Ezra within the short space of five years after Nehemiah had dealt with this problem, than that Nehemiah should have faced the issue anew twenty-three years after Ezra's reform.

The only reasonable conclusion which remains, therefore, is that Ezra returned in 458 or 457 B.C., and that Nehemiah's first governorship came in 445, and his second in 433. This alone does justice to all the testimony of the Biblical texts themselves.

Critical Objections to the Historicity and Authenticity of Ezra-Nehemiah

1. In order to show a late third century date (or even later), many critics have made use of two names mentioned incidentally in these books, that of Johanan (Ezra 10:6) and of Jaddua (Neh. 12:11). As has

been suggested, Johanan was the "son" of the Eliashib who was mentioned as Nehemiah's contemporary in Nehemiah 3:1. Now the Elephantine Papyri mention a high priest Johanan who was the grandson of Eliashib and who lived somewhat later than Nehemiah's time. E. J. Young raises some question (IOT 375) as to whether the Johanan of Ezra 10:6 (into whose apartment Ezra went in order to mourn and fast) was the same one as the grandson of Eliashib. He feels it more likely that he was the son of Eliashib mentioned in Nehemiah 13:4 and 7, rather than a grandson (although the Hebrew *ben* can indicate the third generation as well as the second). On the other hand, Young concedes, he might have been the grandson who in his younger years had not yet attained the high priestly status; nevertheless as a member of the high priestly family he might have been expected to have an apartment assigned to him in the temple precincts.

More serious objections to the historical accuracy of Nehemiah arise from the mention of Jaddua. Josephus (*Antiquities* XI, viii, 4) states that the name of the high priest at the time of Alexander the Great in 330 B.C. was Jaddua, and the inference has therefore been drawn that the mention of him in Nehemiah 12:11 betrays the fact that Nehemiah must have been composed long after the time of the historical Nehemiah himself. The facts are as follows. The high priestly line beginning with the time of the return from Exile in 536 B.C. included the following succession: Jeshua, the father of Joiakim, the father of Eliashib, the father of Jehoiada or Joiada, the father of Jonathan and Johanan (younger contemporaries of Nehemiah, Neh. 13:28) and then Jaddua, the son of Jonathan (Neh. 12:11). If Johanan was twenty years of age in 456, he would have been sixty-eight by the time Elephantine Letter No. 30 (the Cowley edition) was written.[7] If Eliashib was twenty-five when Jehoiakim was born and fifty when Jehoiada was born, then he would have been eighty by 446 and still have been able to furnish leadership in the building of the priests' section of the Jerusalem wall. It follows that Jaddua could hardly have been born later than 420 or 410 B.C., and he would therefore have been anywhere from eighty to ninety by the time of Alexander the Great. E. J. Young therefore suggests that Nehemiah may have lived to see Jaddua in his youth. On the other hand, it is quite possible, as R. D. Wilson points out (ISBE 1084a), that Josephus' account is not altogether trustworthy. In the same chapter Josephus speaks of the demonstrably fifth century characters Sanballat and Manasseh as being with Jaddua, and this leads to the suspicion that Josephus somehow garbled his sources and involved himself in anachronisms. It may therefore have been a descendant of Jaddua who actually greeted

[7]Letter No. 30 was addressed by Jedoniah, religious leader of the Elephantine Jews, to Gov. Bagohi (also vocalized as Bigvai) of Judea, complaining that Johanan, the high priest at Jerusalem, had ignored the need for rebuilding the recently destroyed temple in Elephantine.

Alexander the Great when he entered Jerusalem. In any event, the evidence above cited is by no means strong enough to overthrow the historical credibility of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

2. Some critics have pointed to another expression as a betrayal of a late date of composition: "Darius the Persian" (Neh. 12:22). The argument runs that since Darius was described as a Persian, this would indicate an author living in the Greek period, after Alexander's conquest of Asia. This however is by no means a necessary conclusion. He may well have been so designated to distinguish him from the earlier Darius the Mede referred to in Daniel 6.

Similarly, the title "the king of Persia," which is found in Ezra 1:1 and other passages, has been condemned by some authorities as unhistorical for the Persian period. More recent investigation, however, has shown that the title "the king of Persia" was employed by at least eighteen different authors in nineteen different documents and in thirty-eight different references dating from the Persian period, and that, too, in reference to at least six different Persian kings. There are few other "scholarly" objections which have been so thoroughly refuted by archaeology.

3. Objections have been raised on the ground of variations discoverable in the two copies of the decree of Cyrus, the Hebrew version in Ezra 1 and the Aramaic version in Ezra 6. But it should be observed that the edict recorded in Ezra 6 was found in Ecbatana in Persia, whereas that of Ezra 1 was promulgated in Babylon. It is legitimate to infer that the Aramaic copy was a file abstract of the edict for preservation in the archives; the Hebrew form doubtless represented the actual wording as it was delivered to the Jews themselves. It is interesting to observe that it shows a deference to the God of the Jews quite similar to that deference which Cyrus expressed to Marduk of the Babylonians when he promulgated an edict of religious freedom for the Babylonian populace (cf. Pritchard, ANET 316).

4. It was formerly thought that the Aramaic portions of Ezra (that is, the correspondence and decrees recorded in chaps. 4–7) reflected a later period of Aramaic than that which a fifth century author would have used. But as Albright points out (Alleman and Flack *Commentary*, p. 154), the Elephantine Papyri demonstrate that the Aramaic of Ezra is indeed characteristic of the fifth century (apart from the few modernized spellings) and that the letters which Ezra quotes are very similar in style and language to those emanating from fifth century Egypt. He goes on to say, "The still unpublished letters in Mittwoch's hands will add substantially to the number of parallels and will deal the *coup de grâce* to Torrey's view that there are numerous Greek words in the Aramaic of Ezra."

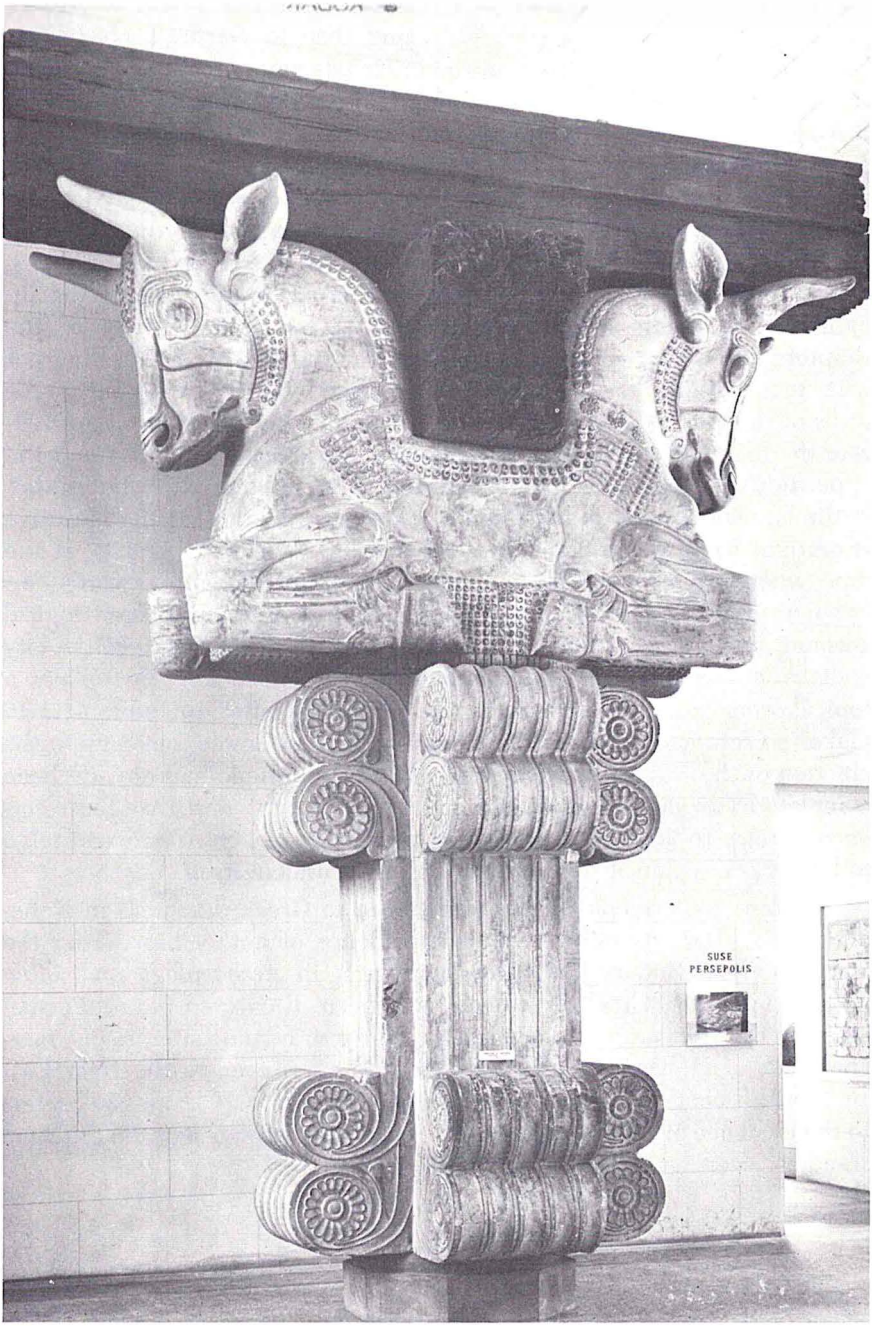
5. Objection has been raised to apparent anachronisms in Ezra 4,

which passes from a reference to Cyrus the Great (558-529) to Xerxes (485-465) to Artaxerxes I (465-424), and then to Darius I (522-485). It is urged that such confusion in the order of monarchs could only arise in a late production in which the author had forgotten the true succession of kings. But this conclusion cannot successfully be maintained in the light of internal evidence. It is perfectly apparent from Ezra 4:5 that the author was aware that King Darius reigned between Cyrus and Xerxes: ". . . to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus . . . even until the reign of Darius king of Persia. And in the reign of Ahasuerus, in the beginning of his reign, wrote they an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem" (ASV). A careful study of the chapter reveals that verses 5-23 constitute a long parenthesis dealing not with the building of the temple but rather with the erection of the walls of the city. This material is introduced at this point simply to indicate the malignity of Judah's adversaries. We are not to understand the opposition of Rehum and Shimshai as arising in the 520's, but rather in the late 460's, early in the reign of Artaxerxes I. In 4:24 the narrative is brought back to the point at which verse 3 had left it, that is, at the time when the temple had not yet been rebuilt. In other words, we are not to understand Ezra's purpose here as a strictly chronological account, but rather a history of the opposition to the building of the city walls from the time of Cyrus to the reign of Artaxerxes. He follows a topical order rather than chronological. Since the letter quoted in 4:11-16 makes no reference at all to the rebuilding of the temple, but only to the erection of the walls, it is quite evident that the temple had already been completed (an event which took place in 516 B.C.) and that the reference here is to an attempt made in the beginning of Artaxerxes' reign to hinder the repair of the fortifications of Jerusalem itself.

6. Some writers hold that the reference to Greek drachmas in Nehemiah 7:71 (Hebrew *darkᵉmōnīm*) is evidence of authorship during the Greek period. But as J. P. Free points out in *Archaeology and Bible History* (p. 253), Greek drachmas have been discovered at the Persian level of the excavations at Beth-zur. Apparently the enterprising merchantmen of Hellas had extended trade relations even to the Near East by the fifth century B.C. W. F. Albright (JBL, June 1942, p. 126) refers to the evidence of the Elephantine Papyri for the existence of the drachma standard even in Egypt at that period.

ESTHER

The name *'estēr* is apparently derived from the Persian word for star, *stara*. Esther's Hebrew name was *Hᵃdassah*, meaning "myrtle." The theme of this short book is an illustration of the overruling providence of the sovereign God who delivers and preserves His people from the malice



A bull capital from one of the columns of the palace at Susa (Biblical Shushan).
(Courtesy of the Louvre)

of the heathen who would plot their destruction. Although there is no explicit mention of the name of God, nothing could be clearer than the irresistible power of His omnipotent decree, watching over His covenant people, preserving them from the malignity of Satan in his vain attempt to work through Haman and accomplish the annihilation of the Jews.

It is not easy to account for the absence of God's name in this narrative; the best explanation available is that the account deals principally with those Jews who had passed up their opportunity of returning to the land of promise and chose to remain among the Gentiles after the return of the faithful remnant in 536 B.C. It is certain that all the acts of this gripping drama take place in Gentile territory; it is also certain that the overruling providence of God is definitely implied in 4:14: "For if thou altogether holdest thy peace at this time, then will relief and deliverance arise to the Jews from another place . . . and who knoweth whether thou art not come to the kingdom for such a time as this?" (ASV).

Outline of Esther

I. The Feast of Ahasuerus and the Divorce of Vashti, 1:1-22
II. The Choice of Esther as Queen, 2:1-23
III. Haman's Plot to Destroy Mordecai and the Jews, 3:1-15
IV. Mordecai's Persuasion of Esther to Intervene, 4:1-17
V. Esther's Successful Petition to the King, 5:1–7:10
VI. The Downfall of Haman and Deliverance of the Jews, 8:1–9:16
VII. The Feast of Purim, 9:17-32
VIII. Conclusion: the Prominence of Mordecai the Jew, 10:1-3

Authorship and Date

The text itself fails to indicate either the author or the date of composition. The Jewish authorities record the tradition (as old as Josephus and repeated by Ibn Ezra) that Mordecai was the author of the book, but the way in which Mordecai is referred to in 10:2, 3 suggests that his career was already finished. Other possible authors might be Ezra or Nehemiah, but for either of these there is no good linguistic evidence, judging from the style or diction of the three books concerned.

As to the date, the *terminus a quo* is the death of Xerxes (465 B.C.), since 10:2 seems to imply that his reign is finished. The latest *terminus ad quem* is prior to 330 B.C. since there are no traces of Greek influence either in language or in thought to be discovered in Esther. The most likely date of composition is somewhere in the latter half of the fifth century (so E. J. Young). Whoever the author may have been, he shows such intimate knowledge of Persian customs and of the fifth century historical

situation that he may well have lived in Persia and been an eyewitness of the events recorded.

Opposition to the Historicity of Esther

1. Rationalist critics have made much of the failure of secular records to contain any mention of Queen Esther. According to Herodotus, Xerxes' queen during this period, that is, from the seventh year of his reign (Esther 2:16), was named Amestris, the daughter of a Persian named Otanes (vii, 61). It is stated that she brutally mutilated the mother of Artaynta, a paramour of Xerxes (ix, 112) and that also upon one occasion she had fourteen noble Persian youths buried alive as a thank offering to a god of the netherworld (vii, 113). Certainly the Persian origin of Amestris and her sadistic brutality exclude any possibility of her being identified with Esther—unless Herodotus has preserved a very garbled and erroneous tradition.[8] It should be recognized that in the following details there is satisfactory agreement between the accounts of Esther and Herodotus: (a) It was in the third year of his reign, 483 B.C., that Xerxes convoked an assembly of his nobles to plan an expedition against Greece—an occasion which might well have given rise to the feast mentioned in Esther 1:3 (cf. Herodotus vii, 7); (b) it was in his seventh year (479 B.C.) that Esther was made queen (Esther 2:16ff.), which would correspond to the year Xerxes returned from his defeat at Salamis and sought consolation in his harem (Herodotus ix, 108). After the violent clash with Amestris over the Artaynta affair, Xerxes may well have chosen a new favorite as his acting queen. So far as Vashti is concerned, it is true that Herodotus makes no mention of her; yet it should be borne in mind that Herodotus omitted many important people and events in his account. (It should be remembered, e.g., that on the basis of Herodotus' omission, modern scholars used to deny the existence of Belshazzar, until subsequent archaeological discovery verified the historicity of Dan. 5.)

2. On the basis of Esther 2:5, 6 some critics have alleged that the author must have regarded Xerxes as a near successor to King Nebuchadnezzar, since he implies that Mordecai was carried off in the deportation of Jehoiachin in 597 and yet was still very much alive in the reign of Xerxes (485-465 B.C.). But this deduction is founded upon a mistaken interpretation of the Hebrew text; the true antecedent of the relative pronoun "who" in verse 6 is not Mordecai but rather Kish, his great-grandfather. If it was Kish who was Jehoiachin's contemporary, as the author implies, three generations would have elapsed by the time of Mordecai—a proper interval between 597 and 483.

[8]John Urquhart in the ISBE article on Esther feels hesitant about dismissing as impossible Scaliger's identification of Esther with Herodotus' Amestris. He suggests that in a world of merciless intrigue, she may have had to take measures which formed the basis of Herodotus' lurid account. Yet this would leave unexplained the Persian name and nationality of her father Otanes.

3. An objection has been raised to Esther 1:1 on the ground that 127 was a number much too high for the provinces under Xerxes' rule, since Herodotus states that the empire was then divided into twenty satrapies. But it is by no means certain that the Hebrew term *m^e^dīnah* ("province") represented the same administrative unit as the Greek *satrapeia;* in all probability the *m^e^dīnah* was a mere subdivision of it. Thus in Ezra 2:1 Judah is referred to as *m^e^dīnah* or subdivision of what Herodotus itemizes as the fifth satrapy, Syria. Even the number of satrapies was by no means stable, for in the Behistun Rock inscription the empire is said to be composed of twenty-one satrapies, and then later in the same inscription, twenty-three, and later still, twenty-nine. Herodotus himself states that there were about sixty nations under the Persian rule. In view of all this evidence, it is premature for anyone to state categorically that the Persian empire could not have been divided into 127 *m^e^dīnōt* in the time of Xerxes.

4. It has also been objected that the armed Jews could not possibly have killed as many as 75,000 enemies in the Persian empire in so short a time as a single day (as Esther 9:16, 17 asserts), nor would the Persian government ever have permitted such slaughter. It is, however, most precarious reasoning to insist that the unusual is equivalent to the impossible. In the light of the peculiar situation brought about by Haman's plot to destroy the entire Jewish nation, and the careful equipping of the Jews with arms to destroy their foes, it is by no means incredible that the Jews could have encountered and overcome such a large number of foes. Moreover, the ancient historians abundantly testify that the Persian government had a remarkably callous attitude toward human life and that where a member of the royal family was involved they were known to be altogether unsparing in their severity.

5. Doubts have been raised by many authors as to the historicity of Mordecai, and advocates of the late-date theory have labeled Esther as a mere romance intended to bolster nationalistic egotism and improve the morale of the oppressed and downtrodden Jewish people. But more recently those scholars who formerly rejected the entire account as fictitious have been forced to revise their conclusions in the light of an inscription published by Ungnad mentioning a certain Marduk-ai-a as an official in Susa during the reign of Xerxes. In fact, the name Mardukai has been found frequently in Late Babylonian inscriptions (as might well be expected of a name signifying "Man of Marduk"—the tutelary god of Babylon itself).

6. As for doubts concerning the historicity of Haman the Agagite, it is significant that an inscription of Sargon has been published by Oppert which mentions Agag as a district in the Persian empire. In the light of this evidence, it is apparent that Haman was a native of this province

(rather than a descendant of the Amalekite king Agag, as late Jewish tradition has supposed; cf. ISBE 1008a).

Impressive confirmation of the historical accuracy of the author of Esther has been found in an inscription of Artaxerxes II which states that the palace of Xerxes was destroyed by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. This would mean that within thirty years of the time of Esther, the palace in which she lived would have been destroyed, and in the natural course of events, a recollection of it would have passed away. It is difficult to suppose that any late romancer would have had any knowledge of a building which had been destroyed so long before his own time. Excavations of French archaeologists have uncovered the remains of this palace and show that it agrees perfectly in ground plan with the structure presupposed in the book of Esther (cf. ISBE 1009a).

In conclusion, it should be observed that there is no other reasonable explanation for the historic fact of the Feast of Purim as observed among the Jews except that such a remarkable deliverance of the nation from extinction actually took place in history. There would have been absolutely no motive for manufacturing such a story as this unless it was based upon an actual occurrence. The name Purim is unimpeachably authentic, for the term *puru*, meaning "lot," has been discovered in Assyrian inscriptions.

31

POST-EXILIC PROPHETS: HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI

HAGGAI

THE NAME *Ḥaggay* means "festal," derived from *ḥag*, "festival." Possibly the prophet received this name because he was born on the Feast of the Passover or some other major feast. The theme of his prophecy is that if God's people will put first His program, His house and His worship, then their present poverty and failure will give way to a blessed prosperity commensurate with their covenant faithfulness.

Outline of Haggai

I. First Message: Neglect of the Temple Is the Cause of Economic Depression, 1:1-15

II. Second Message: Though Less Pretentious, the Second Temple Will Be More Glorious Than the First, 2:1-9

III. Third Message: Unholiness Vitiates Sacrifice, and Selfishness Leads to Crop Failure, 2:10-19

IV. Fourth Message: God Will Finally Triumph, 2:20-23

Date and Authorship of Haggai

Of all the books of the Old Testament, this one enjoys the unusual status of being uncontested by all critics of every persuasion. It is acknowledged to be the work of the prophet Haggai himself, and the date it assigns to each message is accepted as reliable. The first message was delivered on the first of Elul (August-September) in the second year of Darius, or 520 B.C.; the second message came on the twenty-first of Tishri (September-October) in the same year; the third and fourth messages were both given on the twenty-fourth of Chislev (December-January) in the same year. All four sermons, then, were delivered within three months of each other.

Historical Background of Haggai

This was a time of severe testing of faith for the remnant that had newly returned from Babylon. The hostile intrigues of Judah's adversaries during the reign of Cyrus had arrested the rebuilding of the temple fourteen years before. Nothing had been done on the project since that time, even though a new king, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, had ascended the throne in 521. The influential members of the community were content to leave the expensive undertaking incomplete while they spent their money on building comfortable mansions for themselves. But repeated crop failure had come as a warning to them all that they had sinned in using political opposition as an excuse for neglecting the sanctuary of the Lord. In Ezra 5:1, 2, we read: "Now the prophets, Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, prophesied unto the Jews that were in Judah and in Jerusalem; in the name of the God of Israel prophesied they unto them" (ASV). Alongside this should be placed Ezra 6:14, 15: "And the elders of the Jews builded, and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. . . . And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king" (516 B.C.). As Dods comments: "No prophet ever appeared at a more critical juncture in the history of a people, and it may be added, no prophet was more successful."

From the perspective of our own time, it may be questioned whether the issue of completing the temple was as vital as these prophets represented it to be; in the Christian era we are accustomed to having no central sanctuary. But it should be remembered that much of the Mosaic constitution presupposed the carrying on of worship in such a sanctuary, and the failure to complete a suitable house of worship could lead to a paralyzing of the religious life of the Jewish community. It should also be understood that the second temple was to play a very important role in the history of redemption, for it was in this temple (as remodeled and beautified by Herod the Great) that the Lord Jesus Christ was to carry on His Jerusalem ministry. It was, of course, His advent that fulfilled the promise of Haggai 2:9, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former."

ZECHARIAH

The name *Zᵉkar-Yah* means "Jehovah has remembered" (that is, presumably, the Lord has remembered the prayers of his parents for a baby boy). The theme of his prophecy was: God is going to preserve His remnant from all the world powers which oppress them and threaten their extinction; these Gentile empires shall be destroyed, but Israel shall survive every ordeal to come, because she is the people of the Messiah.

It is He who shall some day establish the kingdom and rule over all the earth after vanquishing all heathen opposition.

Outline of Zechariah

I. Messages During Building of the Temple, 1:1–8:23
   A. First message: call for national repentance, 1:1-6
   B. Second message: the eight visions, 1:7–6:15
      1. The horseman among the myrtles, 1:7-17
         (The sovereign God is ready to intervene in the peaceful world scene in order to bless His city and people.)
      2. The four horns and four smiths, 1:18-21
         (Israel's oppressors are to be successively crushed: Assyria, Babylon, Greece, Rome.)
      3. The measuring line, 2:1-13
         (Half-desolate Jerusalem is to become large and populous.)
      4. Joshua, symbol of the priestly nation, 3:1-10
         (Israel is to be forgiven and purged by the grace of God.)
      5. Candelabrum: Israel as the lamp of witness, 4:1-14
         (Israel is to be fed with the oil of the Spirit by the Priest-King Christ.)
      6. The flying scroll of divine judgment, 5:1-4
         (A curse is upon all who reject the Law and covenant.)
      7. The taking of the ephah of iniquity to Babylon, 5:5-11
         (Ungodliness is consigned to the degenerate world from whence it came.)
      8. The four chariots of divine judgment, 6:1-8
         (Death, conquest, pestilence are meted out to the surrounding heathen powers.)
      9. Sequel: the symbolical crown of Joshua as type of the Branch, 6:9-15
   C. Third message, 7:1–8:23
      1. The query about extra fasts, 7:1-3
      2. The fourfold answer (obedience more important than fasts), 7:4–8:23

II. Messages After the Building of the Temple, 9:1–14:21
   A. The burden of Hadrach (the anointed King rejected but triumphant), 9:1–11:17
      1. The King announced (the Palm Sunday entrance), 9:1-10
      2. The King's program set forth, 9:11–10:12
      3. The King rejected (the Good Shepherd and the foolish shepherd), 11:1-17

B. The burden of Israel (the rejected King enthroned), 12:1—14:21

1. Final victories of Israel: her conflict, triumph, conversion and sanctification, 12:1—13:6

   a. The downfall of the heathen who attack Jerusalem, 12:1-4

   b. The miraculous strength of Israel to vanquish all her foes, 12:5-9

   c. Repentance of latter-day Israel for the crucifixion of Christ, 12:10-14

   d. The spring of cleansing water for the repentant, 13:1

   e. Permanent removal of idolatry from Israel and the silencing of all false prophets, 13:2-6

2. Final victories of the King, 13:7—14:21

   a. His rejection, and the purging of Israel, 13:7-9

   b. Assault upon Jerusalem, and deliverance by the Lord, 14:1-8

   c. Establishment of the supremacy of Judah and her King over the earth, 14:9-15

   d. Millennial subjection of the nations and the holiness of Israel, 14:16-21

The Authorship and Date of Zechariah

The first verse presents Zechariah as the son of Berechiah and the grandson of Iddo, who was undoubtedly the same priest mentioned in Nehemiah 12:4 as a contemporary of Zerubbabel. In Zechariah 2:4 the prophet is spoken of as a youth (Heb. *na'ar*). He would probably have been a young man at the time he co-operated with Haggai in the rebuilding campaign of 520 B.C. His last dated prophecy (chap. 7) was given two years later, in 518; yet chapters 9—14 show every appearance of having been composed some decades after that, possibly after 480 B.C., in view of the reference to Greece (9:13). As Unger points out (IGOT 355), the successful resistance of the Greek nation to the invasion of Xerxes would naturally have brought them into a new prominence in the eyes of all the peoples of the Near East. We have no further information concerning Zechariah's personal career except the reference in Matthew 23:35, which seems to indicate that he was martyred by mob action in the temple grounds (since the Zechariah that Christ mentions is said to be the son of Berechiah rather than of Jehoiada, who however met his end in a like manner in the days of King Joash, according to II Chron. 24:20, 21).

Critical Objections to the Unity of Zechariah

Since the rise of nineteenth century criticism, two competing views have arisen concerning the origin of chapters 9–14: the pre-Exilic theory and the post-Alexandrian theory.

A. The pre-Exilic theory is based upon the following considerations:

1. Since Zechariah 11:12, 13 is quoted in Matthew 27:9, 10 as a prophecy by Jeremiah, chapter 11 as a whole has been assigned to Jeremiah or some pre-Exilic contemporary of his (so Joseph Mede in 1653). Yet we should observe that it is not quite accurate to say that Matthew 27 quotes exclusively from Zechariah 11, for in certain important respects it deviates from both the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint form of that passage. The fulfillment to which Matthew refers pertains to the purchasing of the potter's field; this points to Jeremiah 32:6-9, which records the purchase of a field for a certain number of shekels and also refers to that field as a place for burial. Compare also Jeremiah 18:2, which speaks of the prophet's watching a potter fashion earthenware vessels in his house. Likewise Jeremiah 19:2 speaks of a potter employed about the temple and having his workshop in the Valley of Hinnom. In Jeremiah 19:11 we read: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Even so will I break this people and this city, as one breaketh a potter's vessel, that cannot be made whole again: and they shall bury them in Tophet." Therefore, we are to understand Zechariah's casting of the money to the potter as simply the renewal of an old symbol dating back to the time of Jeremiah. Since Matthew 27 combines both Jeremiah (from whom the word "field" has been borrowed) and Zechariah, it is only Jeremiah which is mentioned, because he was the older and the more important of the two prophets.[1] A direct parallel for this procedure is found in Mark 1:2, 3, where the quotation begins with Malachi 3:1 and follows with Isaiah 40:3; yet Mark refers (ASV) only to Isaiah as the source of the citation.

2. Since Zechariah 9:1, 2 mentions Hadrach,[2] Damascus and Hamath as independent countries (so the argument runs), this passage must be dated prior to the conquest of Syria by Tiglath-pileser in 732. Actually, however, there is no necessary implication in these verses that the three Syrian principalities mentioned were free and independent, any more than

[1]Cf. Hengstenberg on this passage, and also Basil Atkinson in Davidson-Stibbs-Kevan *New Bible Commentary,* p. 804a.

[2]Until recent times there has been considerable uncertainty as to the identification of Hadrach in Zechariah 9:1, but the Zakir Stele discovered at Hamath refers to the city of Hazrek (or Hadrach) as the capital of the principality of Lu'ash. It lay southwest of Aleppo and north of Hamath. It seems that Lu'ash contracted an alliance with Hamath and succeeded in defeating Benhadad II of Damascus. On the other hand, Assyrian records mention a city called Ḫatarrika located on the Orontes River south of Hamath and north of Damascus. From the fact that both Hamath and Damascus fought over Hadrach, some authorities like Lidzbarski have inferred that it lay to the south or southeast of Hamath rather than to the north. Lidzbarski suggests that it was probably near the city of Ḥomṣ (*Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik,* Vol. III, p. 175).

the three Philistine cities referred to in 9:5. There is no particular reason why they could not have had a predictable future even during the reign of Xerxes, when they were subject to the Persian empire. In the light of subsequent history it is quite obvious that this passage contains a revelation of a judgment to come upon these principalities at the time of the invasion by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

3. Zechariah 11:14 envisions the possibility of establishing brotherhood between Judah and Israel. This has been taken to imply a time of composition prior to the fall of Samaria in 722, and probably even prior to Pekah's alliance with Rezin of Damascus in 734. But this line of reasoning is based upon tenuous evidence, for the northern and southern tribes were considered by post-Exilic authors as reunited at the time of the Restoration in 536. Thus Ezra 6:17 and 8:35 imply that many of the descendants of the Northern Kingdom returned with the remnant of Judah, inasmuch as offerings were presented to the Lord on behalf of all twelve tribes. Moreover, there was even in Zechariah's time (the early fifth century) a need for the reunification of the whole territory of the twelve tribes as a spiritual and geographical unity. The hostile attitude of the Samaritans (who were largely the descendants of foreign settlers) presented an obstacle toward the realization of this ideal. Zechariah 11:14 therefore looks forward to the later unification of the whole area by the descendants of the Maccabees during the Hasmonean dynasty.

4. Zechariah 10:10, 11 refers to Assyria as an independent power; therefore, the passage must have been written prior to 612 B.C., when Assyria fell. But actually this is an unwarranted deduction. As the term is used here, "Assyria" is not intended to refer to a contemporary kingdom; rather, it is a geographical designation employed in a futuristic predictive context. It apparently stands for the world power which shall be in control in the Near East during the last days, and as such is contrasted with the southern world power of Egypt. Compare Ezra 6:22 which speaks of Assyria as a geographical entity, without any implication that it continued to be an independent kingdom in his time.

5. Zechariah 10:1-4 is thought to indicate a pre-Exilic date because it refers to teraphim and diviners, and post-Exilic Judah witnessed no revival of idolatrous worship. But actually the context shows that this mention of the vanity of idols and diviners refers to the experience of Israel in ages past; by God's providences He showed the nation the folly of trusting in idols back in the days of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, and demonstrated that He Himself was the one true God. Because of the encroachments of the pagan or half-pagan neighboring countries, this lesson needed to be mentioned even in Zechariah's day, that the Jews might be discouraged from taking foreign wives. Ezra's prayer of confession in Ezra 9 likewise shows a most vivid recollection of the lessons of the past concerning the vanity of idol worship in Israel.

The pre-Exilic theory was defended by the following eminent nineteenth century scholars: Rosenmueller, Hitzig, Baudissin and Strack. In the twentieth century, however, this theory has become largely discarded as obsolete in favor of a much later date of composition.

B. The post-Alexandrian theory, which now enjoys the widest support, rests upon the following principal arguments:

1. Zechariah 9:13 mentions the sons of Javan, or Greece: "For I have bent Judah for me, I have filled the bow with Ephraim; and I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and will make thee as the sword of a mighty man" (ASV). It is argued that this reference indicates a date when the Greeks had already entered upon the scene of Near Eastern politics, that is to say, after the conquest of the Near East by Alexander the Great (c. 330 B.C.). While this passage purports to be a prediction of coming defeat (that is, the defeat of the Seleucids at the hands of the Maccabean patriots), it is most reasonably understood as a *vaticinium ex eventu* (a prophecy after the event). Such a deduction, of course, has greatest appeal for those who occupy an antisupernaturalistic position in their philosophy. But as far as the situation in Zechariah's own time is concerned, the defeats recently administered by the Greeks to Xerxes at the battles of Salamis, Plataea and Mycale in 480-479 would furnish ample cause to bring them to the attention of all the inhabitants of the Persian empire. Therefore, unless one is prepared to rule out the possibility of predictive prophecy on dogmatic grounds, there is no particular reason why Zechariah could not have penned these words in the 470's.

2. Since Zechariah 9:1, 2 admittedly refers to provinces which were conquered by Alexander, this naturally indicates to the rationalist school of thought that his invasion was already a matter of history. The same line of reasoning has been applied to Zechariah 11:14, with its vision of the reunification of Judah and Israel. This would make the composition of the passage Maccabean (e.g., around 150 B.C.). It should, however, be borne in mind that Ezra 6:17 and 8:35 establish the fact that a theoretical reunion had already been consummated at the time of the dedication of the second temple in 516 B.C. It was only natural, therefore, to look for the implementation of this new unity as a future political event.

3. The references to the good shepherd in Zechariah 11 have led advocates of the late-date theory to attempt various historical identifications. According to E. Sellin, this good shepherd was the high priest Onias III, who held office during the reign of Seleucus IV (187-175 B.C.). According to K. Marti, he was Onias IV (apparently the same as that brother of Onias III who held the high priestly office for ten years and was finally put to death in the time of Judas Maccabeus, according to II Macc. 13:1-8). As far as the evil shepherd is concerned (Zech. 11:17), he has been identified with Menelaus (apparently the same as Onias IV) by

Sellin, and by others with Alcimus, or Jakim, who was installed as high priest by Demetrius in 161 B.C. and who died in 159. (Alcimus is Marti's candidate.) As for the three shepherds of Zechariah 11:8, they have been identified as Lysimachus, Jason and Menelaus, according to Marti; or according to Sellin, they were Simon II, Menelaus and Lysimachus.

These highly conjectural identifications, which greatly vary among themselves, would imply a date of composition in the neighborhood of 150 B.C. All of this procedure involves, of course, the naive assumption that Hebrew experienced no linguistic changes whatever between the fifth century and the second century B.C. The style and diction of Zechariah, even in chaps. 9–14, give no indication of being any later in time than Haggai or Malachi. We may now contrast with this supposedly second century Hebrew document the recently discovered sectarian literature from the Qumran caves dating from the second and first centuries B.C. Linguistically they furnish great contrasts with the Hebrew of Zechariah.

4. In dependence upon a theory of evolutionary development, the advocates of the second century date stress the apocalyptic tendency in these chapters of Zechariah which lay a distinct emphasis upon eschatology. (According to the evolutionary scheme, apocalypticism is regarded as the final stage of Jewish religion, a product of the desperation to which the Jews were driven when they saw their hopes of worldly empire disappointed and their nation kept under bondage by Gentile empires.[3]) On these theoretical grounds, therefore, much of the content of chapters 12–14 is assigned a very late date, because it contains a hope of a catastrophic judgment to be visited upon the Gentiles. Yet because of supposedly inconsistent views concerning the coming defeats and victories of Israel, even these chapters are regarded as a composite from various late sources.

5. The literary style of Zechariah 9–14 is allegedly so different from that of chapters 1–8 as to indicate a different author; e.g., Zechariah II (chaps. 9–14) employs the phrase "thus saith Jehovah" just once, whereas it occurs with great frequency in Zechariah I (chaps. 1–8). On the other hand, Zechariah II uses the expression "in that day" eighteen times or more, whereas Zechariah I employs it only three times. Moreover, the style of Zechariah II is regarded as more poetic and full of parallelism than is the case in Zechariah I.

In refutation of these alleged evidences of diverse authorship it may be easily shown that there are even more significant traits of style which are possessed in common by both sections of the book. Of course it should be understood that no author's style remains completely static over a period of three or four decades. If the last six chapters of Zechariah were composed between 480 and 470 B.C., this would adequately account for

[3]For an effective critique of this dogma of the late date of all apocalyptic, see G. E. Ladd's article, "Why Not Prophetic-Apocalyptic?" in JBL, lxxvi, 1957, pp.192-200.

the variations and contrasts listed in the previous paragraph. The difference of mood and situation prevailing between the early period of his ministry, when Zechariah was emphasizing that the summons to rebuild the temple really came from God (hence the frequency of "thus saith Jehovah"), and the state of affairs prevailing thirty or forty years later, when his authority as a spokesman of the Lord was already well accepted, quite adequately explains the differing frequency of the quotation formula. On the other hand, the prophecies of Zechariah II are directed toward a much more distant future than those of Zechariah I. It is only natural, therefore, that the eschatological phrase "in that day" would appear more frequently in the later chapters. The earlier chapters, 1–8, deal with the more immediate judgments upon the world powers of Persia, Greece and Rome, rather than with the end time.

Conservative scholars, in demonstration of the unity of authorship in Zechariah, point out the persistence of such stylistic traits as the following:

a. "Saith Jehovah" (*nᵉ'ūm Yahweh*) occurs fourteen times in Zechariah I and six times in Zechariah II (10:12; 12:1, 4; 13:2, 7, 8).

b. "The eyes of Jehovah," a peculiar designation referring to God's providence, is found twice in Zechariah I (4:10; 8:6) and once in Zechariah II (9:8; perhaps add 12:4, "mine eyes").

c. The divine title "Jehovah of hosts" is found three times in Zechariah I and three times in Zechariah II.

d. The verb *yāshab*, "to sit," "to dwell," in the special sense of "be inhabited" is found twice in Zechariah I and twice in Zechariah II. (Very seldom does this verb have that meaning outside of Zechariah.)

e. There is a peculiar five-member type of parallelism which is scarcely found outside of Zechariah, but which occurs once in Zechariah I and three times in Zechariah II (6:13; 9:5, 7; 12:4). (Cf. Young IOT 273.)

So far as the style is concerned, all scholars admit that Zechariah is remarkably free of so-called Aramaisms; it is written in good, pure Hebrew. This is scarcely what one would expect of a work composed in the second century B.C. As we have already pointed out, the grammatical and stylistic peculiarities of the prose documents of the Qumran sectarians are completely missing from Zechariah's work.

One more observation should be made concerning the modern advocates of the post-Alexandrian theory, that is, they markedly disagree among themselves as to the precise dating of Zechariah II in its various component parts. Speculations range all the way from 280 to 140 B.C., depending upon what correlations they attempt to make with episodes and historical characters connected with Hellenistic history. This does not inspire confidence in the soundness of their methodology.

MALACHI

The most reasonable explanation for the meaning of "Malachi" (Hebrew *Mal'ākī*) is that it is hypocoristic for the full form *Mal'ak-Yah*, or "Messenger of Jehovah." In its abbreviated form, the name could only mean "My Messenger," or possibly, if an adjective, "one charged with a message." It should be noted that many authorities have expressed uncertainty as to whether the real name of the author has been preserved. Such doubt is grounded upon the fact that the LXX translates 1:1 as "by the hand of his messenger" (rather than "by the hand of Malachi"). This discrepancy would indicate a textual variation; the LXX must have read the final letter as *w* (*waw*), meaning "his" rather than the final *y* (*yod*) of the MT. On the other hand, it should be noted that the LXX entitles the book Malakhias, or Malachi. The Targumic tradition indicates uncertainty since it paraphrases the first verse as "by the hand of my messenger, whose name is called Ezra the scribe." It should be observed that every other prophetic book in the Old Testament bears the name of its author. It would be strange if this one were left anonymous. Moreover, if the archetype or previous manuscript used by the LXX spelled Malachi's name with a longtailed *yod*, it could easily have been misunderstood as signifying "His messenger." Even if *yod* were read (as apparently the Targum of Jonathan did so read), it might well be misconstrued as a common noun followed by the suffix "my." Of course it was true that any of the numerous Hebrew names that ended in *ī* (such as Palti, Bukki, Buzi, etc.) could be misconstrued as "my . . ." since the Gentilic ending *ī* happens to resemble the suffix pronoun "my."

The theme of Malachi is that sincerity toward God and a holy manner of life are absolutely essential in the Lord's eyes if His favor is to be bestowed upon the crops and the nation's economic welfare. Israel must live up to her high calling as a holy nation and wait for the coming of the Messiah, who by a ministry of healing as well as judgment will lead the nation to a realization of all her fondest hopes.

Outline of Malachi

I. Introductory Appeal: God's Love for Israel, 1:1-5

II. Oracle Against the Priests for Dishonoring the Lord, 1:6–2:9
   A. The neglect in liturgical functions, 1:6–2:4
   B. Their insincere, corrupt teaching of the Law, 2:5-9

III. Oracles Against the Laity, 2:10–4:3
   A. Treachery toward God in divorce and mixed marriage, 2:10-16
   B. Warning of judgment by the coming Lord, 2:17–3:6
   C. Repentance in tithing to bring blessed prosperity, 3:7-12

D. Vindication of the godly against sneers of cynics in the day of the Lord, 3:13–4:3

IV. Concluding Admonitions: to Keep the Law and Wait for Christ's Coming, 4:4-6

Authorship and Date of Composition

As indicated above, the name of the author was probably Malachi (the Targumic tradition that he was Ezra is hardly worthy of consideration), and apart from that we have no knowledge of his background or circumstances. Judging from internal evidence, it seems clear that his prophecies were given in the second half of the fifth century, probably around 435 B.C. We come to this conclusion from the following indications: (1) The temple had already been rebuilt and Mosaic sacrifice reinstituted (1:7, 10; 3:1). (2) A Persian governor (or *peḥah*—1:8) was in authority at that time; hence it could not have been during either of Nehemiah's governorships (in 445ff. and 433ff.). (3) The sins which Malachi denounces are the same as those Nehemiah had to correct during his second term, namely, (a) priestly laxity (1:6ff.; Neh. 13:4-9), (b) neglect of tithes, to the impoverishment of the Levites (3:7-12; cf. Neh. 13:10-13), (c) much intermarriage with foreign women (2:10-16; cf. Neh. 13:23-28). It is reasonable to assume that Malachi had already protested against these abuses in the years just preceding Nehemiah's return; hence a fair estimate would be about 435 B.C.

Even rationalist critics, for the most part, find no objection to this date, although a few like Pfeiffer prefer to date him somewhat earlier, about 460 (Pfeiffer, IOT 614). Nor do they question the integrity of the book either on stylistic or ideological grounds, since they concede that a Messianic hope may have been cherished by the Jews as early as the late fifth century.

32

INTRODUCTION TO HEBREW POETRY

MANY NINETEENTH CENTURY CRITICS assumed that the Hebrews were incapable of cultivating hymnic, lyric or didactic poetry until a fairly late period, and then only under the influence of their more cultured neighbors. The more radical representatives of the rationalist school felt confident in ruling out not only Davidic authorship of any and all the psalms, but even the composition of any of them prior to the Babylonian Exile. They did not hesitate to assign a substantial number of them to the Maccabean period (ca. 160 B.C.). The same is true of the other poetical books; Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon were all considered definitely post-Exilic.

In the twentieth century there has been a trend toward moderating this view and conceding that some at least of the Hebrew productions went back to an early period, especially in their original oral form. The discovery of an increasing number of Akkadian and Egyptian hymns has clearly established the early cultivation of this genre by Israel's neighbors in the second millennium B.C. More recently this has been supplemented by the Ugaritic poetry composed in a Canaanite language very close to Hebrew and dating from the fifteenth century B.C. Most modern critics, therefore, now concede the possibility of early elements going back to the time of David or before, even though the finished production was not finally committed to writing until the late monarchy or the post-Exilic period. The increasing amount of religious and didactic poetry recovered from almost every culture with which Israel had contact prior to the Exile makes it increasingly difficult to defend the post-Exilic thesis for these books. In fact, we may say that these non-Israelite productions of Semitic poetry compel us to conclude that even the Hebrews must have committed their verse to written form, unless they were very backward culturally by comparison with their neighbors.

The Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry

The most noteworthy characteristic of Hebrew poetry is its parallelism. This term refers to the practice of balancing one thought or phrase by a corresponding thought or phrase containing approximately the same num-

ber of words, or at least a correspondence in ideas. In modern times the earliest systematic treatment of Hebrew parallelism was made by Bishop Robert Lowth in his work *De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum Praelectiones Academicae* (*Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*), published in 1753. There he defined the three basic types of *parallelismus membrorum* as synonymous, antithetic and synthetic. More recent authors like S. R. Driver have added a fourth type, the climactic. We may illustrate these various types by the following examples:

Synonymous Parallelism

Identical

Psalm 24:1:

"The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein."

Similar

Psalm 19:2:

"Day unto day uttereth speech,
And night unto night showeth knowledge."

Antithetic Parallelism

Psalm 1:6:

"For the Lord knoweth the way of the righteous;
But the way of the ungodly shall perish."

(This type is particularly common in the book of Proverbs.)

Synthetic or Constructive Parallelism

Completion type (which is largely a parallelism of rhythm rather than of sense)

Psalm 2:6:

"Yet have I set my king
Upon Zion my holy hill."

(Heb.: *Wa'anī́ nasákhtī malkī 'al Ṣiyyōn har-godshī*)

Comparison type

Proverbs 15:17:

"Better is a dinner of herbs where love is,
Than a stalled ox and hatred therewith."

Reason type

Proverbs 26:4:

"Answer not a fool according to his folly,
Lest thou also be like unto him."

Climactic

Psalm 29:1:

"Ascribe unto Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty,
Ascribe unto Jehovah glory and strength" (ASV).

(Observe the first line is itself incomplete, and the second line takes up some of its words anew and then completes the thought.)

Emblematic

(In the emblematic parallelism the second line gives a figurative illustration but does so without any words of contrast, simply by placing the two ideas loosely together. In such a case the first line serves as an emblem to illustrate the second.)

Proverbs 25:25:

"Cold water to a thirsty soul,
And good news from a far country" (literal rendering).

Or, without a connective,

Proverbs 11:22:

"A gold ring in a swine's snout—
A fair woman and without understanding" (literal rendering).

There are other types of parallelism which are discussed by some authorities, but those listed represent all the really significant types. A *chiastic* parallelism is a subtype of the synonymous parallelism, but instead of giving the parallel ideas in the same order (a-b, a^1-b^1) it is presented in the opposite order (i.e., a-b, b^1-a^1) as in Psalm 51:1. Unger (IGOT 365) describes the *stairlike* parallelism in which the second line takes up again and carries on further a portion of the first line (as in Ps. 139:5-7); but this is very similar to the climactic. A thorough and adequate treatment of Hebrew parallelism may be found in G. B. Gray's *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915).

The Question of Rhythm

A much-disputed point in connection with Hebrew poetry in the Old Testament pertains to the rhythmic pattern. A certain cadence is often observable in Hebrew verse; sometimes for several lines at a time a uniform number of stresses can successfully be made out. Thus in Psalm 23 the first few verses present a 2:2 pattern; that is to say, each half verse is characterized by two accentual stresses. Sometimes we may even discover a group of verses which show a fair uniformity in the number of unaccented syllables which fall between the stressed syllables.

Many nineteenth century and early twentieth century critics have proceeded on the assumption that in its pure original form each of these poetic texts in the Old Testament must have conformed to a systematic and predictable pattern. Even in ancient times authorities like Josephus, influenced by Greek poetical theory, attempted to classify passages like Exodus 15:1-8 and Deuteronomy 32:1-43 as a species of hexameter (or poetry containing six-foot verses). Modern adherents to such theories, like Hoelscher, attempted to make out an iambic (short-long, short-long) basis. Julius Ley thought he detected a frequent anapaestic 3:2 meter (an

anapaestic being a short-short-long foot). Budde gave this poetry the label of *Qinah* ("lamentation") meter. Eduard Sievers (1901) tried to establish a 4/4 time basis for Hebrew poetry, with a long or accented syllable counting as two beats (as in Greek poetry). He also catalogued the various stress sequences as 2:2, 3:3, 4:4, 4:3, 3:4, 2:2:2, etc. Once having established what the dominant metrical pattern was for each particular passage, these theorists believed that they could amend the received text of the Hebrew wherever it did not conform to the ideal rhythm.

Many of the liberal commentaries on the Poetical Books (and especially Psalms) are filled with large numbers of such conjectural emendations based on the attempt to compel the received text to conform to their metrical pattern. Since the actual texts as transmitted very often do not follow a consistent or regular metrical pattern, it was necessary to amend quite frequently—even drastically. In some cases this process of emendation was carried out to such an extent that the critics felt free to rearrange entire verses or groups of verses in a new order so that they might conform to some imagined strophic pattern. (A strophic pattern implies a division into stanzas in which a later stanza is supposed to correspond in rhythm and number of feet with the preceding stanza.) It is only in very exceptional instances that identifiable stanzas can be made out in the received text of the Poetical Books.

With the discovery and evaluation of the Ras Shamra Tablets, the unsoundness of this metrical approach has been exposed. The Ugaritic poetry is of utmost relevance, because (1) it is written in a Canaanite dialect quite closely related to Hebrew; (2) it contains many poetic clichés and turns of expression which occur in the Hebrew psalms; (3) it dates back to the age of Moses, and is therefore contemporaneous with Moses' own poetry (as preserved in Exod. 15; Deut. 32, 33; Ps. 90). Certainly, then, if meter was observed in the original Hebrew poetry, it would have been operative in the Canaanite verse of Ras Shamra.

G. D. Young in his article, "Semitic Metrics and the Ugaritic Evidence" (*The Bible Today,* Feb. 1949, pp. 150-155), has reported the results of a thorough study of Ugaritic poetry under every category known to metrical science. He defines as possible manifestations of meter: (1) a stich series (i.e., the appearance of a uniform pattern of verse units); (2) the number of stresses per stich (or line); (3) consistency of strophic pattern. After tabulating the results, and after a careful study of the fifty or more cases of parallel accounts and repeated statements in the Ugaritic verse, he comes to this conclusion: "At none of these levels can any definable metrical pattern be demonstrated in the poetry of Ugarit. The repetition required for poetic expression is here not accentual or syllabic, but is simply the very beautiful repetition of ideas in parallel form. . . . The idea that meter is found in this poetry is, we feel, an illusion resulting from the

observable facts of parallelism and the Semitic morphology. A poetry whose one outstanding feature is the paralleling of thoughts, which is necessarily accompanied by lines approximating each other in length, a poetry written in a language in which almost any clause can be couched in from two to three words, is a poetry which naturally lends itself to the creation of an impression of lines of uniform metric length. . . . The facts, however, show a complete lack of pattern at any of the levels noted." This basic lack of meter was long ago recognized by Franz Delitzsch (*Commentary on Psalms,* p. 28): "Old Hebrew poetry has neither rhyme nor meter; not till the seventh century after Christ did Jewish poetry adopt either."

The Wisdom Literature

The so-called *ḥokhmah* literature (*ḥokhmah* being the Hebrew word for "wisdom") was extensively cultivated among all the ancient Near Eastern peoples. Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* contains translations of some of the more outstanding Egyptian examples, such as: "The Instruction of Ptaḥ-ḥotep," "The Instruction for King Mer-ka-Re," "The Instruction of King Amen-em-ḥet," "The Instruction of Prince Ḥor-dedef," "The Instruction of Ani," and "The Instruction of Amen-em-Opet." There are also collections of Akkadian proverbs and counsels of wisdom which have been discovered, and in the Aramaic literature, "The Words of Aḥiqar."

It is against the background of this widely cultivated genre as practiced among Israel's neighbors that we are to understand the Wisdom Literature of the Hebrews themselves. Most characteristic of the Semitic *ḥokhmah* are the practical precepts based upon a canny observation of the laws of human nature and of the rules for success in social, business, and political life. In general it may be said that the "wisdom" with which these ancient sages were concerned was of a practical rather than a theoretical nature. Like the *sophoi* ("wise men") of the early Greek culture, the Hebrew *ḥākhām* originally was a person who knew how to do things well which the average person could only do indifferently or not at all. In this sense the master craftsman Bezaleel is referred to in Exodus 31:3 as *ḥākhām.* From this usage it came to be applied to the art of getting along successfully with God and with men. As a necessary involvement it also brought in the moral law which governs both human relationships and relationships with God, and which determines the degree of success to which a man may attain. As Driver points out (ILOT 392, 393), the quality of *ḥokhmah* was imputed especially to persons who were able to come up with the right answer in critical situations.[1] Thus Joseph is described as *ḥākhām* because of his ability to interpret Pharaoh's dream (Gen. 41:39). The same is true of the wise

[1]Cf. Chap. 34, p. 451.

woman of Tekoa who engineered a reconciliation between David and his son Absalom (II Sam. 14); likewise also Solomon in his clever stratagem in deciding which of two claimants to a single baby was the true mother (I Kings 3).

There actually seems to have been a prominent class or school of wise men in ancient Hebrew society, and, as Driver puts it, ". . . they applied themselves rather to the observation of human character as such, seeking to analyze conduct, studying action in its consequences, and establishing morality upon the basis of principles common to humanity at large." In its highest form, Hebrew *ḥokhmah* sought to look into the essence of God's truth and grasp the general ideas which gave the Israelite faith dimensions fitting it to become a world religion. From this perspective all natural and moral phenomena and experiences were reflected upon in order to apprehend more perfectly the final ground of life and the principles by which it is governed.

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PSALMS

THE HEBREW TITLE for this book is *Tehillīm*, or "Praise Songs"; the Greek rendering *Psalmoi* in the LXX means literally "songs to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument." The 150 psalms composing this collection cover a great variety of themes, and it is difficult to make any valid generalizations. Probably it is safe to say that they all embody at least an element of personal response on the part of the believer toward the goodness and grace of God. Often they include a record of the psalmist's own inner emotions of discouragement, anxiety or thankful joy in the face of the opposition of God's enemies or in view of God's varied providences. But whether the psalmist is occupied with a mournful or a joyous theme, he always is expressing himself as in the presence of the living God. There are a few psalms, of course, which mostly contain the thoughts and revelations of God Himself, such as Psalm 2, but these are most exceptional.

The Divisions of the Psalter

From ancient times the Psalter seems to have been divided into five books, perhaps to correspond to the five books of the Torah. Each of these divisions ends with a doxology. The divisions are as follows:

Book I: Psalms 1–41
Book II: Psalms 42–72
Book III: Psalms 73–89
Book IV: Psalms 90–106
Book V: Psalms 107–150

Authorship and Date of Composition of the Psalms

In most cases, the texts of the psalms themselves do not indicate the author by name. Psalm 72:20 forms an apparent exception to this rule; and yet it is possible to explain it as an editorial addition to the original collection of all of the Davidic psalms, of which Psalm 72 was the last unit in the collection. For the most part, the only definite information about authorship is found in the psalm titles. Not all of the titles contain

the author's name, but those which do present us with the following tradition: one by Moses (Ps. 90); seventy-three by David (mostly in Book I and Book II); twelve by Asaph (50, 73-83); ten by descendants of Korah (42, 44-49, 84, 87-88); one or two by Solomon (72 ?, 127); one by Heman the Ezrahite (88); one by Ethan the Ezrahite (89).

Of these, the earliest would naturally be Psalm 90, by Moses, presumably composed about 1405 B.C. The Davidic psalms would have originated between 1020 and 975 B.C.; those of Asaph from approximately the same period; Psalm 127 from the period of Solomon's reign, possibly 950. It is hard to date the descendants of Korah and the two Ezrahites who are mentioned; presumably they were pre-Exilic. Of the psalms not carrying titles, some were undoubtedly Davidic (e.g., 2 and 110) and the others date from later periods all the way up to the return from Exile (such as 126 and 137, the latter of which is at least as late as the Exile). No convincing evidence, however, has been offered for the dating of any of the psalms later than approximately 500 B.C.

The Authorship of the Davidic Psalms

As we shall presently see, the rationalist critics take a very skeptical view of the reliability of the psalm titles and largely disregard their value as mere speculations of later rabbis. Having thus disposed of the evidence of the titles, the critics tend to reject the possibility, on theoretical grounds, that David could have composed any of the psalms in the Psalter. (Eissfeldt allows him only one or two.) These are the principal arguments advanced in rejecting the claims of Davidic authorship:

1. Some of the psalms attributed to David speak of the king in the third person rather than in the second person (e.g., 20, 21, 61, 63, 72, 110). One would expect an author to refer to himself as "I" or "thou" rather than "he." There is, however, abundant evidence that ancient authors referred to themselves frequently in the third person. In classical literature, e.g., there can be no doubt that Xenophon was the author of *The Anabasis;* nevertheless, he refers to himself almost always in the third person. The same is true of Julius Caesar in his *Gallic Wars.* Repeatedly in the Old Testament we find Jehovah quoted as speaking of Himself in the third person. Even in the Ten Commandments which begin in the first person ("I am Jehovah thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt"), there is an occasional shift to the third person ("for Jehovah will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain," ASV). It is therefore out of the question to use this matter of the third person as a criterion for ruling out authorship.

2. Some of the psalms attributed to David allegedly refer to Israel's sanctuary as a temple structure already built (e.g., 5, 27, 28, 63, 68, 69, 101, 138), even though this edifice was not erected until the reign of Solomon, David's successor. This argument, however, rests upon a misunder-

standing of the term "the house of Jehovah," "the sanctuary," or "the temple" (*hēykāl*). We occasionally meet with all of these terms in literature which purports to have been composed before the time of David; e.g., "sanctuary" (*qōdesh*) is used of the tabernacle in Exodus 28:43; "house of the Lord" (*bēyt Yahweh*) in Joshua 6:24; "the house of God" (*bēyt Elōhīm*) in Judges 18:31; and even "temple" (*hēykāl*) in I Samuel 1:9; 3:3. At the same time it should be observed that the sanctuary mentioned in the psalms attributed to David is often referred to in terms that never could be used in connection with Solomon's temple. Thus, in Psalm 27, the sanctuary is referred to not only as "temple" (*hēykāl*) and the "house of Jehovah" (*bēyt Yahweh*) but also as *sukkah* or "booth" and *'ōhel* or "tent." Judging, then, from the internal evidence of the psalms themselves, the Hebrews sometimes referred to the tent of the tabernacle as "sanctuary," or "house of the Lord," or "house of God," or "temple." No structure of wood or stone was necessarily implied by any of these expressions.

3. It is objected that some of the psalms attributed to David show telltale Aramaisms which indicate late post-Exilic authorship. An example of this would be Psalm 139, where verse 2 shows the preposition *le* ("to") as a sign of the direct object (rather than *'ēt*); verse 4 uses *millah* for "word"; and verse 8 employs the verb *sālaq* for "ascend." Some critics have even objected to poetical forms of the pronominal suffix such as *-aiki* as a variant for the usual Hebrew *-ayik* for "thy" (f.). It should be remembered, however, that David had extensive contact with the Aramaic-speaking principalities to the north of Israel, and that many of his reading public from the ten tribes would be quite familiar with words borrowed from across the border in Damascus. The poetry of many nations shows a tendency to incorporate rare or dialectic forms in order to enrich the vocabulary, and there is no reason why Hebrew poetry should have been an exception. It cannot be denied that the fifteenth century Canaanite poetry of the Ras Shamra (Ugarit) shows a very strong Aramaic coloring. The presence of occasional Aramaisms, therefore, is not by itself conclusive evidence of authorship later than the time of David. Thus, while Psalm 139 may not be properly attributed to David (for we cannot maintain the inerrancy of the Hebrew psalm titles as such), much more extensive proof must be adduced to prove this than the mere presence of Aramaisms here and there.

4. The historical David, according to many critics like Sellin, could hardly have found leisure to compose poetry because his life was so filled with practical affairs; nor would he have had the inclination to such a refined cultural pursuit. In answer to this, we should recognize that not only the psalm titles themselves but also abundant evidences from other Old Testament records point to the importance of music and poetry in David's career. The book of I Samuel presents him as a skilled harpist at

the court of Saul. In II Samuel 22 we find in slightly different form the entire substance of Psalm 18 quoted as a composition of King David. The passage in II Samuel 1:19-27 contains a poetical lamentation composed by David on the occasion of the death of Saul and Jonathan at the battle of Mount Gilboa. Since this latter composition does not appear in the Psalms, it could not have been borrowed from them. The fact that it actually names Saul and Jonathan as such indicates that it cannot be explained away as a later composition wrongly attributed to David; it could only have been composed by a contemporary living around 1010 B.C.

If David could have composed so highly artistic an elegy as this, he certainly had the capacity for the other psalms attributed to him by the psalm titles. In I Samuel 16:18 we see clearly that according to the ancient Hebrew author it was possible for a really talented man to combine the professions of war and music: "Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and the Lord is with him." In II Samuel 23:1, after a full account of David's prowess in war and effectiveness in governmental administration, he is referred to as "the sweet psalmist of Israel." He apparently was interested in the improvement of musical instruments and designed innovations of his own. Amos 6:5 (ca. 755 B.C.) refers to him as an inventor or player of musical instruments. But he was known not only as a soloist but also as an organizer of choirs or singing guilds. This is attested by II Samuel 6:5: "And David and all the house of Israel played before the Lord with all manner of instruments . . . harps . . . psalteries . . . timbrels, and on cornets and on cymbals"; and also verse 15: "So David and all the house of Israel brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." In I Chronicles 16:4, 5; II Chronicles 7:6; and 29:25 we find recorded David's activity in organizing the guilds of singing Levites, who were to play such a large role in the liturgy of the Jerusalem temple.

In this connection it is worth noting that the New Testament repeatedly refers to David as the author of the psalms quoted by Christ and the apostles. In no case is a psalm so cited attributed by the Hebrew psalm title to someone other than David (although a few, like Psalm 2, lack any Hebrew title at all). Critics often assert that the book of Psalms was simply known by the title of David in New Testament times and that references to the Psalter which employ his name do not necessarily indicate a belief in his personal authorship. A careful study, however, of the numerous instances in point leads almost unavoidably to the conclusion that both Jesus and His disciples assumed without question that David was the personal author. Otherwise there is no point to Christ's query in Matthew 22:45: "If David then call him Lord, how is he his son?" The

question at issue was whether the Messiah was to be a mere human being or someone divine; only if divine was it appropriate for the mighty king David to refer to him as Lord. In Mark 12:36, Jesus says very explicitly, "David himself said by the Holy Spirit . . ." (Ps. 100:1). The apostolic testimony occurs in passages like Acts 4:24, 25: "Lord . . . who by the mouth of thy servant David hast said"—and then they proceed to quote Psalm 2:1, 2. Other New Testament citations include Luke 20:42-44 (Ps. 110); Acts 1:20 (Ps. 69); Acts 2:25-28 (Ps. 16); Acts 2:34 (Ps. 110); and Romans 4:6-8 (Ps. 32).

The Reliability of the Hebrew Psalm Titles

The critics generally regard the Hebrew psalm titles as very late and unreliable, usually being derived by inference from the internal evidence of the psalms themselves. This conclusion is often based upon two lines of evidence: the occasional discrepancies between the psalm titles in the MT and those in the LXX, and the lack of correspondence between statements of historical background and the situation presupposed in the psalms themselves. An example of this supposed discrepancy is found in Psalm 7, the title of which states that David sang this psalm to the Lord "concerning the words of Cush the Benjamite"; or again, the title of Psalm 34 is thought to accord very poorly with the mood and sentiments conveyed by the text.

Mature reflection, however, should lead the investigator to quite an opposite conclusion. It is impossible to explain how any "later rabbis" would have ventured to attach titles of this sort to psalms whose text does not clearly reflect the situations in David's life which are assigned as settings for the compositions. Many of the titles contain allusions to incidents in David's career of which we have no other knowledge. For example, in Psalm 60 biographical details appear concerning battles fought with Aram-naharaim, Aram-zobah and Edom which are not recorded at all in the books of Samuel. As Wilhelm Moeller points out (GATE 273), the supplemental details constitute a powerful argument for the antiquity of the psalm title itself. A later editor would never have ventured to manufacture new details not contained in the books of Samuel or Chronicles. It is also significant that several of the "orphan" psalms (that is, psalms that bear no title) teem with historical allusions and references to recent events or contemporary situations which would have furnished ample ground for later rabbinical conjecture.

The LXX furnishes conclusive evidence that the titles were added to the Hebrew Psalter at a date long before Hellenistic times. That is to say, there are several technical terms appearing in the Hebrew titles the meanings of which had been completely forgotten by the time the Alexandrian translation was made (c. 150-100 B.C.). For example, the expression "To the choir leader" (*lam-m^e^naṣṣēaḥ*) is nonsensically rendered by

the LXX translator "Unto the end" (*eis to telos*).[1] (Cf., e.g., Ps. 44, equivalent to the LXX Ps. 43.) Apparently the Alexandrian scholar conjectured the vocalization to be *lᵉ-min-nēṣaḥ*—"to from end." Jerome in his commentary on Daniel (par. 620) suggests that the proper translation of this Hebrew expression should be "To the victor"; doubtless he was influenced in this by the rendering of Theodotion, *eis to nikos*, "To the victory"; or else by Aquila's *tō nikopoiō*, "To the victory winner"; or else by Symmachus' *epinikion*, "Song of triumph." Another example is the title of Psalm 80, which contains *le-shōshannīm*, "To the lilies," which is rendered by the Septuagint, "For those who will suffer alteration" (*hyper tōn alloiōthēsomenōn*) as if it had come from *le-sheshshōnīm* ("to those who change")—a mistaken interpretation followed by Jerome in *Daniel* (par. 653). A third example is *ʿal-ʿᵃlāmōt* (Ps. 46), which probably means "According to maidens," i.e., to be sung at a soprano pitch. The LXX renders it, "Concerning the hidden things" (*hyper tōn kryphiōn*) as if derived from the verb *ʿālam*, "to hide."

The fact that these Hebrew technical terms were no longer understood can only lead to the conclusion that these particular words had fallen out of use so long before the second century B.C. that the true meaning had been completely forgotten. In view of the fact that many scholars like Duhm, Eissfeldt and Pfeiffer have confidently assigned many of the psalms to the Maccabean period (that is, 165 B.C. or thereabouts), it is important to understand the significance of this evidence from the Greek version. Admittedly the psalm titles were added after the composition of the psalms to which they were attached; yet the titles themselves—at least those that contain the phrases above mentioned—must have been added so long before the Septuagint translation that their meaning was already forgotten. It necessarily follows that such psalms themselves must have been written long before the Greek period.

In regard to the once-favored theory of Maccabean origin of the Psalms, it is interesting to note that in I Maccabees 7:17 a passage from Psalm 79:3 is quoted as Holy Scripture. This would indicate that there was already a canonical collection of Psalms in the Hebrew Bible by the time of the Maccabees.[2] The more recent trend among rationalist critics

[1]It can hardly be doubted that the Greek reader would understand the phrase *eis to telos* as meaning "to the end." However, it should be conceded that the word *telos* when not preceded by the preposition *eis* may occasionally mean ceremony or rite of initiation (cf. Aeschylus, *Eum.* 799; Sophocles, *Ant.* 1226; Plato, *Rep.* 8:560c). The Targum renders *lam-mᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* "for praise" (*lishᵉbāḥā'*). The Hebrew *mᵉnaṣṣēaḥ* is a participle derived from the verb *nāṣaḥ* "to shine, to surpass." In the *Piel*, this verb was used for a liturgical presentation of music; it so appears in I Chronicles 15:21. The noun *neṣaḥ* could mean "brilliance, glory" or "long continuance, eternity." In a derived sense, this root could also be a term for "victory."

[2]W. Staerk and R. Kittel insist that Psalm 79 dates from the Maccabean period, despite the fact that it is quoted in Maccabees as sacred Scripture included in an already established canon (cf. Rowley, *Old Testament and Modern Study*, p. 185). R. H. Pfeiffer also (IOT 63) blandly labels Psalm 79 as Maccabean, even while he

has been away from the extremes of late dating. Bentzen (IOT II, 167) states: "The result of the investigations carried on since the beginning of the twentieth century must however be that we have to leave behind us the a priori presupposition that the Psalms were post-Exilic. Psalmody was known in Israel from its earliest days. The oldest Israelite poem which we are able to date approximately, the song of Deborah (Judg. 5), is a psalm, and psalms were composed in the Old Testament style in other parts of the Near East before we know anything of Israel." Bentzen goes on to quote Engnell as saying (*Studies in Divine Kingship,* 1943, p. 176, n. 2): "Speaking candidly, there is merely one psalm in the whole Psalter of which I am quite convinced that it is post-Exilic: number 137. And as far as I can determine, no other psalm is comparable with it in contents and style. Should this be a mere coincidence?" In his *A Fresh Approach to the Psalms* (1957) Oesterley cites numerous Babylonian and Egyptian parallels to the Psalms as indicating the necessity of finding a pre-Exilic origin for much of the Psalter.

The most significant evidence of the antiquity of the Psalms as a literary genre comes from the poetry of ancient Ugarit. Perhaps the most reliable listing of their parallels in poetic phraseology and verse structure is to be found in the footnotes of the Ugaritic portion of Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts.* Typical examples are:

Psalm 104:3: "Who maketh the clouds his chariot"; cf. the common title of Aleyan Baal: *rkb 'rpt* (i.e., *rākib 'urpāti* or "Rider upon the clouds").

Psalm 6:6: "I water my couch with my tears" resembles Krt 28-30: "His tears are shed like shekels earthward, like fifth-shekels on the bed as he weeps."

The Ugaritic "Thy kingdom is everlasting, thy power [endureth] to all generations" is a formula very reminiscent of Psalm 145:13: "Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations."

"O El, haste thee, O El, come to my help" is very similar to Psalm 40:13: "Make haste to help me, O Yahweh."

These are but samples of the very large number of striking parallels, and they lead to the conclusion that the Hebrews adapted a poetic genre which they found already highly developed among the Canaanite peoples whom they conquered.

History of the Compilation of Psalms

In addition to seventy-three psalms which are by their titles attributed to David, there are, as we have already seen, many others which are as-

acknowledges its citation in I Macc. 7:17. It seems to be his naive assumption that this particular psalm had just been completed in time for quotation by the author of Maccabees, as though the quotation formula, "according to the word which he had written," could have been used by a Hebrew writer of a mere contemporary production.

signed to contemporary authors or those who were slightly later than his time. Psalm 90 is attributed to Moses; twelve psalms are assigned to Asaph; ten others to the descendants of Korah; one (Ps. 127) to Solomon; one to Heman the Ezrahite[3] (Ps. 88), and one to Ethan the Ezrahite (Ps. 89). Of the "orphan" or anonymous psalms there is little doubt that some of them indicate a date of composition during or after the Exile. We may regard Psalm 137, "By the waters of Babylon . . ." as Exilic, and Psalm 126, "When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion . . ." as early post-Exilic, perhaps 500 B.C.

It was therefore inevitable that the Psalter should be accumulated by stages over a long period of time. Apparently the grouping into books dated from an early period. Thus Psalm 72:20 states, "The prayers *[tᵉpillōt]* of David the son of Jesse are ended"; this notation doubtless marks the end of an earlier smaller edition of the Psalter which contained largely the Davidic psalms and those alone. At least three collections can be distinguished.

1. Book I (Pss. 1–41) was probably arranged by David, or else by some collaborator under his direction. Although it bears no title, Psalm 1 serves as a logical introduction to the whole collection and may well have been composed either by David himself or by Solomon his son. Psalm 2, which likewise lacks a title, is definitely ascribed to David in Acts 4:25. The reason Psalm 10 has no title is probably to be found in the original unity of Psalms 9 and 10 (they are regarded by the LXX as a single composition). Psalm 33, which has no title in the MT, is ascribed by the LXX likewise to David. It thus appears that the entire contents of Book I is to be assigned to David. Yet it is hard to tell why only a partial collection should have been made of David's poetry and incorporated into this first volume. It would be difficult to show that these psalms were composed earlier in his career and that the Davidic psalms of the later books came from his old age, for in some cases (notably Ps. 32 and Ps. 51) some of those appearing in the later books are demonstrably as early as those in Book I. It has been suggested by Ewald and others that possibly the earliest edition of the Psalter contained not only Psalms 1–41, but also 51–72, and that it was only at a later period that the psalms of Asaph and the sons of Korah were inserted (i.e., Pss. 42–50). It certainly is true that none of Psalms 51–72 are assigned by title to any other author besides David, and the last verse of Psalm 72 would then constitute an appropriate *finis* to the entire collection as it was originally published.

2. Book II (Pss. 42–72) and Book III (Pss. 73–89) may well have been collected and published at a later period, possibly in the reign of Josiah, to furnish additional material for devotional expression during

[3]The term Ezrahite seems to indicate a descendant of Zerach of the tribe of Judah. Apparently a Levitical family stationed in Judah was incorporated into the family of Zerah, both because of living in a Jewish community and also possibly by intermarriage.

his revival movement. On the other hand, it is just as likely that this compilation took place earlier, in the reign of Hezekiah (ca. 710 B.C.). It is well known that Hezekiah had an active Bible committee ("the men of Hezekiah"—Prov. 25:1) as part of his reform program. These two books then could have been prepared for publication and certainly for liturgical use in the temple under Hezekiah's sponsorship.

3. The remaining books, IV and V, are largely a collection of a miscellaneous sort of uncertain date, some of them as early as David or even Moses, and some as late as the return from the Exile. Doubtless this compilation was made in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, when the reconstruction of the political and religious life of the second commonwealth was vigorously carried through. It is fair to say that there are no historical allusions or situations presupposed in Psalms 90—150 which do not accord with events in Hebrew history prior to 430 B.C.

Rationalist higher criticism has come to no significant measure of agreement as to the time when the various individual psalms were composed. Scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tended to deal with each individual psalm on its merits, and conjecturing its age by that stage in the development of Israel's religious thought which it seemed to reflect, they could arrive at an approximate date on evolutionistic principles. Or else the critic might search for possible historical allusions and then look for a set of circumstances in Israelite history to which those allusions might be appropriate. Those who espoused the Maccabean theory for the composition of many of the psalms often followed this latter methodology.

With the advent of Hermann Gunkel, an entirely new approach came into favor. Beginning with his *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1904) he started to use the principles of Form Criticism in analyzing the corpus of the Psalter. He classified the Psalms into various categories or types (*Gattungen*) and sought to identify the general situation in life (*Sitz im Leben*) which brought them into existence. By a careful study of similar material from the early civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia, Gunkel sought to recapture the ancient Hebrew viewpoint and to analyze the psalms in a much more valid and appropriate way than had been possible by the earlier method. (Cf. Rowley OTMS 163ff.) The great majority of the psalms he was able to divide into five main types:

1. The hymns intended for purposes of communal worship expressing the author's own personal adoration and devotion toward Jehovah.

2. The communal laments in the face of some major catastrophe or disaster which had befallen the community (e.g., Pss. 44; 74; 79; 80; 83).

3. Royal psalms which focus particular attention upon the Israelite king as a servant of Jehovah.

4. The individual lament—a type which formed the backbone of the Psalter—in which the individual author finds himself in distress, threat-

ened by his foes, and unjustly persecuted; and yet by an upsurge of faith he expresses a certainty that he will be heard, and often makes a vow of tangible expression for his gratitude in response to the confidently expected deliverance.

5. Individual songs of thanksgiving (such as Pss. 18; 30; 32; 34; 41; 66; 92, etc.) in which a grateful recital is made of the deliverances and blessings the worshiper has received as he approaches the altar of thanksgiving. Gunkel's principal concern was not chronological, but his tendency was to place the major part of the Psalter in the time prior to the Exile (especially in the case of the royal psalms).

This Form Criticism approach was taken up and extended by many of the recent scholars such as Eissfeldt, Bentzen, Engnell, Oesterley, Robinson, and E. A. Leslie (*The Psalms,* 1949). Sigmund Mowinckel (*Psalmen Studien,* 1921-1924) also followed the Form Criticism approach, with the important modification, however, that virtually none of the psalms was genuinely personal in an individualistic sense but all pertained to the worshiping community. A great many of the "enthronement psalms" are believed to have originated in connection with the yearly celebration of the enthronement of Jehovah which Mowinckel supposed took place at the New Year festival (on the analogy of the Babylonian enthronement of Marduk at the time of the new year). He even understood the "day of Yahweh" as referring originally to the cultic day of God's enthronement, but projected into the future as the time when Yahweh would come with power to assert Himself as King over all the earth. Many of these "enthronement psalms" he regarded as dating back to the time of the Jewish monarchy. Norman Snaith vigorously opposed the theory that the psalms of this type were actually composed for the celebration of the sabbath or that the majority of them were post-Exilic in origin. (These ingenious speculations will be taken seriously only by those who accept the humanistic presuppositions of those who devise them.)

The Numeration of the Psalms

Both the MT and the LXX contain a total of 150 psalms. Whether this was the original number is not completely certain. The Talmud (*Sabbath* 16) speaks of 147, one for each year of the life of the patriarch Jacob. Nor is it certain how the Psalms were originally divided. The Talmud (*Berachoth* 9b) speaks of Psalms 1 and 2 as constituting a single composition. On the other hand, Acts 13:33 explicitly refers to Psalm 2:7 as coming from "the second psalm."

The English version follows the division of the MT so far as psalm numbers are concerned. Unlike the Hebrew practice, however, it does not count the psalm titles as constituting a verse. Hence there is usually a divergence in verse numbering between the English Bible and the He-

brew Bible whenever the psalm in question has a title. (That is, the Hebrew number will be one higher than the English number; in the case of Ps. 51 and a few others, it will be two higher.) As indicated, the psalm numbering of the LXX differs from that of the MT (and therefore of the English Bible) because: (1) it counts Psalm 10 as part of Psalm 9; (2) it counts Psalm 115 as part of Psalm 114; (3) it divides Psalm 116 into two separate psalms; and (4) it divides Psalm 147 into two separate psalms. The LXX also adds Psalm 151, with the notation, "outside of the number."[4] Since the Vulgate follows the numeration of the LXX, naturally the Catholic English translations follow suit.

The Contents of the Psalm Titles

It is not altogether certain that the present arrangement of the psalm titles in the MT accurately reflects their original position. J. W. Thirtle in *The Titles of the Psalms* (1905) has very convincingly argued that many of the psalms possess not only a prescript but also a postscript. At a later period, however, the postscripts of some psalms were mistakenly attached by the scribes to the prescripts of the succeeding psalms. He assigned to the postscript or notation at the end of the composition the following types of material: (1) the notation "To the choirmaster"; (2) musical directions indicating what kind of instrument was to be played (such as *negīnōt,* or "stringed instruments"; *neḥīlōt,* or "wind instruments"); and (3) the occasion (or melody tune) which applied to the psalm in question, e.g., *'al mūt lab-bēn* in Psalm 9 and *'al-ayyelet hashshaḥar* in Psalm 22. In other words, if elements of this sort appear in a psalm title, according to Thirtle, they have been incorrectly transferred from the original postscript at the end of the preceding psalm. When such elements are removed, it then appears that a proper prescript or initial title contains only these three elements: (1) the genre label, such as *mizmōr* or "psalm"; *maskīl* or "instruction"; *shīr* or "song"; *mikhtām,* or "atonement song," etc., (2) the ascription of authorship, "of David," "of Asaph," etc.; (3) the occasion (e.g., "when he fled from Absalom," or "which he sang to Jehovah concerning the words of Cush," etc.). Thirtle pointed out that some of the Egyptian and Akkadian hymns ended with a final notation including even "to the end"—which may have been a factor influencing the LXX to render *lam-m^{e}naṣṣēaḥ* as *eis to telos* ("to the end"). (In this connection it should be mentioned that in the case of Thirtle's prescripts there are about twenty-five discrepancies in the psalm titles between the LXX and the MT. For example, seven have *psalmos* where the MT does not read *mizmor;* seven have *ōdē* where the MT lacks *shīr;* and five in the LXX have *allēlouia* where the Hebrew has no *halleluyah.*)

[4]The Hebrew original of Psalm 151 has recently been discovered in Qumran Cave 11.

Technical Terms in the Psalm Titles

Types of Psalms

1. *Mizmōr* or "psalm" meant a song rendered to the accompaniment of instrumental music, originally a stringed instrument, from *zāmar,* "to pluck" (but cf. also the Arabic *zamara* "to play on the reed"). Fifty-seven of the psalms are so labeled.

2. *Shīr* or "song" implies nothing concerning a musical accompaniment. It is simply a general term for vocal music. Twenty-seven psalms are so labeled; fifteen of these are called *shīr ham-maʿaloth* or "the song of ascents."

3. *Maskīl* or didactic poem, or contemplative poem (the verb from which it comes, *hiskīl,* may mean give attention to, consider, ponder; or give insight to, teach someone). It appears as a title for thirteen psalms. Since the contents of these psalms are by no means uniformly didactic, we should probably prefer the interpretation "contemplative."

4. *Mikhtām* is a disputed term. If it derives from a root meaning "to cover" (cf. Arab. *katama* and Akk. *katāmu,* both of which mean "to cover"), it might signify "a song of covering or atoning for sin" (so Mowinckel). Later Hebrew construed this word to mean "epigram" (hence the LXX *stēlographia*) or "engraving," as if referring to a composition intended to record memorable thoughts, pithy sayings, or eloquent refrains. Six psalms bear this title.

5. *Tepillah* simply means "prayer." Five psalms are so designated.

6. *Tehillah* means "song of praise" and is found in five psalm titles. Note that this word in the plural, *Tᵉhillim,* furnishes the Hebrew title for the whole book of Psalms.

7. *Shiggāyōn* may perhaps mean "irregular or wandering song" (from *shāgah* "to wander"); hence, an irregular dithyrambic ode. (Only Ps. 7 bears this term, but so also does the psalm in Hab. 3.)

Musical Terms in the Titles

1. *Lam-mᵉnaṣṣēaḥ,* as explained above, means "To the choir leader." It has been plausibly suggested that this term was affixed to those psalms which were included in a special anthology made by the temple choir leader for the convenience of his singers—rather than including the entire group of 150 in the ordinary repertoire of his choral groups. Fifty-five psalms are so labeled.

2. *Negīnōt* means "stringed instruments" or "songs to be sung to the accompaniment of stringed instruments."

3. *Neḥillot* means "wind instruments" (cf. *hālīl,* "flute").

4. *Shemīnīt* seems to mean either "an eight-stringed lute," or possibly "an octave" (i.e., an octave lower than the soprano or *ʿalāmōth*).

5. *ʿalāmōth* or "maidens" may mean "soprano" or "high pitch" (cf. I Chron. 15:20).

6. *Maḥalath* means "sickness/grief" and may imply therefore a song of lament.

Melody Indicators

Some of the cryptic words in the psalm titles may indicate either the occasion on which the psalm was originally composed; or, as is more likely, the opening words of a well-known melody, according to which the psalm was to be sung (just as we might say in modern times: "Sing to the tune of the 'The Battle Hymn of the Republic' ").

1. *'al mūt lab-bēn* in Psalm 9 may indicate some well-known song beginning with the words, "The death of a son . . ." (the preposition *'al* being construed as "according to").

2. *'al ayyelet hash-shaḥar* means "According to 'the hind of the morning' " (Ps. 22).

3. *Shūshān* or *'el shōshannīm* would refer to the lily and perhaps signified "To the lilies."

4. *'al tashḥēt* seems to mean "Do not destroy" or "Do not corrupt." Apparently a well-known song began with these words and its melody was to be followed here.

5. *'al Yōnat 'ēlem rᵉhōqīm* apparently means "According to 'A dove of silence those who are afar off . . .' " Some have suggested that it should be repointed to read *'ēlīm reḥōqīm* or "terebinths afar off."

A technical term which does not occur in the psalm titles is the perplexing *selah*. While many explanations have been given for this word, the most plausible is that which derives it from the root *sālal* meaning "lift up." The LXX renders it *diapsalama*, which means "musical interlude." *Selah* then is not a word to be read aloud, but simply a notice to the reciter that at this point he should pause in his utterance and permit the musical accompaniment to strike up; or else it is a direction for him to lift up his voice to a higher intensity or pitch. Psalm 67:1, 2 contains *selah* in the middle of the sentence, and this makes it difficult to construe as pause for musical interlude. However, in most other instances this interpretation seems quite appropriate.

Psalms 120–134 bear in their titles the expression "the song of the ascents" (KJV "degrees")—Hebrew *shīr hamaʿᵃlōt*. An old Jewish tradition explains this as referring to a semicircular flight of steps leading up to the court of men in the temple (Mishnah: Middoth 2:5). A more likely explanation is that these "ascents" referred to the stages of pilgrimage up to Jerusalem (the word *maʿᵃlōt* being derived from the verb *'ālah* "to go up" i.e., to Jerusalem). Some prefer to interpret as "processions" (of pilgrims), by metonymy from "ascent." Hence these were pilgrim songs, to be sung on the way to Jerusalem for the annual feast days. This explanation also seems preferable to that of Gesenius and Delitzsch, who refer it to the steplike, progressive movement of the thoughts expressed in the psalms themselves; unfortunately for this theory, some of this group do not show this characteristic at all (e.g., Pss. 125 and 133).

The Messianic Psalms

One of the most remarkable features of the Psalter is its frequent allusion to the coming Messiah. Psalm 2:7, with its reference to the King of Israel as the Son of God, is quoted or alluded to in Matthew 3:17; Acts 13:33; Hebrews 1:5; 5:5; 7:28; II Peter 1:17 as applying to Christ. Jesus quoted from Psalm 22:1 as He hung on the cross, thus appropriating this psalm to Himself. For other Messianic psalms compare Psalm 110:1 with Matthew 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42, 43; Acts 2:34; Hebrews 1:13. Also compare Psalm 45:6, 7 and Hebrews 1:8, 9; Psalm 69:4 and John 15:25; Psalm 69:9 with John 2:17; Psalm 16:10 with Acts 2:25-28 and Acts 13:55; Psalm 8:5, 6 with Hebrews 2:6-9; Psalm 8:2 with Matthew 21:15, 16; Psalm 118:22, 23 with Matthew 21:42. Examples of others generally believed to be Messianic are Psalms 40, 41, 68, 72, 102, and 109.

The Imprecatory Psalms

Various psalms contain appeals to God to pour out His wrath upon the psalmist's enemies. These present some difficulty in being reconciled to Christian thought. Nevertheless, it is a mistake to explain away these expressions as degenerate and sub-Christian sentiments which have been permitted in the sacred canon by the principle of "progressive revelation." Progressive revelation is not to be thought of as a progress from error to truth, but rather as a progress from the partial and obscure to the complete and clear. A consistent evangelical must hold that all portions of the Word of God are true in the sense intended by the original author under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, even though couched in terms which may perhaps have been more comprehensible and relevant to God's people at the time of composition than in later ages.

It is important to realize that prior to the first advent of Christ, the only tangible way in which the truth of the Scripture could be demonstrated to human observers was by the pragmatic test of disaster befalling those who were in error and deliverance being granted to those who held to the truth. As long as the wicked continued to triumph, their prosperity seemed to refute the holiness and sovereignty of the God of Israel. A Hebrew believer in the Old Testament age could only chafe in deep affliction of soul as long as such a state of affairs continued. Identifying himself completely with God's cause, he could only regard God's enemies as his own, and implore God to uphold His own honor and justify His own righteousness by inflicting a crushing destruction upon those who either in theory or in practice denied His sovereignty and His law. Not until the supreme exhibition of God's displeasure at sin, demonstrated by the death of His Son upon the cross, was it possible for the believer to wait patiently while God's longsuffering permitted the wicked to enjoy his temporary success. Nor was the longsuffering of God properly understood until Jesus came to earth to teach His love to men

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THE BOOKS OF WISDOM: JOB AND PROVERBS

JOB

As to the meaning of the name "Job" (*'Iyyōb* in Heb.), it probably comes from a root meaning "come back" or "repent," and hence may signify "one who turns back (to God)." This interpretation is based upon the Arabic *'āba,* "repent" or "turn back" (often followed by the phrase *'ilā 'llāhi,* "to God"). The Arabic spelling of the name would be *'Awwābun;* it is found in Akkadian inscriptions as *Ayyabum,* e.g., in the Mari documents of the eighteenth century. In the Amarna Letters the name appears as *Ayab* (a prince of Pella). Interestingly enough, the name even occurs in the Berlin Execration Texts (written in Egyptian hieratic) as the appellation of a prince in the region of Damascus during the nineteenth century (cf. BASOR 82, 1941, p. 36). Another possible etymology for *'Iyyōb* is "the assailed one," from the Hebrew *'āyēb,* "to hate, be at enmity" (so Koehler-Baumgartner), or else "object of enmity" (so Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon*). It is worth noting, in favor of the Arabic etymology, that Job was a native of North Arabia, and the whole setting of the story is Arabic rather than Hebrew.

The Theme of Job

This book deals with the theoretical problem of pain in the life of the godly. It undertakes to answer the question, Why do the righteous suffer? This answer comes in a threefold form: (1) God is worthy of love even apart from the blessings He bestows; (2) God may permit suffering as a means of purifying and strengthening the soul in godliness; (3) God's thoughts and ways are moved by considerations too vast for the puny mind of man to comprehend, since man is unable to see the issues of life with the breadth and vision of the Almighty; nevertheless God really knows what is best for His own glory and for our ultimate good. This answer is given against the background of the limited concepts of Job's three "comforters," Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar.

An adequate psychological motive for their persistence in carrying on the controversy with Job over so many chapters is to be found in the dilemma into which his catastrophic disaster had placed them. If a man of such high reputation could suffer so devastating a misfortune, their own security was imperiled by the possibility that the same thing could happen to themselves. Their basic motive in attempting to elicit from Job a confession of sin was to establish their own sense of security. If in point of fact Job had been guilty of some grievous sin of which the public had no knowledge, his overwhelming disaster could be easily understood as the retribution of the righteous God. Failing to secure from him any such confession despite all their diligent efforts to compel from him an admission of guilt, they felt unable to return home relieved and reassured that calamity would be kept from their door if they only "lived a good life."

Outline of Job

I. Prologue: Job's Test, 1:1–2:13

II. False Comfort by the Three Friends, 3:1–31:40

- A. First cycle of speeches, 3:1–14:22
  1. Job's lament, 3:1-26
  2. Eliphaz' reply, 4:1–5:27; and Job's rejoinder, 6:1–7:21
  3. Bildad's reply, 8:1-22; and Job's rejoinder, 9:1–10:22
  4. Zophar's reply, 11:1-20; and Job's rejoinder, 12:1–14:22
- B. Second cycle of speeches, 15:1–21:34
  1. Eliphaz' reply, 15:1-35; and Job's rejoinder, 16:1–17:16
  2. Bildad's reply, 18:1-21; and Job's rejoinder, 19:1-29
  3. Zophar's reply, 20:1-29; and Job's rejoinder, 21:1-34
- C. Third cycle of speeches, 22:1–31:40
  1. Eliphaz' reply, 22:1-30; and Job's rejoinder, 23:1–24:25
  2. Bildad's reply, 25:1-6; and Job's rejoinder, 26:1–31:40

III. The Speeches of Elihu, 32:1–37:24

- A. First speech: God's instruction to man through affliction, 32:1–33:33
- B. Second speech: God's justice and prudence vindicated, 34:1-37
- C. Third speech: the advantages of piety, 35:1-16
- D. Fourth speech: God's greatness and Job's ignorance, 36:1–37:24

IV. God's Speeches, 38:1–42:6

- A. First speech: God's omnipotence proclaimed in creation; Job's confession, 38:1–40:5

B. Second speech: God's power and man's frailty; Job's humility, 40:6–42:6

V. Epilogue: God's Rebuke of the Three Comforters; Job's Restoration, 42:7-17

The Authorship of Job

The text of this book does not indicate its author, and there is no consistent tradition even in rabbinic circles as to who the composer of this work might be. The Talmud ventures only to suggest that the writer must have been someone who lived prior to the time of Moses. There seems to be nothing in the internal evidence of the text itself to furnish a clue as to the author's identity. The commentator Jacques Bolduc (1637) suggested that it may have been secondarily the work of Moses himself, who found it in an original Aramaic form and felt it worthwhile to translate into Hebrew. While it can scarcely be said that there is anything Mosaic about the style of Job, this theory would at least account for (1) its being possessed by the Hebrews, (2) its attaining a canonical status, (3) its patriarchal flavor and setting, and (4) the Aramaic flavor in some of the terminology and modes of expression exhibited by the text.

The Date of the Events

Inasmuch as Job contains no references to historical events and reflects a non-Hebraic cultural background concerning which we possess little or no information, it is not easy to assign a probable date for the lifetime and career of Job. The district of Uz, in which the action took place, was located in northern Arabia; the Septuagint refers to it as the land of the Aisitai, a people whom Ptolemy the geographer locates in the Arabian desert adjacent to the Edomites of Mount Seir. Job's friend Eliphaz came from Teman, a well known locality in Edom. Elihu came from the Buzites, who probably lived adjacent to the Chaldeans in northeast Arabia. It is important to bear this in mind when weighing the force of arguments based upon absence of Mosaic influence.

J. H. Raven inclines to a pre-Mosaic date because (1) Job indicates a patriarchal family-clan type of organization far more reminiscent of Abraham's time than of post-Exodus conditions; (2) the offering of sacrifice by the head of the family rather than by an official priesthood would also be pre-Mosaic; (3) the mention of *qᵉsīṭah* as a piece of money (Job. 42:11) suggests a date at least as early as Joshua (cf. Josh. 24:32), if not the patriarchal period (cf. Gen. 33:19). But if the scene was laid in North Arabia near Edom, a clan type of society may well have persisted there as late as the time of the Hebrew monarchy. Possibly private

sacrifices by the heads of families persisted alongside the official tribal priesthood.

This foreign locale would also account for the comparative rarity of the name Yahweh in most chapters of the book. Job shows a distinct preference for the pan-Semitic term, *'Elōaḥ* or *'Elōhīm,* for God. ("Yahweh" occurs twice in chap. 1, once in chap. 2, once in chap. 12, once in chap. 38, three times in chap. 40, and five times in chap. 42.) Interestingly enough, the title *Shaddai,* "the Almighty," occurs no less than thirty-one times in Job as against its sixteen occurrences in the rest of the Old Testament. This evidence from the use of the divine names certainly tends to confirm the theory of a non-Israelite background.

And yet it remains true, apart from the absence of Mosaic influence, that the background of the story of Job points to a setting in the early second millennium. W. F. Albright in his chapter on the "Old Testament and Archaeology" in the Alleman and Flack *Commentary* indicates that the historical Job may well have been contemporary with the patriarchs. His basis for this conclusion rests partly upon the dubious ground that Ezekiel 14:14 couples the names of Job and Daniel. Albright understands this Daniel to be the ancient Canaanite hero Dan'el, who appears as a prominent figure in one of the Ugaritic epics, that is, as the idol-worshiping father of Aqḥat. Thus he rejects the possibility that Ezekiel could be referring to his own contemporary, Daniel, in Babylon. He also points out the fact that the other names in the narrative are authentic for the second millennium B.C. Thus Bildad was probably shortened from Yabil-Dadum, a name found in cuneiform sources dating from that period. He also traces a noteworthy resemblance to the account of the "Babylonian Job," a cuneiform composition translated in Barton's *Archaeology and the Bible* (pp. 491ff.). This is the story of a righteous man who underwent the bitterest agony of body and spirit, even though he was conscious of having lived an upright life, and nevertheless remained steadfast in the midst of his affliction. Ultimately he was granted a happier life than ever, to the glory of Marduk, the god of Babylon. This Babylonian account may go back to 1200 B.C., and may rest upon materials even earlier.

Date of the Composition of Job

A distinction must be drawn between the historical period when Job actually lived and the time when this record of his ordeal was composed. It might naturally be supposed to have been written soon after the events themselves. Nevertheless there is the widest divergence of opinion on this point, some estimates, as we shall see, deferring the time of authorship until after the Babylonian Exile. In general there are five main views maintained by Biblical scholars today: (1) in the patriarchal age; (2) in

the reign of Solomon; (3) in the reign of Manasseh; (4) in the generation of Jeremiah; (5) during or after the Exile.

1. *Before the time of Moses, in the patriarchal age.* If the contents of Job are to be regarded as historically accurate and a faithful transcript of the actual conversations of the five collocutors involved, it would be natural to assume that this record was composed soon after Job's restoration to prosperity, the final addition, 42:16, 17, having been completed not long after his decease. If therefore Job's career took place before the time of Moses, the book itself must date back to that same approximate era. This was the view of the Talmud and was widely held by Christian scholars until modern times.

In our present century there are rather few scholars even among leading conservatives who would venture to insist upon a pre-Mosaic date. As has already been pointed out, the fact that the events take place on non-Israelite soil, that is, in North Arabia, makes the period of composition difficult to date with any precision. There is no compelling reason why the influence of the Mosaic Torah should have been felt in Uz or Teman even as late as 1000 B.C. In the absence of any literature from the same locality it is impossible to do more than conjecture what allusions to history or law or local custom might have been present in any artistic composition of North Arabia. If, moreover, the work was composed in the pre-Mosaic period prior to the Hebrew conquest, it gives rise to the possibility that it was originally composed in some language other than Hebrew, whether in a North Arabian dialect or possibly in Aramaic, as some have suggested.

Some critics have pointed to the mention of the worship of the sun and moon in Job 31:26, feeling that this would exclude a period of composition earlier than the rise of Mesopotamian cults in the latter days of the Jewish monarchy. It should be remembered, however, that the worship of the sun and moon had been carried on by Sumerians and Akkadians from time immemorial, and the earliest Old South Arabic inscriptions which have survived indicate vigorous cults of this type flourishing in the southern part of the peninsula. We may conclude therefore that there is no convincing evidence for either denying or insisting upon a pre-Mosaic date of composition.

Some critics have uncovered what they feel to be traces of the influence of the Mosaic Law, especially in Job 24:2-11. This passage mentions (a) the wickedness of keeping pawned clothes overnight (forbidden in Exod. 22:25 ff.); (b) the custom of reserving for the poor the gleaning of the fields of the rich (prescribed in Lev. 19:9); (c) the wickedness of moving the boundary marker of a farm (cf. Deut. 19:14). However, a second reading of this passage in Job reveals that it amounts to only a statement that the poor have been reduced to gleaning the fields of the rich, and that having pawned their clothes to the wealthy they are forced

to sleep naked overnight. This falls short of invoking any legal sanctions in either case. As for denouncing the moving of a boundary marker, this was a commonplace sentiment throughout the Fertile Crescent, from Sumeria to the Nile. Numerous boundary stones have been found from the time of Hammurabi and earlier invoking divine wrath upon any miscreants who should venture to shift them from position. It turns out, therefore, that the case for an acquaintance with the Mosaic code cannot be sustained for the book of Job.

2. *In the reign of Solomon.* This view was advocated as early as the time of Gregory Nazianzen (fourth century A.D.) and also by Martin Luther, Haevernick, Keil and Delitzsch. In the conservative handbooks on Old Testament Introduction it is favored by Raven, Young, and Unger. The grounds adduced for this dating fall generally under these heads: (a) Solomon's age was one of prosperous leisure in which literary pursuits were practiced against a background of national self-realization; (b) the age of Solomon devoted particular interest to *ḥokhmah* and pondered the deepest practical problems of life; (c) there is a similar exaltation of godly wisdom in Proverbs 8 to that which appears in Job 28; (d) a fairly extensive knowledge of foreign countries, or at least of conditions which obtained throughout the Near East generally, indicates a wider acquaintance with the contemporary world than North Arabian conditions would presuppose. In Solomon's time, of course, there was the widest acquaintance with the foreign nations even as remote as India, which enjoyed commercial relations with the Hebrew empire. It cannot be denied that these considerations possess a certain cumulative force, yet it is questionable whether they can be regarded as really conclusive, for most of the four features above mentioned are reconcilable with an earlier date as well, particularly if the account was composed by a non-Israelite author on non-Israelite soil.

A problem immediately presents itself to the conservative scholar as soon as he settles upon a Solomonic date for the composition of this book. If the events themselves took place four centuries or more before Job was written—and most of these writers consider Job to have lived at least as early as the time of Moses—then it is difficult to see how an accurate record could have been maintained of the actual remarks expressed by Job and his four counselors. Delitzsch therefore suggests that the book was not meant to be a historically accurate transcript of words actually spoken in the patriarchal period, but that it was probably intended as a drama for which the dialogue had been composed by the author. Such a drama would be historically accurate only as a play based, for example, upon the life of Abraham Lincoln might artistically represent the man's character and what he stood for without purporting to be a reporter's transcript of remarks which he actually voiced. Delitzsch contends that

no Hebrew reader would have understood the speeches in Job as a verbatim report, since the narrative was put into a poetic, dramatic form. Yet even as drama, Job is not to be dismissed as mere fiction, for the author may well have composed it under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and accurately represented the sentiments and theological opinions historically expressed by the parties concerned. It was simply that the dramatic or poetic form in which they were composed was the product of the literary artist. If, then, the book did not purport really to be a reporter's transcript and would not have been so understood by the ancient reader, it should be understood and interpreted by the modern reader in the light of the author's original intention.

In support of this interpretation it certainly must be conceded that the text of Job does not read like an ordinary conversation such as would be carried on under usual circumstances. Apart from the introductory and the concluding chapters, the main body of the text reads like a poetic and highly artistic composition, employing language which would not normally be used by persons speaking extemporaneously in a real-life situation. In this respect Job may be put in a different category from the other books in the Old Testament which purport to give a narrative of historical events, particularly if the original speakers were expressing themselves in a language other than Hebrew—as indeed they must have. Thus the ancient reader for whose spiritual benefit the book was composed would naturally expect a certain amount of artistic license in the literary form in which the speakers' sentiments and opinions were expressed.

3. *In the reign of Manasseh, seventh century* B.C. This was an age of moral degeneracy and social injustice, a time when questions concerning divine providence would call for anxious scrutiny, with error on the throne and truth on the scaffold. Therefore the prominence given to the suffering of the innocent and the prevalence of misfortune and calamity, "the earth is given into the hands of the wicked" (Job 9:24), accords well with the time of King Manasseh.

Ewald and Hitzig were outstanding proponents of this view. But as Raven points out (OTI 277), these allusions in Job do not indicate any more widespread misfortune than could be found in many periods in Hebrew history, or indeed in human experience generally. The author quite clearly is referring to the hardships of individuals here and there as exemplified by Job himself, who in his despondency over private disasters naturally tended to emphasize these darker aspects of calamity which can befall any man in this life. There is no suggestion whatsoever that national misfortunes are referred to or that what is afflicting Job is intended to be parabolic for the distress of Israel generally.

4. *The period of Jeremiah in the late seventh century* B.C. This is the view of J. E. Steinmueller (CSS II, 165), who feels that there is a striking similarity in both contents and language between Job and the writings of

Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 12:1-3 and Job 21:7ff.; Jer. 20:14-18 and Job 3:3ff.). He thinks it significant that the land of Uz is mentioned outside of Job only in Jeremiah 25:20 and Lamentations 4:21. Yet this evidence can scarcely be called compelling; the similarities referred to are quite vague in character and consist in commonplace sentiments which can be found in the writings of many authors. The problem of the prosperity of the wicked (Job 21:7-15) was more thoroughly discussed in Psalm 37 (which was presumably Davidic and therefore early tenth century) than in the Jeremiah passage (Jer. 12:1-3). While it is true that the curse which Jeremiah invokes upon the day he was born (Jer. 20:14ff.) bears a close similarity to Job 3:3ff., it is far more likely that Jeremiah borrowed from Job than the other way around. If in Jeremiah's time the book of Job was known and acknowledged as Holy Scripture, it is altogether likely that the unhappy prophet would have found in it many a sentiment which accorded with his own mood. The fact that Uz is mentioned in Jeremiah 25:20 is hardly of pivotal significance unless it can be proved by other evidence that the name had not arisen until the age of Jeremiah or else was unknown to the Hebrews before his time.

5. *The Babylonian Exile, sixth century* B.C. This view is advocated by Genung in ISBE, who classifies the book of Job as mere legend if not outright fiction. He interprets it as reflecting at least indirectly the long imprisonment and eventual release of King Jehoiachin. (It should be noted, however, that Jehoiachin's career bears little analogy to that of Job; there is no evidence that Jehoiachin was more godly than his wicked father Jehoiakim, nor was he restored to his kingdom at any time prior to his death. He was simply granted more pleasant conditions during his confinement in Babylon.) Genung regards Job 12:17-25 as suggesting the wholesale deportation of eminent persons or even of whole nations, as if the author had actually witnessed the tragic events of 587 B.C. Thus Job 12:17-19, 23 reads: "He leadeth counsellors away stripped, and judges maketh he fools. He looseth the bond of kings, and bindeth their loins with a girdle. He leadeth priests away stripped, and overthroweth the mighty. . . . He enlargeth the nations, and he leadeth them captive" (ASV). Yet it should be pointed out that generalizations of this sort would be appropriate to almost every normal period of Near Eastern history; such scenes as these were repeated every time a fortified city was stormed. Therefore this passage would be perfectly appropriate even in the time of Abraham in the violent age in which he lived (cf. Gen. 14).

Driver, Budde and Cheyne seek to buttress the argument for an Exilic or post-Exilic date of Job by pointing out resemblances with Deutero-Isaiah (which they would date about 550-540 B.C.). These resemblances include: (a) the extraordinarily developed form of morality and of the doctrine of God discoverable in Job; (b) the basic analogy between the suf-

fering of the innocent Job and that of the Servant of the Lord in Isaiah II; (c) the points of contact between Job and Jeremiah already discussed in connection with Steinmueller's theory.

As to (a), it should be observed that neither the ethical standards nor the portrait of God can be regarded as any more "advanced" (if this question-begging term may be used) than that displayed in what critics have assigned to Document D or in the Davidic psalms. This type of argument can appeal only to those who are committed to the presuppositions of Wellhausen's theory of the development of Israel's religion. As far as (b) is concerned, the resemblance between Job and the Suffering Servant is superficial indeed. While it is true that both suffered innocently —a commonplace in world literature—yet there was nothing redemptive or vicarious about the afflictions of Job as there was in the case of the Suffering Servant. These arguments therefore seem to be quite weak and inconclusive except to those who are committed to the Development Hypothesis of Israel's religion.

The Integrity of the Text

From the time of Eichhorn there has been a growing tendency among rationalist critics to deny the single authorship of Job. There has been a general trend toward regarding the speeches of Job and his three comforters as being the earliest portion of the work, and to regard as later additions the four sections which are described below.

1. *The prologue and the epilogue.* From the obvious ground that the first and last chapters of the book are composed in prose, it has been argued that they must have been composed by a different author from the artist who produced the poetic chapters. As Steinmueller points out (CSS II, p. 166), however, the literature of neighboring nations exhibited the same phenomenon. Thus the Twelfth Dynasty Egyptian *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* dating from around 1900 B.C. likewise possessed a prose prologue and epilogue as a framework for the long poetic text which made up the body of the work.

It has also been argued that the mood and viewpoint of the prologue and epilogue differ from those of the rest of the book. However, if we consider the particular purpose of the prologue and epilogue it would be very strange if their mood and viewpoint did not differ from that prevailing in the dialogue between Job and his collocutors. It is the purpose of the introductory chapter to present Job's situation from the divine perspective as a contest between God and Satan, in which the issue at stake is whether a man is capable of loving God for His own sake rather than merely for the blessings He bestows. The final chapter presents the eventual outcome of Job's period of testing. After the situation of agonizing trial has given way to a new prosperity and success, it would have been

highly unrealistic on the part of the author had he attempted to maintain the same viewpoint and mood throughout the entire book. Moreover, as an increasing number of critics are coming to see, the dialogue of Job would be lacking in adequate motivation if the prologue had not introduced it right from the beginning. Likewise also the epilogue is absolutely essential for the final vindication of Job's righteousness, and it is therefore hard to believe that the dialogue could have originally circulated without the final chapter. Even Aage Bentzen (IOT, II, p. 175) concedes: "The dialogue cannot have had any independent existence. In 8:4–29:1 it presupposes the description of Job's illness as given in the narrative."

2. *Chapters 27 and 28.* Adherents to the multiple-source theory often single out chapter 27 as an interpolation because it contains a denunciation of the wicked far more in harmony with what the three comforters have been saying in the earlier chapters than with the defensive position Job has maintained. Repeatedly Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar have been discoursing upon the inevitable punishment of the wicked and have been urging Job to come out with a confession of secret sin. But on the other hand it should be recognized that Job himself at no point offers any defense for the sinner or holds out any hope for him that he would escape God's judgment in the final outcome. Actually what he does in chapter 27 is skillfully to turn the tables on his unjust accusers who have dogmatically insisted that his calamity must be a consequence of hidden and unconfessed sin. Then, insisting on his own unqualified adherence to the cause of righteousness, decency and justice, Job very logically passes on to express his expectation that his slanderous accusers will themselves taste the fruit of their injustice in blackening his character (cf. v. 7: "Let mine enemy be as the wicked, and he that riseth up against me as the unrighteous").

As for chapter 28, it is urged that this constitutes a unit by itself which is not logically related either to what precedes or what follows. But this criticism is not well taken, for Job's analysis of what constitutes true wisdom is evidently intended as a rebuke and a rebuttal to the narrow-minded and shortsighted "wisdom" on which his so-called comforters had preened themselves. In this chapter, therefore, Job shows that true and valid wisdom does not reside in them nor indeed in any man, but only in the Lord Himself and what He has revealed. Even his final axiom, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," carries with it in this context the connotation that his three accusers had gone astray at the very outset of their thinking because they lacked a genuine fear of the Lord in their attitude toward Job's divinely permitted calamities.

3. *The speeches of Elihu* (chaps. 32–37). Many critics object that this young disputant is not mentioned in the prologue (2:11) when the other three are introduced, nor is he alluded to either in the speeches of Jehovah (chaps. 38–42), or in the epilogue itself. It is therefore deduced that he

must have been an invention of a later contributor to the Job legend, inserted into the account in order to present a more satisfactory theological viewpoint than could be found in the speeches of the other four collocutors. Some critics have even argued that Elihu adds nothing new to the discussion, but either repeats what the three friends have already said or else anticipates what God is going to say.

In reply to these objections, it may be pointed out that chapter 32 makes it perfectly clear that Elihu was not one of the original participants in the discussion when it first began back in chapter 2, but that he happened in on the conversation at a later time after it had already well begun. If this was the case, it is hard to see why he should have been mentioned in the prologue at all. So far as the speeches of Jehovah in the epilogue are concerned, there is no particular reason for Elihu to be mentioned in either section if he had uttered nothing that was worthy of correction. It was because the three comforters had misrepresented God's nature and providence that they received the divine rebuke. Nor is it accurate to allege that Elihu simply repeated what the other three had already said; otherwise he would not be represented by the author as chiding them. It is true that Elihu had to repeat much of what they had already brought out in order to evaluate that measure of truth which they had on their side, but this was intended only as a groundwork for making his own position clear. Elihu's contribution was to rebuke their pharisaic explanation of all misfortune as necessarily a punishment for personal sin. In fact, it may fairly be said that Elihu's remarks serve admirably to prepare the way for the theophany of the final chapters.

It is also alleged that from the linguistic standpoint Elihu's speeches contain so many Aramaisms as to indicate a different author from the one who composed the rest of the book. But this assertion is difficult to maintain on a statistical basis. As Steinmueller points out (CSS II, 167), there are only twelve Aramaisms to be found in these chapters (32-37), whereas there are a good twenty-six in the rest of the book. The most that can be said is that the percentage of Aramaisms is slightly higher, but not enough to indicate the necessity of a different author. Also it is alleged that Elihu's style and language markedly differ from those of the other speakers in Job. Even if this point be granted, it is difficult to see why, when the author presents a distinct and different personality, he should not show that distinctiveness even in his style of speech. On the other hand, the alleged differences cannot be pressed too far, for the general vocabulary of Elihu's remarks is about the same as that of all the other speakers. Some of the favorite words of the author scarcely found in the rest of the Old Testament are shared by both Elihu and the three comforters.

4. *The speeches of Jehovah* (38:1–42:6). It is alleged that these pronouncements of God bear little connection with the remarks of Job and

his collocutors in the earlier part of the book, and their style and mood present very marked contrasts. But it should be recognized that it is the very purpose of the author to present marked contrasts between God and mankind. It would be very strange if the contrasts were any less pronounced than they are. As for the distinctive motifs featuring Behemoth and Leviathan (generally equated with the hippopotamus and the crocodile), it should be noted that Leviathan is also mentioned in 3:8 (ASV), and that several other distinctive ideas occur in these chapters which have already made their appearance in the earlier speeches. If these pronouncements by God were removed from the book, it is safe to say that it would be left without a climax, the sublimest sections would be missing from this literary masterpiece, and the basic problem of pain would remain altogether unsolved. We therefore conclude that each portion and division of Job is necessary to make up the architectonic structure which the author has so skillfully employed.

A final word should be said concerning the divergent interpretations of Job 19:26. The King James Version seems to indicate that Job entertained a hope of the resurrection of the body. There are, however, many critics who insist that the correct interpretation of the original Hebrew indicates no more than a vindication of the soul after death in a perfectly disembodied state; thus the RSV, "And after my skin has been thus destroyed, then *without* my flesh I shall see God." (This is to be contrasted with the King James Version: "Yet *in* my flesh shall I see God.") Here the interpretation hinges upon the meaning of the preposition *min,* which sometimes does signify "without"; yet it is fair to say that in connection with the verb "to see," *min* in its usage elsewhere almost always indicates the vantage point from which the observer looks. It is fair to conclude that a Hebrew listener would have understood this statement to mean, "And from the vantage point of my flesh, I shall see God."

PROVERBS

The Hebrew title of this book is *Mishᵉlēy Shᵉlōmōh*—"The Proverbs of Solomon." The term for "proverb" is *māshāl,* which comes from a root idea meaning "parallel" or "similar," and hence signifies "a description by way of comparison." The term is then applied to figurative speech of an epigrammatic or prophetic character, such as the oracles of Balaam (Num. 23:7).

The Outline of Proverbs

I. Title and Purpose, 1:1-6

The object of this book is to be practical, bearing upon moral edification (vv. 3-5) and intellectual truth (v. 6).

II. Fifteen Lessons on Wisdom, 1:7–9:18

A book of admonition for youth. The prevailing form is the extended *māshāl* song.

1. 1:7-19	6. 3:27-35	11. 6:12-19
2. 1:20-33	7. 4:1–5:6	12. 6:20-35
3. 2:1-22	8. 5:7-23	13. 7:1-27
4. 3:1-18	9. 6:1-5	14. 8:1-36
5. 3:19-26	10. 6:6-11	15. 9:1-18

Not all these songs possess internal coherence, yet they somehow compose an internal unity, with a well-arranged multiformity.

III. Additional Proverbs of Solomon, 10:1–22:16

A series of approximately 375 short maxims. They are not grouped according to a comprehensive plan, except for certain sections which contain a series linked together by common characteristics. All these *m^e^shālīm* are distichs predominantly antithetic in nature, although there are some synonymous parallelisms as well (cf. 11:7, 25, 30; 12:14, 28; 14:19). There are quite a few which are synthetic or integral, especially those with the *min* of comparison (e.g., 12:9; 15:16, 17; 16:8, 19; 17:10, etc.) or with the phrase *'ap kiy,* "much more" (11:31; 15:11; 17:7; 19:7, etc.).

IV. The Sayings of the Wise, First Series, 22:17–24:22

This section includes all types of *māshāl*: distichs (22:18; 23:9; 24:7, 8, 9, 10), tetrastichs (22:22ff., 24ff., 26ff., 23:10ff., 23:15, 17; 24:1ff., 3ff., etc.), pentastichs (23:4ff.; 24:13ff.), and hexastichs (23:1-3, 12-14, 19-21, 26-28; 24:11ff.).

The "wise men" perhaps refer to those mentioned in I Kings 4:31.

V. The Sayings of the Wise, Second Series, 24:23-34

This section contains one hexastich (24:23b-25), one distich (24:26), a tristich (24:27), a tetrastich (24:28ff.), a *māshāl* ode (24:30-34) on the sluggard.

VI. Proverbs of Solomon, Recorded by the Committee of Hezekiah, 25:1–29:27

This section is not arranged according to any observable plan, yet it contains some series of related proverbs (e.g., 26:1-12, 13-16, 20-22). In chapters 25–27 the prevailing type of parallelism is not the antithetic, but rather the parabolic (the "as . . . so" type, such as 26:1) and the emblematic (where the "as . . . so" particles are omitted; cf. 25:4 ff.). Antithetic parallelisms are more frequent in chapters 28 and 29; yet there are also a good

many of the comparative and figurative type. It is noteworthy that several proverbs or portions of proverbs are repeated from section III. Some are perfectly identical (25:24=21:9; 26:22=18:8; 27:12=22:3; etc.), while others are identical in meaning although with slightly changed phraseology (26:13=22:13; 26:15=19:24; 28:6=19:1, etc.).

VII. The Sayings of Agur ben Jakeh, 30:1-33

This chapter has an unusual number of the *middah* type (*middah* means "measure" or "allotted number") such as verses 15-17: "There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, It is enough, etc.").

VIII. The Sayings of Lemuel, 31:1-9

A warning to rulers against the use of liquor, and an exhortation to integrity in judgment.

IX. The Perfect Wife, 31:10-31

The standards of virtue and accomplishment by which a godly wife may evaluate her life.

Terms for "Wisdom" in Proverbs

The purpose of a book of proverbs is to instruct in the principles of wisdom. There are three major terms for wisdom employed throughout this work: *ḥokhmah, bīnah,* and *tūshiyyah.*

1. *Ḥokhmah,* "wisdom," the term most frequently used, pertains not so much to the realm of theoretical knowledge or philosophy as to a proper grasp of the basic issues of life and of the relationship of God to man as a moral agent.[1] This kind of "wisdom" involves a proper discernment between good and evil, between virtue and vice, between duty and self-indulgence. It also includes prudence in secular matters and a skill in the accomplishment of business affairs as well as in the handling of people. It implies an ability to apply consistently that which we know to that which we have to do.

2. *Bīnah,* "understanding," connotes the ability to discern intelligently the difference between sham and reality, between truth and error, between the specious attraction of the moment and the long-range values that govern a truly successful life. The root idea of this term is found in the related preposition *bēyn,* meaning "between"; hence there is always an analytical or judgmental factor involved and the ability to distinguish between the valid and the invalid.

3. *Tūshiyyah,* or "sound wisdom," "efficient wisdom," or, in a derived sense, "abiding success." This term conceives of wisdom as an authentic insight into, or intuition of, spiritual or psychological truth. It focuses

[1]Cf. Chap. 32, p. 423.

upon the ability of the human mind to rise from below to a grasp of divine reality above, so to speak, rather than the wisdom of a prophetic revelation that comes down supernaturally from heaven. It points to the activity of the believer's mind by which he is able to deduce from what God has revealed the manner in which these principles are to be applied in everyday situations of life (cf. Prov. 3:21; 8:14; 18:1; and also in the sense of help or deliverance, Prov. 2:7).

It should be noted that the characteristic type of *māshāl* or proverb in this book is the balanced antithesis which incisively contrasts the wise man and the fool, the good man and the wicked, true value and false, in such a way as to set forth the two sides of the truth in clearest opposition to each other and thus perform an incisive didactic function. The constant preoccupation of the book is with the elemental antagonisms of obedience versus rebellion, industry versus laziness, prudence versus presumption, and so on. These are so presented as to put before the reader a clear-cut choice, leaving him no ground for wretched compromise or vacillating indecision.

Authorship and Date of Composition of Proverbs

1. The following sections of Proverbs seem to be attributed to Solomon the son of David: (a) 1:1–9:18, according to 1:1; (b) 10:1–22:16, according to 10:1; (c) 25:1–29:27, according to 25:1, although selected and published by a committee under the appointment of King Hezekiah (726-698 B.C.). It should be remembered that according to I Kings 4:32, Solomon's original collection of Proverbs numbered no less than three thousand. Since canonical Proverbs contains only 800 verses, it is obvious that the original Solomonic writings (secs. I, II, III) contained ample material for later excerpters.

2. Two sections are attributed to the "wise men" (*ḥakhāmīm*), who are not otherwise specified but who doubtless belonged to the same class referred to in I Kings 4:31. There is every reason to believe that they antedated Solomon himself, and that he was responsible for assembling this anthology (secs. IV and V) under his own editorship.

3. The sayings of Agur the son of Jakeh are of uncertain provenience, inasmuch as we have no information whatever as to Jakeh's historical, geographical, or even ethnic background.

4. The sayings of King Lemuel are certainly of non-Israelite origin, but it is reasonable to suppose that he was a North Arabian prince, living possibly in an area not far from Uz, who still cherished a faith in the one true God. So far as Proverbs 31:10-31 is concerned, it is ambiguous whether this beautiful description of the perfect wife is attributed to King Lemuel or to some other. The fact, however, that it is composed as an acrostic or alphabetic poem of twenty-two lines shows that

it is a separate composition and its style bears little resemblance to the first nine verses of chapter 31.

Critical Theories of Authorship and Date of Proverbs

Using as their principal criterion an evolutionary theory of the development of Hebrew thought, the liberal critics have tended to deny to the Solomonic period a large portion if not all of the material attributed by the text to King Solomon himself. Thus Driver, Nowack and A. B. Davidson regard chapters 1–9 as composed shortly before the Exile, about three and a half centuries later than Solomon's reign. These critics concede that Solomon may have written some portions of chapters 10–22, which they regard as the oldest nucleus of the book, but the whole collection reached its present form only in the eighth century B.C. The section 22:17–24:34 is thought to have originated in the post-Exilic period (on the supposition of its being derived from the *Wisdom of Amenemope,* which will be discussed below). Possibly chapters 25–29 were composed at about the same time. Last of all, chapters 30 and 31 were added at a substantially later period. In this connection it should be noted that some moderate conservative critics, like Genung in the ISBE, put chapters 22–24 at an earlier period than chapters 1–9. But they see no reason for postponing the substantial completion of Proverbs beyond the reign of Hezekiah. Even chapters 30 and 31 may have been added at that same period, since their foreign origin would sufficiently account for differences in language and tone as compared with the rest of the book.

More radical critics such as C. H. Toy, the author of the ICC Commentary on Proverbs (1899), come to the conclusion that nothing in Proverbs dates from a period earlier than 350 B.C., and that the later material was contributed sometime in the second century. Toy advances the following six arguments to support this view:

1. Since Solomon was said by Jewish tradition to be the author of Proverbs, Song of Solomon (cf. I Kings 4:30-34), Ecclesiastes and two of the psalms, it is apparent that he had become the symbol of wisdom and the patron saint of all philosophical or non-liturgical poetry (just as Moses, e.g., had become the symbol of Hebrew law). In the course of time it became conventional to attribute such compositions to Solomon, even though they were of late manufacture, in order that they might gain wider acceptance with the credulous Jewish public. This certainly must have been the motivation for attributing the apocryphal book, the Wisdom of Solomon, which was quite obviously composed in Greek, to the ancient paragon of Hebrew philosophy.

It is of course perfectly apparent that in the intertestamental period it became fashionable to compose didactic or apocalyptic works which were attributed, ostensibly at least, to ancient patriarchs like Enoch or the

twelve sons of Jacob. But there is no good evidence that such a procedure was ever followed in pre-Hellenistic Israel. The primary question to settle would seem to be, how did Solomon ever get this reputation for proverbial and wisdom literature if in fact he never composed any? It is far more logical to conclude that he gained the reputation because he was the first to compose this type of literature on a classical standard rather than assuming that the tradition was utterly without foundation. Thus in Greek literature the existence of the later epic poetry falsely attributed to Homer by no means demonstrates that Homer never composed any epic poetry of his own (i.e., the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*). The same is true of the large body of lyric poetry attributed to Anacreon. The existence of such productions does not prove there never was such a person as Anacreon who composed the earlier poetry attributed to his name. It is therefore difficult to see how the tenth century Solomon could have acquired such a high reputation as a classical model for *ḥokhmah* literature if he never composed any of his own.

2. Toy also deduces a post-Exilic origin from the assumption of pure monotheism which seems to be applied throughout Proverbs. (Liberal higher critics have held in the past that by a process of religious evolution true monotheism appeared late in Israel.) This approach necessarily involves a complete ignoring of the abundant textual evidence of the Old Testament records that the Israelite people were strictly monotheistic from the days of the patriarchs and always regarded idolatry as a heretical or apostate deviation from their covenant relationship to Jehovah.

3. There is a noteworthy lack of distinctive national traits observable in the text of Proverbs. From this Toy deduces that the nation was already scattered to foreign regions, as was the case after the fall of Jerusalem. On the other hand, it is far more probable that this lack of distinctive national traits is to be explained (a) as part of the genius of the *ḥokhmah* genre, which is concerned with individuals as such, rather than with nations, and deals with the laws of human behavior as observable among almost all the ancient Near Eastern peoples; (b) as resulting from the central location of Israel between the cultures of Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, North Arabia and Egypt. It was inevitable that there should be extensive cultural interplay from the earliest stages of Israel's career as a nation.

4. Proverbs is said to reflect the social manners and vices which are known to have existed after the Exile, especially in the urban centers of Judah. This, however, must be regarded as a very dubious generalization. No proof has been adduced that a single custom or vice mentioned in Proverbs was unknown to the culture of Jerusalem or the other large cities of Israel during Solomon's reign.

5. The constant assumption in Proverbs that virtue is to be identified

with knowledge and wickedness is equivalent to ignorance is supposed to reflect the Hellenic approach to moral philosophy as exemplified by Plato in his *Dialogues* (ca. 370 B.C.). It is pointed out that knowledge of this Greek approach to the problems of ethics would have come to the Near East only after the Alexandrian conquest (330 B.C.). However, this interpretation involves a basic misunderstanding of the fundamental distinction between Greek *sophia* and Hebrew *ḥokhmah*. Greek philosophy tended to be speculative and concerned with cosmogony and the underlying constituent principles of the universe. Hebrew philosophy, however, as formulated in the Old Testament, was concerned rather with understanding the implications of the revealed will of God for the problems and choices of daily life. Whereas Greek philosophy tended toward a dialectical deduction from first principles arrived at by purely intellectual induction, Hebrew philosophy was more intuitive and analogical, endeavoring to interpret the moral order in the light of a personal, omniscient and omnipotent God, who had revealed His will for ethical living.

As for the relationship between ignorance and sin, the Platonic concept of moral ignorance was intellectual and mental, whereas the Solomonic concept in Proverbs involved a darkness of the soul resulting from an immoral prior choice of heart. Moral philosophy among the Greeks did not really come to grips with the problem of radical evil in man or his capacity to acknowledge the truth of righteousness and yet to choose evil out of a perverse self-interest.[2] One of the characteristic terms for "folly" in Proverbs is *nᵉbālah*, which suggests the example of Nabal, whose story is related in I Samuel 25. Verse 25 of that chapter judges him a "fool" (*nābāl*), not because he was not intelligent enough to figure out that virtue is a more successful means to attain personal happiness than wickedness can possibly be, but rather because he made a wrong choice in the moral realm: to requite David's friendliness with a miserly and vilifying ingratitude.

6. Toy dismisses the book of Proverbs as the product of a professional caste of wise men, who also were responsible for Ecclesiastes, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus. But as we have previously pointed out, the existence of a later caste presupposes a founder. Just as the prophets would be incomprehensible without a prior Moses, whose Law they interpreted and applied to the problems of their own generation, so also there must have been a classical model for written proverbial literature before any caste of practitioners could have arisen. Compare Jeremiah

[2]A few scholars have attempted to buttress this theory of late origin by pointing to a few Hebrew words supposedly derived from Greek. Thus Eissfeldt has suggested that *'ēṭūn*, "linen," in Proverbs 7:16 is borrowed from the Greek *othonē*, "fine linen." Yet this derivation is really not tenable. The Koehler-Baumgartner *Lexicon* does not even mention this derivation as possible, but links it rather with the Egyptian *'idmi*, a red-colored linen manufactured in Egypt and ultimately derived from the Semitic root *'-d-m*, "red."

18:18, which speaks of the wise men as a class of experts on a par with priests and prophets in the pre-Exilic generation. There can be no question that wisdom literature had a very early origin in the history of Egypt, going back at least to Ipuwer in the Sixth Dynasty (ca. 2500 B.C.). It is also evident from I Kings 4:30 that there was a long tradition of pre-Solomonic sages in Israel, and it is quite unwarranted to hold that the tenth century was too early for this kind of literature to have arisen among the Hebrew people.

In this connection it is appropriate to quote the remarks of W. F. Albright (*Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East,* 1955, p. 4): "In the course of the past century a curious myth has arisen: that the Age of Wise Men, who are supposed to have flourished in the Achaemenian and early Hellenistic periods, dates to about the fifth to third centuries B.C. We may freely admit that the book of Proverbs was not edited in approximately its present form until about the fifth century B.C. without assuming that any material of post-Exilic date is included in the book. But the content of Proverbs is considerably older, and it is entirely possible that aphorisms and even longer sections go back into the Bronze Age in substantially their present form. Cullen I. K. Story has shown in a Johns Hopkins study (cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature,* 64, 1935, pp. 319-337) that the metric style of Proverbs often agrees entirely with that of the Ugaritic epics as analyzed by C. H. Gordon (*ibid.*, pp. 321-324). Story has given numerous examples of different categories; the number might easily be increased several times."

Albright goes on to cite a series of significant parallels, e.g., Proverbs 10:26 ("As vinegar to the teeth,/And as smoke to the eyes,/So is the sluggard to them that send him") and the Baal Epic I Ab, Gordon No. 49 ("Like the feeling of a wild cow for her calf,/Like the feeling of a wild ewe for her lamb,/So was the feeling of Anath for Baal"). Here we have in each case a tricolon whose third member differs from the two preceding in such a way as to produce a climactic effect. Another type is the bicolon, which omits a word parallel to an outstanding word in the first column, as e.g., Proverbs 27:2 ("Let a stranger praise thee, and not thy mouth;/A foreigner and not thy lips") and I Aqhat I, 1:13 ("From his mouth let the message go forth,/From his lips the word").

It should be mentioned that in this same article Albright notes that these poetic forms common to Proverbs and the Ugaritic literature are totally absent from the Aramaic wisdom literature of the seventh century B.C. as represented by the *Sayings of Aḥīqar.* He states (*ibid.*, p. 6): "We must accordingly date the content of Proverbs as a whole well before Aḥīqar and look to the earliest Canaanite sources for its metrical stylistic structure as well as for direct Canaanite prototypes of many individual proverbs and bodies of material." He then goes on to mention that Umberto Cassuto isolated forty pairs of words in parallelism which

appear both in Hebrew wisdom literature and in the Ugaritic texts. These were augmented by thirty more examples pointed out by Cassuto's pupil, Moshe Held.

Albright asserts that Proverbs 8, 9 is full of Canaanite words and expressions, including the description of the origin of Wisdom in 8:22ff. Thus verse 22 begins with four words which apparently reflect a Canaanite "El created me (at) the beginning of his dominion." Here we have the verb *qānah* with the unusual meaning of "create" (a meaning well-known, however, in Canaanite), and the noun *derek* used in a way suggesting the Canaanite *drkt* meaning "dominion." Albright closes with this judgment (*ibid.*, p. 13): "In a nutshell, my opinion with regard to the provenience and date of Proverbs is that its entire contents is probably pre-Exilic, but that much of the book was handed down orally until the fifth century B.C., when we know from Elephantine that Jews were interested in literature of a different kind."

The Relationship of Chapters 22–24 to the Wisdom of Amenemope

A hieratic manuscript of the late Egyptian work, *The Wisdom of Amenemope* (or *Amen-em-apt*) was discovered by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1888 and provisionally dated by him as Eighteenth Dynasty in origin. So dated, of course, there would be no difficulty in supposing that Solomon was familiar with this Egyptian work and adapted it for his purposes in Proverbs 22:17–24:34. But subsequent study by Erman, Spiegelberg, Griffith and Lange brought down the date for *Amenemope* to 1000 B.C., then Dynasty XXII, and finally Dynasty XXVI, or even the Persian or Greek period. The majority of critics assumed that the demonstrably close relationship between the Hebrew and the Egyptian texts was to be explained as only a dependence of the former upon the latter; that is to say, while the Hebrews might borrow from Egyptian lore, the Egyptians would never borrow from Palestine. By this reasoning, then, these chapters in Proverbs must stem from the Persian or even the Greek period. Although the majority of liberal scholars are still of this opinion, a close examination of the linguistic data indicates quite conclusively that the borrowing must have been the other way around in this particular case. In the *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (Nov. 1930, pp. 123-125), R. O. Kevin (following the lead of Oesterley in his *Commentary on Proverbs*, 1929) adduces the following considerations:

1. There are proportionately far more Semitisms in Amenemope's Egyptian text than in any other Egyptian work on morality; at least nineteen of these Semitisms are indisputable and sixteen more are highly probable.

2. Numerous cases of Egyptian words garbled or otherwise unknown can be successfully explained as textual corruptions from an earlier text

which translated the Hebrew terms employed in the corresponding passage in Proverbs.

3. There are several instances where the Egyptian translator has misunderstood the corresponding Hebrew word; thus the word *t-ḥ-sh-w-k*, "hold back from" or "rescue," in Proverbs 24:11 has been rendered in *Amenemope* XI, 7 as if it were *t-ḥ-sh-y-k*, meaning "to hide" (hence the Egyptian *ḥ'pw*, "to hide"). Or again, the Hebrew *shā'ar*, "to think" or "to reckon," in *Amenemope* XIII, 1, 2 has been misunderstood as the Hebrew *s-'-r* (*sa'ar*) or "storm" (the Egyptian *sn'*) in a nonsensical connection, even though the Hebrew original is perfectly clear and coherent in its own context. Or else the Egyptian author has grappled with the difficulty of an obscure Hebrew phase by resorting to a banal paraphrase. For example, Proverbs 23:4 says, "Do not toil to acquire wealth, cease from thine own wisdom"; this comes out in *Amenemope* IX, 14-15: "Do not strain to seek an excess when thy needs are safe for thee." In other words, the un-Egyptian sentiment "from thy wisdom desist" has been altered to "when thy needs are safe for thee," or "when your property is intact," as Kevin renders it. The important thing is to observe that while satisfactory reconstructions of the Egyptian can be made on the basis of the Hebrew original, it is never possible to reconstruct the Hebrew text on the basis of the Egyptian original (*ibid.*, p. 144).

4. It should also be noted that the word *sh-l-sh-w-m* in Proverbs 22:20, which probably means "adjutant" (lit. "third man in the chariot"), has been misinterpreted as the more common word *sh-l-sh-y-m*, which means "thirty." So construed, this would be a statement that thirty proverbs are included in this section (Prov. 22:17–23:12), although there are actually only twenty-seven separate units that can be made out in this section. Quite evidently Amenemope interpreted the word as "thirty," saying in XXVII, 7, "Behold these thirty chapters," and therefore was careful to come out with that number of proverbs. (Note that the received Hebrew text of Prov. 22:20 yields the meaning, " Have I not written to thee *excellent* things in counsels of knowledge?"—the word "excellent" being vocalized as *shālīshīm*. The consonantal text, as indicated above, ends the word in *w-m*. Many modern scholars follow Amenemope's amendment and construe the word as "thirty." Among these are Erman, Eissfeldt and the RSV: "Have I not written for you thirty sayings of admonition and knowledge?") Perhaps it should be added that only one-third of the material in Proverbs 22–24 shows any relationship to the text of Amenemope; the latter seems to have drawn much of his material from non-Hebrew sources (although Kevin sees traces of Psalm 1 also—cf. *op. cit.*, p. 150).

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ECCLESIASTES AND SONG OF SOLOMON

ECCLESIASTES

THE HEBREW TITLE for this book is *Qōhelet,* which apparently meant "the preacher's office," and then became a term for the preacher himself. It is derived from the root *qāhal,* meaning "to convoke an assembly," hence, "to address an assembly." The author of this work so refers to himself in numerous passages, and therefore this is a fitting designation. The Greek term *ecclēsiastēs* is a good translation of this term, for it too means "preacher" and is derived from *ekklēsia,* meaning "assembly."

The Purpose and Theme of Ecclesiastes

The purpose of Ecclesiastes was to convince men of the uselessness of any world view which does not rise above the horizon of man himself. It pronounces the verdict of "vanity of vanities" upon any philosophy of life which regards the created world or human enjoyment as an end in itself. To view personal happiness as the highest good in life is sheer folly in view of the pre-eminent value of God Himself as over against His created universe. Nor can happiness ever be attained by pursuing after it, since such a pursuit involves the foolishness of self-deification. Having shown the vanity of living for worldly goals, the author clears the way for a truly adequate world view which recognizes God Himself as the highest value of all, and the meaningful life as the one which is lived in His service. Only as a vehicle for the expression of divine wisdom, goodness and truth does the world itself possess any real significance. It is only God's work that endures, and only He can impart abiding value to the life and activity of man. "I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be forever: nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it" (Eccles. 3:14).

Outline of Ecclesiastes

I. First Discourse: The Vanity of Human Wisdom, 1:1–2:26
   A. The basic theme: vanity of all merely human effort and experience, 1:1-3
   B. Demonstration of the theme, 1:4–2:26
      1. The meaningless cycle of human life and history, 1:4-11
      2. The ultimate uselessness of human wisdom and philosophy, 1:12-18
      3. The emptiness of the enjoyments of pleasure and wealth, 2:1-11
      4. The ultimate death even of the wise, 2:12-17
      5. Futility of leaving fruits of hard work to undeserving heirs, 2:18-23
      6. The necessity of contentment with God's providences, 2:24-26

II. Second Discourse: Coming to Terms with the Laws Which Govern Life, 3:1–5:20
   A. The prudent attitude in view of the facts of life and death, 3:1-22
      1. A proper time must be recognized for each activity and experience, 3:1-9
      2. God is the only Guarantor of abiding values, 3:10-15
      3. God will punish the unrighteous, visiting death upon all, 3:16-18
      4. Man must share physical death with animals, 3:19, 20
      5. Unsure of the life beyond, man must make the best of this present life, 3:21, 22
   B. The disappointments of earthly life, 4:1-16
      1. Cruelty and misery make life a dubious blessing, 4:1-3
      2. Disadvantages are given of success, of laziness, of insatiable covetousness, 4:4-8
      3. Life's trials are better faced by partners than alone, 4:9-12
      4. Political success is unstable, 4:13-16
   C. Futility of the self-seeking life, 5:1-20
      1. Presenting to God false sacrifices, vain words, unkept promises is folly, 5:1-7
      2. Retribution overtakes oppressors and disappointment the covetous, 5:8-17
      3. Thankful enjoyment of God's gifts brings contentment, 5:18-20

III. Third Discourse: No Satisfaction in Earthly Goods and Treasures, 6:1–8:17

A. The inadequacy of attainments esteemed by the world, 6:1-12

1. Neither wealth nor large family can bring final satisfaction, 6:1-6
2. Neither the wise nor the foolish attain satisfaction of soul, 6:7-9
3. Apart from God man cannot discern the real reason for life, 6:10-12

B. Counsels of prudence in this sin-corrupted world, 7:1-29

1. True values are best gauged from perspective of sorrow and death, 7:1-4
2. Cheap gaiety, dishonest gain, and shortness of temper are but pitfalls, 7:5-9
3. Wisdom is a greater asset than wealth in coping with life, 7:10-12
4. God is the author of both good fortune and ill, 7:13, 14
5. Both self-righteousness and immorality lead to disaster, 7:15-18
6. Wisdom has surpassing power, but sin is universal, 7:19, 20
7. Be heedless of base malice toward yourself, 7:21, 22
8. Man's quest for wisdom cannot attain profound spiritual truth, 7:23-25
9. A wicked woman is the worst of evils, 7:26
10. But all men have fallen from original goodness, 7:27-29

C. Coming to terms with an imperfect world, 8:1-17

1. The wise man reverences the authority of the government, 8:1-5
2. Divine law operates in our life despite woes and wrongs and inevitable death, 8:6-9
3. Though esteemed and unpunished, the wicked will finally be judged by God, 8:10-13
4. Injustices in this life encourage a shallow hedonism, 8:14, 15
5. But God's ways are inscrutable to human wisdom, 8:16, 17

IV. Fourth Discourse: God to Deal with the Injustices of This Life, 9:1–12:8

A. Death inevitable to all; make the best use of this life, 9:1-18

1. Death inevitable to both good and evil; moral insanity grips them all, 9:1-3
2. Moral choice and the knowledge of this life are cut off at death, 9:4-6
3. Let the godly use to the full life's opportunities and blessings, 9:7-10

4. Even to the worthy success is uncertain and life-span unpredictable, 9:11, 12
5. Wisdom, though unappreciated, succeeds better than force, 9:13-18

B. The uncertainties of life and the baneful effects of folly, 10:1-20
1. Even a little folly can ruin a man's life; be prudent before princes, 10:1-4
2. Life provides reversals in fortune and strokes of retribution, 10:5-11
3. A fool is marked by his empty talk and misdirected effort, 10:12-15
4. The welfare of nations and men depends on accepting responsibility, 10:16-19
5. Contempt of authority brings sure retribution, 10:20

C. How best to invest a life, 11:1—12:8
1. Kindness returns with blessing to the benefactor, 11:1, 2
2. Man's wisdom cannot change or fathom God's laws of nature, 11:3-5
3. The wisest course is life-long diligence and cheerful industry, 11:6-8
4. A youth misspent in pleasure brings retribution, 11:9, 10
5. Start living for God while young, before afflictions and senility come upon you, 12:1-8

V. Conclusion: Life in the Light of Eternity, 12:9-14
A. Solomon's purpose was to teach his people wisely about life, 12:9, 10
B. These trenchant admonitions are of more practical value than all literature, 12:11, 12
C. Put God's will first, for His judgment is final, 12:13, 14

The Authorship and Date of Composition of Ecclesiastes

The author of this work identifies himself as the son of David, king in Jerusalem. While he does not specify that his name is Solomon, it is fair to assume that the direct successor of David is meant rather than some later descendant. This assumption is confirmed by numerous internal evidences, such as the references to his unrivaled wisdom (1:16), his unequaled wealth (2:8), his tremendous retinue of servants (2:7), his opportunities for carnal pleasure (2:3), and his extensive building activities (2:4-6). No other descendant of David measures up to these specifications but Solomon himself. It has therefore been the traditional view, accepted by Jewish and Christian scholars alike, that Solomon, the son of David, wrote the book in its entirety. The Jewish tradition in *Baba Bathra* 15a to the effect that "Hezekiah and his company wrote Ec-

clesiastes" probably means no more than that Hezekiah and his company simply edited and published the text (cf. Young, IOT[2], p. 369). Elsewhere Jewish tradition is quite explicit that Solomon was the author (cf. *Megilla* 7a and *Shabbath* 30). Until the rise of nineteenth century criticism, it was generally accepted by both the synagogue and the church that this book was a genuine work of Solomon's.

In more recent times, however, the majority of conservative critics join with liberal scholars in regarding this work as post-Exilic. They understand the figure of Solomon as intended to be a mere artistic device designed to present more effectively the message of the unknown late author. Since Solomon was known to have experienced the satisfaction of every human ambition and had drunk to the full every possibility of earthly pleasure, he would serve as an admirable test case in evaluating hedonistic enjoyment and intellectual achievement as over against a life entirely devoted to God. Among the conservatives who have adopted this view of the book are Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, W. J. Beecher (in ISBE), Zoeckler in the Lange *Commentary*, Steinmueller, Raven and even E. J. Young. John Davis in his *Dictionary of the Bible* is non-committal. In the *New Bible Commentary* of Davidson, Stibbs and Kevan, Solomonic authorship is not even discussed as a serious option. There is, however, a significant number of modern conservative scholars who still uphold Solomonic authorship, at least in a modified form. For the late nineteenth century, we may include A. R. Fausset in the Jamieson, Fausset and Brown *Commentary;* W. T. Bullock in *The Speaker's Commentary;* and Taylor Lewis, the translator of Zoeckler's commentary. In the twentieth century, we may add the names of Wilhelm Moeller, L. Wogue and M. F. Unger. Among the Catholic scholars favoring Solomonic authorship are Gietmann (whose article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* V, 244-248 is very helpful), Schumacher, Vigoroux, and Cornely-Hagen.

The most significant evidence advanced in demonstration of the late date of composition of Ecclesiastes is derived from the linguistic data of the text itself. It is undeniably true that the language of this work is markedly different from that of the other tenth century Hebrew texts which have been preserved in the Bible. For that matter, it is different from all the other books in the Old Testament of whatever age, with the partial exception of the Song of Solomon. In support of the fifth century date, Franz Delitzsch listed no less than ninety-six words, forms and expressions found nowhere else in the Bible except in Exilic and post-Exilic works like Ezra, Esther, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Malachi—or else in the Mishnah. He describes many of these as Aramaisms largely on the ground of noun endings in *-ūt, -ōn,* or *-ān.*[1] Hengstenberg acknowledged only ten Aramaisms in the book; at the other extreme is the claim of

[1]It has already been pointed out in Chap. 10, pp. 129-130, that these endings constitute very slender ground for the establishing of genuine Aramaisms.

Zoeckler that Aramaisms were to be found in almost every verse. The most frequently cited Aramaic or late Hebrew terms are *pardēs,* "park" (found only in Nehemiah and Song of Solomon); *shālaṭ,* "to rule" (found only in post-Exilic books); *tāqan,* "be straight" (found only in Daniel and the Talmud); *z^{e}mān,* "definite time" (found only in Nehemiah and Esther); *pithgām,* "official decision" (only in Esther and the Aramaic of Daniel); *m^{e}dīnah,* in the sense of "province" (a word found in I Kings, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ezekiel and Lamentations); and *kāshēr,* "be correct" (found otherwise only in Esther). The obvious inference is that Ecclesiastes comes from a time when the Jews made very large use of Aramaic, which presumably was not the case until after the Exile.

Apart from vocabulary, it is argued that there are evidences of grammatical structure which place the book at a late date. For example, the independent pronoun (especially *hū',* *hī',* and *hēm*) is used as a copular verb with a greater frequency than in the pre-Exilic books. Again it is argued that the imperfect conversive is rare in Ecclesiastes, since it is generally replaced by waw-connective plus the perfect. Since the latter construction is the prevailing one in the Talmud, its frequency in Ecclesiastes is thought to be evidence of a late date. In answer to this, however, it should be pointed out that waw-connective plus the perfect occurs only five times in Daniel (which according to the critics is mid-second century B.C.) and only five times in the extant Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, dating from about 180 B.C.). If this construction is a sign of lateness, Ecclesiastes must be later than the second century B.C., since the works from that period do not yet use it with any frequency.

This latter possibility is, however, completely ruled out by the discovery of four fragments of Ecclesiastes in the Fourth Qumran Cave, dated on paleographic grounds from the middle of the second century B.C. As Muilenberg remarks in BASOR 135: "This gives the *coup de grâce* to earlier views such as those of Graetz, Renan, Leimdörfer, König, and others, and makes unlikely a dating in the second century." R. H. Pfeiffer (IOT 731) suggested that the period 170-160 B.C. was most in harmony with the characteristics of the thought and language of Ecclesiastes. In the light of the Qumran evidence one can only conclude that here again is an example of demonstrable fallacy in the higher critical method practiced by rationalists of Pfeiffer's persuasion.

In the above mentioned article, Muilenberg (p. 135) goes on to remark: "Linguistically the book is unique. There is no question that its language has many striking peculiarities; these have been explained by some to be late Hebrew (discussed by Margoliouth and Gordis) for which the language of the Mishnah is said to offer more than adequate support (a contention effectively answered by Margoliouth in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* V, 33, where he points out the linguistic affinities of Qoheleth with the Phoenician inscriptions, e.g., Eshmunazar, Tabnith). The Ara-

maic cast of the language has long been recognized, but only within recent years has its Aramaic provenance been claimed and supported in any detail (F. Zimmermann, C. C. Torrey, H. L. Ginsberg). . . . Dahood has written on Canaanite-Phoenician influences in Qoheleth, defending the thesis that the book of Ecclesiastes was originally composed by an author who wrote in Hebrew but was influenced by Phoenician spelling, grammar and vocabulary, and who shows heavy Canaanite-Phoenician literary influence (*Biblica* 33, 1952, pp. 35-52, 191-221)."[2] At this point it should be noted that neither a Phoenician background nor an Aramaic background would necessarily preclude Solomonic authorship, inasmuch as the political and commercial ties with both the Phoenician-speaking and the Aramean peoples of the Syrian areas during Solomon's reign were closer than at any other period in Israel's history (with the possible exception of the time of Jeroboam II and his successors in the eighth century).

In weighing the force of the linguistic argument, it should be carefully observed that a comprehensive survey of all the data, including vocabulary, morphology, syntax and style, yields the result that the text of Ecclesiastes fits into no known period in the history of the Hebrew language. No significant affinities may be traced between this work and any of those canonical books which rationalist higher criticism has assigned to the Greek period (such as Daniel, Zechariah II, and portions of Deutero-Isaiah). So far as the early post-Exilic period is concerned, the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes is quite as dissimilar to that of Malachi, Nehemiah and Esther as to any of the pre-Exilic books. This raises an insuperable difficulty for the theory of Delitzsch and Young, who date it around 430 B.C., and of Beecher in ISBE, who makes it 400. If Ecclesiastes came from the same period, how could there be such a total lack of similarity in vocabulary, syntax, and style? Nor can the linguistic problem be solved by moving the date up into the late intertestamental period. We have already seen that Qohelet fragments from the Fourth Qumran Cave make a date any later than 150 B.C. absolutely impossible and furnish the strong probability of the third century or earlier as the time of composition. There are absolutely no affinities between the vocabulary or style of Ecclesiastes and that of the sectarian literature of the Qumran Community. Older authors like Kenyon (BAM, pp. 94, 95) spoke in generalities of the so-called rabbinical element discoverable in this text. But an actual comparison with the Hebrew of the Talmud and Midrash shows fully as great a dissimilarity to Ecclesiastes as to any other book in the Old Testament canon.

It is true that the relative pronoun *she* occurs frequently throughout Qohelet (68 times) alongside the more usual *ᵃsher*[3] (which occurs 89

[2]See Gordis' critique of this monograph in JBL, lxxiv, ii, June, 1955, pp. 103-114.

[3]In his *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (1927), M. H. Segal has this illuminating comment to make (p. 43): "Now, whatever the relationship of the two forms to

times). Although *she* appears several times in Judges, quite frequently in the later psalms and occasionally in Lamentations, Ezekiel, Job and Joshua, the fact remains that in Ecclesiastes this is the relative pronoun used in sixty-eight instances out of one hundred fifty-seven. Yet it is noteworthy that this is the characteristic relative for the Song of Solomon also (i.e., in thirty-two instances out of thirty-three)—a fact which furnishes greatest embarrassment to those who, like Delitzsch and Young, place Canticles back in the tenth century and Ecclesiastes in the fifth. If in this stylistic peculiarity there is such a close resemblance between the two, it is only reasonable to attribute them to the same period, if not indeed to the same author. Hence, if the Song of Solomon is tenth century and composed by Solomon, it is hard to resist the conclusion that Ecclesiastes is of the same period and origin.

If it is true that the language and style of Ecclesiastes do not correspond to any literature known to us from any stage of Hebrew history, but present radical contrasts to every other book in the Old Testament canon (with the possible exception of Canticles) and to all extant intertestamental Hebrew literature, then it follows that there is at present no sure foundation for dating this book upon linguistic grounds (although it is no more dissimilar to tenth century Hebrew than it is to fifth century or second century). What then shall we say of this peculiarity?

It seems fairly obvious that we are dealing here with a conventional style peculiar to the particular genre to which Ecclesiastes belonged. Just as in Akkadian literature, legal codes and contract tablets present a great contrast to each other in technique and style, and these too in turn differ greatly from the epistolary or historical prose from this same period, so also there grew up in Hebrew culture a conventional language in style which was felt to be peculiarly fitting for each literary genre. In the case of Greek literature, where we have much more literary data than we do from Palestine, we find that once a genre developed on a particular soil in a particular city-state, the dialect and vocabulary type of the original practitioner who exalted this genre to a classical status would then prevail throughout the rest of the history of Greek literature (until the triumph of *Koinē* in the Greek or Roman period). For example, since Homer was the first to develop the epic, from his time on all epic poetry had to be written in the Old Ionic dialect which he had

each other, there can be no doubt that *she* is as old as *ᵃsher*, if not older. Its confinement in the earlier books of the Bible to North Israelitish documents would prove that its use must have been common in the colloquial speech of northern Palestine, under the influence, to some extent at least, of the Phoenician *'-sh, sh*, the Assyrian *sha*, and perhaps also the Aramaic *zī, dī*. The scarcity of its occurrence even in these documents must be explained by the assumption that it was regarded as a vulgarism which the literary language had to avoid. Its use gradually extended to southern Palestine, and being the shorter and more pliable form, it must in the course of time have entirely supplanted the longer *ᵃsher* in the language of the common people, and from this it descended directly to Middle Hebrew. But the literary prejudice against it seems to have remained even after Biblical Hebrew had ceased to be a living speech."

used, even though the more modern poet spoke a quite different dialect, such as Attic, Doric or Aeolic. Correspondingly, since the Dorians were the first to develop choral poetry, convention demanded that whenever an Attic-speaking tragedian (like Sophocles or Aeschylus) moved into a choral passage in his play, the actors abruptly shifted from Attic Greek to Doric Greek (or at least a Doricizing type of Attic) with particular clichés and turns of expression conventional for that particular genre. It so happens that in the case of the precise genre to which Ecclesiastes belongs, we have nothing else which has survived from Hebrew literature. Otherwise we would doubtless find abundant parallels for all the peculiar phenomena of Qohelet in the compositions which belong to the same genre. If this type of philosophical discourse was first practiced in North Israel before Solomon's time, this would explain the Aramaic and Phoenician traits and influences of which modern critics have made so much. It would also explain the infrequency of the name Yahweh in this text.

In this connection it may be well to mention the theory of L. Wogue, that we have in our present text of Ecclesiastes a modernized recension. That is to say, the original version of this work as composed by Solomon was written in an older Hebrew which eventually became too obscure for ready comprehension by post-Exilic generations of Jews. For this reason, says the theory, it was published anew in a more up-to-date vocabulary and style that it might be more widely enjoyed. To take an analogy, most English readers read Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* in a modernized version, since Chaucer's fourteenth century English contains so many obsolete terms and expressions as to require a glossary for intelligibility. The weakness of this theory, however, derives from the incorrect assumption that the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes can be clearly identified as a post-Exilic product. Since in point of fact it resembles no known document from the post-Exilic period, there does not seem to be much point to this suggestion. Moreover the Hebrew text itself is so difficult to understand that it would hardly serve as a popularization intended for ready comprehension.

Apart from linguistic considerations, the objection is often raised to the Solomonic authorship of Qohelet that the author seems to speak, occasionally at least, from the standpoint of a third party or observer, rather than as the king himself. He may even be said to cherish a critical attitude toward kings, which would scarcely be compatible with the viewpoint of the historic Solomon. As an oppressive exactor of taxes whose kingdom upon his decease fell apart over the question of excessive taxation, it would be out of character for him to say: "Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength, and not for drunkenness" (10:17); or again: "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought" (10:20, which critics understand

to imply that the king is so objectionable that his subjects are strongly tempted to curse him), and again: "Better is a poor and a wise child than an old and foolish king, who will not be admonished" (4:13).

To this it may be replied that none of these passages is really decisive against royal authorship. Solomon was composing a discourse upon government in general from the standpoint of a philosopher, and not as a pro-government propagandist. It would be naive to suppose that he could have been ignorant of the existence of gluttonous, bibulous, cantankerous, or stubborn-minded kings, or of the unhappy consequences incurred by their subjects in having such men rule over them. Ecclesiastes 10:17 may even be interpreted as a bit of self-congratulation on the part of the royal author; 10:20 may simply have been an admonition to malcontents to show a proper respect for the government; 4:13 may have been meant as a wholesome reminder to himself. But at any rate, the whole composition is written from the standpoint of a philosophical observer of political and social life rather than as a partisan of royalty. The *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* furnishes a good parallel to Qohelet in this respect, for the Roman emperor wrote this work from the standpoint of a philosopher rather than as a propagandist for his own government.

Many modern critics such as R. H. Pfeiffer allege that Ecclesiastes betrays the influence of Greek philosophy. The skeptical attitude toward Judaism, the occasional expressions of eudaemonism or "Epicureanism," the notion of time as cosmic flow, and the attempt to understand the world as a whole—all these are thought to be of Hellenic origin (so F. C. Grant in *Encyclopaedia Americana;* likewise Cornill). R. Gordis is disposed to concede some Greek influence, but he insists (*Twentieth Century Encyclopaedia,* I, 361): "Efforts to prove Ecclesiastes an Aristotelian, a Stoic, an Epicurean, a Cynic, or a Cyrenaic have not been successful. The alleged Grecisms in style have also shown it to be authentically Hebrew or Semitic." Pedersen shows that the estimates of mankind in Greek philosophy are entirely different from those in Ecclesiastes. Galling demonstrates that the supposed dependence upon Greek gnomists is only a superficial resemblance. Dornseiff points out the possibility that some Greek apothegms may themselves be of oriental extraction and imported into Greek thought (cf. W. Baumgartner, *The Wisdom Literature in Old Testament and Modern Study,* 1951).

Attempts have been made to show a post-Solomonic authorship by various telltale anachronisms. Thus in 1:16 the Preacher speaks of having attained "more wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem." This is construed by critics to mean, more than all *kings* who were before him, which would of course be a rather strange statement for one who was preceded by only one Israelite king in Jerusalem, namely David. It is interesting to observe that while E. J. Young feels the force of this argument in the case of Ecclesiastes, he resorts to an alternative explana-

tion in an exactly similar situation at I Kings 14:9. In this latter passage a denunciatory prophet from Judah rebukes Jeroboam I, comparing him "with all that were before thee." Rather than conceding this to be an anachronism, Young comments, "Those who preceded him were probably elders and judges" (IOT 189). In a similar way we can confidently assert that there were many more kings before Solomon in Jerusalem than just his father David. Jerusalem had been a royal city for many hundreds of years, even back to the time of Melchizedek, Abraham's contemporary.

Yet there is also another explanation of the phrase in 1:16. The text does not specify "all kings," but only "all." In the context it is fair to say that the author implies "all wise men who were before me in Jerusalem." The statement in I Kings 4:31 concerning Solomon's superiority draws the comparison with Heman, Chalcol and Darda, who may very well have been sages in pre-Davidic Jerusalem. Doubtless Melchizedek himself would have rated highly as a wise man in view of his encounter with Abraham in Genesis 14.

Another supposed anachronism is found in Ecclesiastes 1:12:"I . . . was *[hāyītī]* king . . . in Jerusalem." This perfect tense is thought to betray the fact that Solomon was already a figure of the past, possibly of the remote past, by the time this composition was written. It is urged that this one word would suffice for the Hebrew reader to show him that Solomonic authorship was only intended to be fictional. To this it may be answered that the form in question may more properly be rendered: "I became king over Israel." This would be a very natural statement for Solomon to make in his old age as he looked back on the important turning points in his life's career. It is difficult to imagine what other verb form would have been more appropriate in this connection; the imperfect *'ehyeh* might have been construed by the reader to mean either "I was being king," or "I am king," or "I will be king."

It is interesting in this connection to point to the similar use of this same verb in Jonah 3:3: "Now Nineveh was *[hāyᵉtah]* a great city," which Young (IOT², p. 279) explains as follows: "Furthermore, 3:3 does not describe Nineveh as a city that had existed long ago in the past, but simply indicates the condition or size as Jonah found it." In the light of this clear and appropriate explanation, it is strange that the same author (IOT², p. 368) should insist that the clear implication of *hāyītī* in Ecclesiastes 1:12 "is that the writer had been and no longer is king." On the contrary, it is altogether natural for a man in his old age to make reference to the commencement of his career by the use of this perfect tense in Hebrew.

Lastly, it is contended by advocates of a late date that the contemporary age implied by the text of Ecclesiastes is one of misfortune, misery and oppression, rather than of the unexampled prosperity which characterized the reign of Solomon (cf. I Kings 4:25). For example, we

meet verses like these: Ecclesiastes 4:3: "Better is he . . . [that] hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun," and 7:10: "Say not thou, What is the cause that the former days were better than these?" To this it may be replied that a proper interpretation of these verses can only be made in the light of the context. Thus 4:3 occurs in a passage which describes oppression and hardship as vicissitudes entering into human experience generally, despite intervals of comparative prosperity and security such as Israel passed through in the tenth century. Solomon would not have been unmindful of the fact that the experience both of nations and of individuals normally includes times of hardship and testing which challenge an optimistic concept of life. Surely with his vast knowledge of history and world affairs, as well as of the dark era of Saul's reign in Israel, Solomon would have been aware of the bitter aspects of human life. He certainly had the wit to realize that much evil was carried on "under the sun" even in his own kingdom and during his own reign. As for 7:10, it should be pointed out that the "better days" spoken of may well have had reference to the life of an individual complainer who had fallen upon some personal misfortune. There is nothing whatever in the context to imply that he was talking about the current situation of his country as a whole.

In view of the foregoing discussion, it is fair to assert that the so-called anachronisms are all capable of an interpretation reconcilable with Solomonic authorship. We have already seen that the linguistic data do not permit any certainty in dating, whether early or late, and that the most plausible explanation is that Ecclesiastes is written in a particular style conventional for its own genre.

Perhaps it should be added that words of so-called Persian origin, like *pardēs*, "park," and *pitgām*, "official decision," are also derivable from Sanskrit (*paridhis* and *pratigāma*, respectively), a language of ancient India closely related to Persian. Although there is no explicit record in Scripture that Solomon's merchant marine operating from the port of Elath on the Red Sea made voyages to India, there is every likelihood that they did so in quest of choice spices and fabrics. There exists, therefore, the possibility that these words might have found their way into currency at an era when Israelite commercial relations were more extensive than at any other time in history. In other words, it is fair to say that until we discover more Hebrew literature of the same genre and from the age of Solomon himself, we simply do not know enough to assert positively that Solomon could not have been the author of the book. Inasmuch as the plain implication of the text is that he was indeed the composer and left this work as a final testament to his people, on the basis of his own life's experience, it seems best to hold to the traditional view of the synagogue and the church that this work is an authentic production of his pen. This view is strengthened by the fact that there are

some remarkable similarities between such passages in Ecclesiastes as 10:8, 9, 12, 13, 18 and the corresponding sections in Proverbs.

A word should be said concerning the so-called pessimism of Ecclesiastes with regard to the life to come. There are, e.g., frequent reminders of the inevitability of death for all creatures, man and beast (3:19)—although it is recognized that the spirit of man "goes upward" and the spirit of the beast "goes downward to the earth" (3:21). The worthwhileness of life seems to be questioned by such passages as 4:2: "Wherefore I praised the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive." But this statement has to be construed in context. The previous verse makes it clear that *if* life is going to consist in oppression, calamity and sorrow, *then* it is better never to have been born. In 6:8 the Preacher asks, "For what hath the wise more than the fool? What hath the poor, that knoweth to walk before the living?" This comment is to be understood in the light of the basic purpose of the book, which is to demonstrate that apart from God and His holy will life lacks any ultimate meaning, and amounts to no more than vanity. This is true of the life of the well educated, the rich and the healthy, as well as that of the less fortunate members of the human race. But when a man's relationship to the Lord is right, it will be well with him (8:12). Apart from the fear of God and a dedicated purpose to do His will, even the most favored of men lead a wretched and depraved existence. Hence, "This is an evil among all things that are done under the sun, that there is one event unto all: yea, also the heart of the sons of men is full of evil, and madness is in their heart while they live, and after that they go to the dead" (9:3).

Great stress, however, is laid upon the importance of this life as the only arena of opportunity and significant accomplishment available to man before he steps out into eternity. Hence, "For to him that is joined to all the living there is hope: for a living dog is better than a dead lion" (9:4). From 9:5 some have mistakenly derived a teaching of soul sleep for the dead: "For the living know that they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten." But taken in context, this verse simply means that the dead have no more knowledge of a personal future with its opportunities of choice for or against God, and between life and good, and death and evil, such as they had prior to the grave. Nor do they have any more knowledge of what goes on under the sun, that is upon earth, while they await in Sheol the day of judgment. At this stage of revelation back in Solomon's time it was premature for anything to be revealed about the glories of heaven, since of course they were not yet open to deceased believers until the resurrection of Christ.

In conclusion, then, those who interpret the position of Ecclesiastes to be skeptical agnosticism grossly misconstrue the message of this book.

They are compelled to classify as later additions the numerous sentiments of reverent faith and trust in God with which the twelve chapters of Ecclesiastes abound. In the interests of their theory they must exclude from the original text the conclusion of the final chapter: "Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter: Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man" (12:13).

SONG OF SOLOMON

The Hebrew title of this book is *Shīr hash-shīrīm,* i.e., "The song of the songs," or "The best of songs." The LXX rendered this title literally as *asma asmatōn,* and the Vulgate as *Canticum Canticorum,* both of which mean "the song of songs." It is from the Latin title that the term Canticles is derived as a designation of this book.

The theme of Canticles is the love of Solomon for his Shulamite bride and her deep affection for him. This love affair is understood to typify the warm personal relationship which God desires with His spiritual bride, composed of all redeemed believers who have given their hearts to Him. From the Christian perspective, this points to the mutual commitment between Christ and His Church and the fullness of fellowship which ought to subsist between them.

Outline of the Song of Solomon

A simple and adequate outline is furnished by Delitzsch, who divides the book into six acts:

I. The Mutual Affection of the Lovers, 1:2–2:7

II. The Mutual Seeking and Finding of the Lovers, 2:8–3:5

III. The Fetching of the Bride, and the Marriage, 3:6–5:1

IV. Love Scorned but Won Again, 5:2–6:9

V. The Shulamite as the Attractively Fair but Humble Princess, 6:10–8:4

VI. Ratification of the Love Covenant in Her Home, 8:5-14

The Authorship and Date of Composition of the Song of Solomon

The opening verse of the book attributes authorship to King Solomon, using the formula "which is to Solomon" (*'ᵃsher li-Shᵉlomoh*). Some scholars have interpreted this phrase as a formula of dedication rather than a true attribution of authorship (essentially the same issue involved as in the *lᵉ-Dāwīd* of the Psalm titles), but it should be understood that this preposition *lᵉ,* "to," is the only convenient way of expressing possession or authorship in Hebrew where the same author may have composed many other works. It has been the uniform tradition of the Christian

church until modern times that Canticles is a genuine Solomonic production. Even in more recent times, Delitzsch, Raven, Steinmueller and Young have shown little hesitation is assigning the authorship of Canticles to Solomon.

This is all the more noteworthy because, as we have already pointed out, there is a considerable similarity in vocabulary and syntax between the Song of Solomon and Ecclesiastes (the Solomonic authorship of which all the above named have denied). Liberal scholars have usually classed these two works together as representing approximately the same period of Hebrew literature. Certainly this relationship is favored by the standard Hebrew lexicons, which tend to group the two together lexically. It is a striking fact that neither of them refers to God as Yahweh; the Tetragrammaton does not appear in either of them. There is a significant number of words which occur only in these two books, so far as the Hebrew Scriptures are concerned. There would seem to be, therefore, a basic inconsistency in denying authenticity to Ecclesiastes on linguistic grounds and yet affirming it for the Song of Solomon despite linguistic factors. Liberal scholars uniformly deny Solomonic authorship of Canticles and assign the composition of the book to a period considerably later than the tenth century B.C. Moderates like W. R. Smith and S. R. Driver favored a pre-Exilic date, that is, before 600 B.C.; such radicals as Kuenen, Cornill, Cheyne, Budde, Kautzsch and Eissfeldt confidently dated it in the post-Exilic or even Hellenistic period.

It is principally on linguistic grounds that the case for late composition is based. The following phenomena are most conspicuous:

1. The prevalence of *she-* instead of *ᵃsher* as the relative pronoun. But as we have seen in the discussion of Ecclesiastes, the relative *she-* is not *per se* a proof of late authorship. A cognate of the Akkadian relative *sha,* which is as old as the third millennium, it appears in the song of Deborah (Judg. 5) and elsewhere in Judges; also in Job 19:29; II Kings 6:11; once in Jonah; in Lamentations, and various psalms. It seems to have been a very acceptable substitute for *ᵃsher* in Hebrew poetic style. It was probably characteristic of the dialects of northern Israel. The abundant use of *she-* in later Hebrew may simply reflect a common use in the vernacular which literary Hebrew shied away from until the post-Exilic period. In the intertestamental age, of course, the frequent use of the corresponding particle *dī* in Aramaic tended to encourage the Jews, who were naturally well versed in Aramaic as their colloquial tongue, to employ *she-* in their Hebrew compositions.

2. The presence of various Aramaisms like *nāṭar* (cognate with the Heb. *nāṣar,* "guard, watch over"), *bᵉrōt* (cognate with the Heb. *bᵉrōsh,* "cypress") and *sᵉtāw* ("winter") is taken to indicate post-Exilic authorship. Yet, as has already been observed in Chapter 7 of this work, they may have been brought into the Hebrew language at an early date, or

else they may indicate a North Israelite coloring. (Note that if the Shulamite came from Shunem, as the LXX transliteration *Sounamitis* indicates, then the bride would have come from the territory of the northern tribe of Issachar.) Significantly enough, even the Brown-Driver-Briggs Lexicon labels *b^erōt* as North Palestinian rather than as an Aramaism.

3. It is alleged that the book contains two words derived from Greek, *'appiryōn* (3:9) or "palanquin" from the Greek *phoreion,* and *pardēs* (4:13) meaning "orchard," from either the Greek *paradeisos* or the Persian *pairideça* (Zend. *pairidaëza*) meaning "enclosure." Yet as already pointed out in connection with Ecclesiastes, such words as these could have come to Solomon from his trade contacts with India, since the Sanskrit word for palanquin is *paryama* or the diminutive *paryaṅka,* and the Sanskrit for "enclosure" is *paridhis* (cf. the late-Assyrian *pardīsu,* "park, preserve").

Positive Evidences of Solomonic Authorship

The author shows a noteworthy interest in natural history, corresponding to the historical notices about Solomon's encyclopedic knowledge in this field (I Kings 4:33). Thus the flora mentioned in Canticles include twenty-one varieties of plant life (such as henna flowers in 1:14; rose of Sharon, lily of the valley in 2:1; apple trees, pomegranates, saffron, calamus, cinnamon and mandrakes). Among the fauna are no less than fifteen species of animals (roes, hinds, hearts, doves, foxes, goats, ewes, etc.). There is also prominent mention of Pharaoh's cavalry in 1:9, which accords with the statement in I Kings 10:28, where the cavalry appears as an important item in Solomon's army as well as in his trade relations. The book shows many evidences of royal luxury and the abundance of costly imported products, such as spikenard in 1:12; myrrh in 1:13; frankincense in 3:6; palanquins in 3:9; cosmetic powders, silver, gold, purple, ivory and beryl.

The geographical references unmistakably favor a date prior to 930 B.C. The author mentions quite indiscriminately localities to be found in both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms: Engedi, Hermon, Carmel, Lebanon, Heshbon, and Jerusalem. These are spoken of as if they all belonged to the same political realm. Note that Tirzah is mentioned as a city of particular glory and beauty, and that too in the same breath with Jerusalem itself (6:4). If this had been written after the time when Tirzah was chosen as the earliest capital of the Northern Kingdom in rejection of the authority of the dynasty of David, it is scarcely conceivable that it would have been referred to in such favorable terms. On the other hand, it is highly significant that Samaria, the city founded by Omri sometime between 885 and 874, is never even mentioned in the Song of Solomon.

Judging from internal evidence, then, the author was totally unaware of any division of the Hebrew monarchy into North and South. This can only be reconciled with a date of composition in the tenth century, prior to 931 B.C. Even after the return from Exile, no Jew of the province of Judea would have referred so indiscriminately to prominent localities in the non-Jewish areas of Palestine which were by this time under Gentile or Samaritan overlordship. It is true that this whole area was reunited under the rule of the Hasmonean kings, John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus, but the evidence of the Qumran fragments from Cave IV indicates that Canticles was already in written form at least as early as the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt in 168 B.C. It is interesting to note that even a liberal scholar like R. Gordis feels warranted in asserting that Canticles 3:6-11 is "the oldest poem in the whole collection and was composed on the occasion of one of Solomon's marriages to a foreign princess" (JBL 63, 1944, pp. 262-270).

The Canonicity of the Song of Solomon

It has already been noted in Chapter 5 that this book (along with Ecclesiastes) was listed with the five Antilegomena, not so much on the ground that Solomon did not compose it, but on the ground that it lacked religious value. The Alexandrian Jew Philo, who quoted so extensively from the Old Testament, failed to mention Canticles in any of his extant writings. It does not seem to be referred to in the New Testament. The earliest identifiable reference to it is found in IV Esdras 5:24-26; 7:26 (a book composed between A.D. 70 and 130), and in Ta'anith 4:8 (a tractate in the Mishnah), which states that certain portions of Canticles were used in festivals celebrated in the temple prior to A.D. 70. The question of whether the book had been rightly admitted to the Hebrew canon was warmly debated at the Council of Jamnia in A.D. 90, but the tradition of divine inspiration was successfully upheld by Rabbi Akiba, who used allegorical interpretation to justify its spiritual value.

Theories of Interpretation of the Song of Solomon

1. *The allegorical.* The allegorical interpretation prevailed from ancient times until the rise of modern scholarship. It identified Solomon with Jehovah (or else, according to the Christians, with Christ) and the Shulamite as Israel (or the Church). The historicity of Solomon's love affair is of small importance to the exponents of this theory. They tend to interpret each detail in a symbolic manner; thus Solomon's eighty concubines, according to some, represent the eighty heresies destined to plague the church. Broadly speaking, even the nineteenth century conservatives Hengstenberg and Keil tended to favor an allegorical line of interpretation (without, of course, advocating any fanciful identifications) and pointed to the allegorical overtones of Psalm 45 and Isaiah

51:1-7 (which announces itself to be allegorical) for justification. There is no question that the marriage relationship was viewed by the prophets as bearing an analogy to Jehovah's position toward Israel (cf. Isa. 54:6; 61:10). Correspondingly, they regarded apostasy as constituting adultery of whoredom (cf. Jer. 3:1; Ezek. 16; 23; Hos. 1–3). Compare in the Torah, Exodus 34:14-16, which refers to idolatry as whoredom; and likewise Leviticus 20:5, 6.

It must be admitted that these passages establish at least a typical relationship between human love and marriage and the covenant relationship between God and His people. Nevertheless, the allegorical view faces certain difficulties, not the least of which is that the book seems to speak of a historical episode in Solomon's life and accords well with Solomon's situation, at least in the earlier part of his reign (judging from the comparatively small number of his concubines). Moreover, the allegorical method if consistently carried out requires a spiritual counterpart for every physical detail. Certainly it is objectionable to equate Solomon and his enormous harem with the figure of the Lord Jesus Christ, at least upon an allegorical basis.

2. *The literal.* This literal theory regards the poem as a secular love song not intended to convey a spiritual message or theological overtone, but simply a lyric expression of human love on a high romantic plane. Advocates of this theory, such as E. J. Young and H. H. Rowley, defend the canonicity of the book on the ground that it implies a divine sanction for the relationship of marital love as over against the degenerate or polygamous perversions of marriage which were current in Solomon's time (cf. Rowley, *Servant of the Lord and Other Essays,* p. 233; Young, IOT[2], p. 354). Young goes on to comment (*ibid.*, p. 355): "The eye of faith, as it beholds this picture of exalted human love, will be reminded of the one love that is above all earthly and human affections—even the love of the Son of God for lost humanity."

Yet it must be admitted that on the supposition that the lover here is Solomon, the husband of seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines (I Kings 11:3), it is difficult to see how this poem taken as an expression of mere human love can be said to furnish a very high standard of marital devotion and affection. At best it can be regarded as the one experience that Solomon ever enjoyed of pure romance, and yet one which was destined to exert little influence upon his subsequent conduct. (Franz Delitzsch advocated the view that the Song is a drama in which King Solomon falls in love with a Shulamite girl, and after taking her to his harem in Jerusalem, is purified in his affection from a sensual lust to pure love. Zoeckler shared essentially this same view.)

This literal theory assumes various specialized forms, of which the two most important are the Shepherd Hypothesis and the Erotic Hypothesis. *The Shepherd Hypothesis* introduces a new male figure who

is not the same person as the king, but rather is the Shulamite's fiancé back in the home town of Shunem (so Jacobi, Umbreit and Ewald). By dint of arbitrarily assigning the sentiments of warm affection to the shepherd and the more stiff and formal speeches to the king, a distinction may be made out, even though it results in very unnatural parceling up of the dialogue. Thus in chapter 4 verses 1-7 are assigned to Solomon, and verses 8-15 to the shepherd, even though there is absolutely nothing in the text to indicate that the speaker has changed. Some passages highly inappropriate to a bucolic lover are interpreted as referring to the shepherd, such as: "My beloved has gone down to his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the gardens, and to gather lilies" (6:2). It is at least unlikely that Israelite shepherds would have had the means, the time, or the inclination for such luxuries as spice gardens or the gathering of lilies.

The Erotic Hypothesis is advocated by such scholars as Budde, Eissfeldt, Pfeiffer and Dussaud, who understand Canticles as an anthology of love songs of the so-called *wasf* type. The *wasf* or "description" was a type of song sung by guests at a Syrian wedding feast in which the beauty of the bride and the excellencies of the wedding couple would be glowingly described. This custom is practiced in the Near East even in modern times, according to J. G. Wetstein. On the other hand, there is no literary evidence of the existence of the *wasf* genre in Hebrew Palestine in any age (apart from Canticles itself), and the closely connected structure of the whole poem certainly discourages the theory of its being an anthology of originally independent lyrics.

3. *The typical view.* In many ways this seems to be the most satisfactory of the theories (though Young dismisses it with a single deprecatory sentence—IOT[2], p. 353). This interpretation is defended by Raven and Unger, who understand the poem as based upon an actual historical incident in Solomon's life. In contrast to some of the more glamorous wives of Solomon, such as Pharaoh's daughter, the Shulamite was a country girl who possessed a beautiful soul as well as a fair body. By her radiant sincerity and personal charms she taught Solomon, temporarily at least, to know the meaning of true monogamous love—a love for which he gladly exchanged the corrupt splendor of his court. This song transfigures natural love by elevating it to a holy level. And yet (in opposition to the literalists) the author intends this couple to stand in a typical relationship reflecting Jehovah's love for His people and foreshadowing the mutual affection of Christ and His Church. According to the typical view, the lines of analogy are found not in all the subordinate details (as in the allegorical view) but only in the main outlines. Despite his gross personal failures, King Solomon is represented elsewhere in Scripture (II Sam. 7:12-17; 23:1-7; Ps. 72; cf. Matt. 12:42) as a type of Christ

as the King of the Millennial Age sitting upon David's throne. Understood in this way, the Song is rich in spiritual overtones which have proved a comfort and an encouragement to devout students of Scripture throughout the ages of church history. And yet it requires a really mature soul to appreciate the spiritual beauties which are latent in this book. Not without justification is the old rabbinical requirement that no Jew should read the Song of Songs until he had attained the age of thirty.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Codex Alexandrinus
AB	*Archaeology and the Bible,* G. A. Barton
ABH	*Archaeology and Bible History,* Joseph P. Free
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts,* J. B. Pritchard (ed.)
AOT	*Archaeology and the Old Testament,* M. F. Unger
AP	*Archaeology of Palestine,* W. F. Albright
ASV	American Standard Version
AV	Authorized Version (King James Version)
B	Codex Vaticanus
BAM	*Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts,* Frederic Kenyon
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
ca	*Circa,* meaning "about"
CSS	*Companion to Scripture Studies,* J. E. Steinmueller
CVSS	*The Christian View of Science and Scripture,* B. Ramm
DSS	*Dead Sea Scrolls,* Millar Burrows
FBM	*The Five Books of Moses,* O. T. Allis
GATE	*Grundriss für Alttestamentliche Einleitung,* Wilhelm Moeller
IBOT	*Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament,* W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson
ICC	*International Critical Commentary*
IGOT	*Introductory Guide to the Old Testament,* M. F. Unger
ILOT	*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* S. R. Driver
IOT	*Introduction to the Old Testament*
ISBE	*International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
K	*Kethib*
KJV	King James Version
LAP	*Light from the Ancient Past,* J. Finegan
LXX	Septuagint Version of the Old Testament
MLDSS	*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls,* Millar Burrows
MT	Masoretic (Hebrew) Text of the Old Testament
OHH	*An Outline of Hebrew History,* J. B. Payne

OTI *Old Testament Introduction,* John H. Raven
OTMS *Old Testament and Modern Study,* H. H. Rowley
POT *The Problem of the Old Testament,* James Orr
PTR *Presbyterian Theological Review*
Q *Qerē*
RSV Revised Standard Version
SAC *From the Stone Age to Christianity,* W. F. Albright
SIOT *Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament,* Robert Dick Wilson
SIP *Short Introduction to the Pentateuch,* G. C. Aalders

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