A BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION
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Part I

OLD TESTAMENT

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PREFACE

THIS volume is intended for a handbook of Biblical Introduction—dealing with such questions as the date, authorship, composition, analysis, and contents of the several books—for those who are unacquainted or only slightly acquainted with the original languages of the Bible and the technicalities of criticism. The authors have been anxious to include all matters of importance, to state the prevalent views concerning them, and to do so at sufficient length to make them intelligible. Necessarily, therefore, many details of analysis and criticism have had to be omitted, and many theories held by only a few scholars have had to be ignored. Not only did considerations of space require these omissions, but it was important that the student should not be so bewildered by a crowd of details and conflicting theories as to be unable "to see the wood for the trees." Hence, only an outline of arguments and specimens of evidence are given, and it must not be supposed that an exhaustive proof is offered of the positions maintained. Similarly the authorities referred to are merely a representative selection. Care has been taken to secure that the information given should be accurate and recent.

In the Old Testament, the critical position is, speaking roughly, that identified in this country with Professors Cheyne, Driver, Ryle, G. A. Smith, etc.;
and generally assumed by the writers on O.T. subjects in Dr. Hastings' *Bible Dictionary.* Brief notes as to the light thrown by Assyrian, Babylonian, and other inscriptions on the history of Israel have been added to the passages of the historical books which they illustrate. Under each book, or—where the present books are collections of earlier works—under each section, some account is given of its use in the New Testament; this account, however, is not exhaustive. The references to Driver's *Introduction* are to the *Sixth Edition*; but, except where specially stated, the numbers of the pages are those of the *Fifth* and earlier editions, which are given in brackets [ ] in the text of the Sixth. Special attention is called to the explanation of symbols and technical terms on pp. 15 ff., 24 f., 32, 62 n.

This account of Biblical criticism is published in the faith that "Any criticism of the human element in the Bible, which makes it more truly human, more analogous to the workings of the human spirit otherwhere, tends without question to enhance our sense of its reality and worth." The authors of this volume trust that it may help its readers to a truer understanding of the sacred Scriptures, and to a fuller appreciation of their unique importance; and may confirm them in the evangelical recognition of the supreme authority of the Bible as interpreted and applied by the Holy Spirit for the spiritual life.

1 The widespread acceptance of such views, even outside the ranks of O.T. scholars, may be illustrated by the advocacy of the non-historical character of *Jonah* by the late Dr. R. W. Dale in the *Expositor* of July, 1892.

2 *Canon Illingworth, Personality, etc.*, p. 186.
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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY TO OLD TESTAMENT

1. MSS. and Versions  |  3. History of Criticism
2. External Evidence  |  4. Canon

1. Text, MSS., and Versions.—The main authorities for the text are the Hebrew MSS., i.e. the Masoretic Text, and the Septuagint. Apart from a papyrus fragment of the first century A.D. containing the Ten Commandments, and the recently reported discovery of a Pentateuch codex dated A.D. 734,1 the oldest Hebrew MSS. are the Pentateuch, c. A.D. 840, in the British Museum; and the Prophets, dated by its own scribe A.D. 916, now at St. Petersburg. The oldest MS. of the whole O.T. mentioned by Ginsburg was written c. A.D. 1230.

The various readings are comparatively unimportant, and the substantial agreement of so many MSS. confirms the statements that, long before A.D. 800, the accurate transmission of the Hebrew Text had been safeguarded by a number of ingenious and efficacious devices. The present consonantal text was probably fixed, and as it were stereotyped, during the first three centuries after Christ. The vowel-points were added later. The “Square Hebrew,” however, of our MSS.

1 Pp. 1 f., Dr. Norbert Peter’s monograph on the Papyrus Nash.
and printed copies is really the Aramaic script adopted by
the Jews some time after the Exile. The character previously
used by Israelites was similar to that of the Moabite stone.
Moreover, in the ancient writings themselves the use of weak
consonants for vowels only occurs to a very limited extent.
Thus our present pointed text has been obtained from the
original, by transcription from the old into the square Hebrew,
by the insertion of weak consonants to do duty as vowels,
and by the addition of vowel-points. The comparative
uniformity of existing MSS. suggests that, at some stage
in the formation of the text, the editors constituted one
MS. an archetype for subsequent copies, and suppressed all
the earlier MSS. which differed from it. The margins of our
MSS. and some other Jewish authorities preserve a number
of comparatively unimportant various readings, besides those
obtained by a comparison of the MSS. themselves.

The Samaritans have MSS. of the Pentateuch in a form
of the old Hebrew character; it is claimed that some of
these are as old as A.D. 400, but this is improbable. The
differences between these MSS. and those of the Masoretic
edition do not substantially affect the text.

The other main authority is the Septuagint or Greek version,
which was made at Alexandria at different times by various
translators. The Pentateuch was probably translated in the
reign of Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), B.C. 285–246, and the
prologue to Ecclesiasticus shows that a Greek translation of
the Law, the Prophets, and other books existed in B.C. 130.
The Septuagint was probably completed before the Christian
era, but we do not know the exact date. This version is
extant in numerous MSS., apparently all derived from
Christian sources; the oldest and most important are the
Vatican and Sinaitic,¹ which also contain the N.T. The
differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Text are
numerous and important, but do not seriously affect the sub-
stance of Old Testament history and teaching.

Probably the Targums, or oral Aramaic translations given

¹ BN, fourth century A.D. There are earlier fragments in papyri.
EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

in the synagogues after the reading of the Hebrew Scriptures, existed in a kind of oral edition at the beginning of the Christian era; but the extant Targums were not committed to writing till a much later date.

The Babylonian Targums, that of the Law named after Onkelos, that of the Prophets after Jonathan ben Uziel, belong to the second and third centuries A.D. The Palestinian Targums, viz., the two on the Law, the Jerusalem Targum and that of Pseudo-Jonathan, and the rest are later.

Greek translations by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion were made in the second century A.D. With the exception of Theodotion's Daniel only fragments are preserved.

The Old Latin Version, second century A.D., was made from the Septuagint, which also largely influenced the Peshito or Syriac Version, second or third century. Jerome's Vulgate, c. A.D. 400, is a very thorough revision of the Old Latin Version from the Hebrew original.

2. External Evidence.—As the external evidence concerning the date and authorship of the books of the O.T. mostly refers to the whole collection, it is convenient to give a sketch of it here. The oldest MSS. of the Hebrew Text show us that the Hebrew Text now current, from which E.V. is translated, was known about A.D. 800–1000, i.e., that all the books of the O.T. were then extant in their present form. The oldest MSS. of the LXX. show us that they were all extant in substantially their present form about A.D. 300–400. Further, the accounts given of the Synod of Jamnia show that all the books existed at the close of the first century A.D., and the numerous quotations in the N.T. mostly agree either with the LXX. or the Hebrew Text, from which we infer that the books quoted in the N.T. existed then in substantially the same form as that in which they are found in the LXX. and the Hebrew. These books comprise all the O.T. except Joshua, Judges, Chronicles, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Nahum. Philo

1 On Internal Evidence see chap. ii. § 11.
2 The differences are appreciable.
3 WESTCOTT, Bible in the Church, p. 43. Though not quoted, traces seem to be found of Judges, Chron., Ecc., and perhaps some others.
and Josephus confirm our inference as to the books used in N.T., and enable us to extend it to the other books of O.T., with two possible exceptions, Ecclesiastes and Canticles.

We can add from Philo, Joshua, Judges, and Chronicles. Josephus' history shows his acquaintance with all the historical books. In his account of the Scriptures he states that there are only twenty-two sacred books: the five books of Moses, thirteen books by the prophets containing the history from Moses to Artaxerxes, and four books containing hymns to God and practical directions to men. The thirteen are perhaps: (1) Joshua, (2) Judges and Ruth, (3) Samuel, (4) Kings, (5) Isaiah, (6) Jeremiah and Lamentations, (7) Ezekiel, (8) The Book of the Twelve Prophets, (9) Chronicles, (10) Ezra and Nehemiah, (11) Esther, (12) Daniel, (13) Job: and the four, Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, Ecclesiastes.2

It would, however, be quite possible to reckon Ruth and Lamentations as separate books, to place Job and Lamentations among the four, and extrude Ecclesiastes and Canticles.3

There is no certain trace in Josephus of his acquaintance with these two books, and his list and classification do not prove that he was acquainted with them. Perhaps this master of craft and subtlety was intentionally ambiguous in view of the conflicting views of the Rabbis.

The fact that the LXX. contains all the O.T. shows that all the books were written before the LXX. was completed, i.e., according to common opinion, before the beginning of the Christian era. Unfortunately this opinion, though probably correct, is not at present susceptible of formal proof.

The prologue to the Greek translation of Ecclesiasticus speaks of "the Law and the Prophets and the other books" as known to the author, a passage which shows that the Law and the Prophets and some other sacred books were known to

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1 Contra Apion, i. 7-9.
2 Buhl, Canon, p. 19.
the translator, b.c. 130, and probably to his grandfather, the author, b.c. 180; but they by no means prove that the Hagiographa or Kethûbhim, the third and latest section of the Hebrew Canon, then included all the books which it ultimately embraced. On the contrary, the list of worthies, xliv.-xlix. implies the author's acquaintance with all the books of the "Law" and the "Prophets"; but, of the Hagiographa, only Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Psalms are referred to.

The story that the Law was translated into Greek by seventy-two Jews for Ptolemy (Philadelphus), b.c. 284-246, is extant in a letter, the Epistle of the Pseudo-Aristeas, which is perhaps as old as b.c. 200; if so, the main fact, the translation of the Law into Greek c. b.c. 250, may probably be accepted; and we have external evidence of the existence of the complete Pentateuch at that date. 2

The Samaritans possess ancient Hebrew MSS. 3 of the Pentateuch in a modification of the old Hebrew character. Probably the Samaritans obtained and accepted the Pentateuch not long after their establishment of a schismatic Judaism. This was certainly not earlier than the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, b.c. 444. Our information concerning the history of the Samaritans is too fragmentary and ambiguous to enable us to fix exactly the date at which they received the Pentateuch; but it points to the existence of the Pentateuch before b.c. 300.

Thus the evidence outside of the O.T. itself shows that the Pentateuch was in existence before b.c. 300; Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the Book of the Twelve Prophets, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and an early edition of the Psalter 4 before b.c. 180; the rest of the O.T. before A.D. 1. The proof, however, is not quite absolute from external evidence alone in the case of Ecclesiastes and Canticles. But, even as a matter of external evidence, these two books could not be much later.

1 Hence the title Septuagint.
2 BUHL, p. 110.
3 Cf. p. 2. 4 Cf. pp. 137 ff.
The LXX. and the Hebrew Text have reached us along independent lines of transmission. The differences between them, though numerous and important, do not seriously affect O.T. history and teaching. This agreement shows us that our O.T. existed substantially as we now have it before the Christian era.¹

External evidence as to authorship is necessarily slighter and less definite. A reference to a book is proof of its existence at the time when the reference was made, and fixes a limit to the period within which it can have been composed. But a statement as to authorship merely conveys the opinion of the person who makes it, and when he lived centuries after the book was written his opinion carries little weight, unless it can be shown—not merely assumed—that he connects with the book through a satisfactory series of intermediate authorities. Revelation, of course, might have given N.T. writers direct information on such subjects, or our Lord might have made statements as to the date and authorship of the Jewish Scriptures part of His message to the world. But neither Christ nor the inspired writers declare that such matters are part of the Revelation made by Him or through them.

Our Hebrew and Greek MSS. show that in N.T. times many of the books bore their present titles, and they are referred to under these titles in the N.T. and elsewhere. But such references are not equivalent to expressions of opinion as to authorship. For instance, "Matthew says, etc." merely means to-day "The First Gospel says, etc."; the personal name "Matthew" is used as a title for the book, without any intention of stating a conviction as to authorship. Thus Calvin does not hold 2 Peter to be the work of the apostle, but expressly justifies the referring to it as "Peter," because he believes it to be consistent with his teaching.² Similarly, Origen says of the Epistle to the

¹ The additions in the LXX. do not affect this evidence.
² So Dr. Currey writes in the S.P.C.K. commentary on Ecclesiastes, 1878: "Commentators have in general spoken of the contents of this book as the words of Solomon, without intending thereby to express any precise opinion of its authorship and date."
Hebrews that "God only knows who wrote it," yet in his writings he freely quotes it as "Paul's." Hence unless a writer or speaker makes it clear that he is intending to state an authoritative judgment as to the authorship of a book, quotations from "Moses," or "David," or "Kings" merely mean that the passages are taken from the books bearing these titles. Our leading authorities are for the most part singularly wanting in explicit statements as to the authorship of O.T. books. The N.T. lays little stress upon authorship; in the majority of its quotations it does not think it worth while to mention any author's name; it is not careful to confine the term "David" to Psalms bearing Davidic titles, but extends it to the anonymous Psalms ii. and xcv. In some cases the authors' names connected with quotations in the N.T. differ from the titles of the O.T. books from which they are taken.

It is not that the N.T. writers intended to give an inspired contradiction of the O.T., but that they were indifferent, and did not claim to deliver inspired messages on these subjects.

The most explicit statement is the well-known Talmudic passage, which probably represents the current opinion of the Rabbis at the beginning of the Christian era. It runs as follows:—"But who wrote (the books of the Bible)? Moses wrote his own book (and) the section about Balaam, and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and (the last) eight verses of the Pentateuch. Samuel wrote his own book (and) the books

1 e.g., Against Celsus, chap. liii.
2 Acts iv. 25; Heb. iv. 7.
3 In Mark i. 2, 3, R.V., Mal. iii. 1, + Isaiah xl. 3 is quoted as "written in the prophet Isaiah"; in Matt. xxvii. 9, Zech. xi. 12, 13 are referred to as "spoken by Jeremiah the prophet"; probably elsewhere the names of authors of quotations have been inserted by scribes, much as references are written or printed in English Bibles. Thus the name "Daniel" given in Matt. xxiv. 15 is absent from Mark, R.V., and Luke; and "Jeremiah" is omitted by some authorities in Matt. ii. 17.
4 Babylonian Talmud, Baba Bathra, f. 14 b. Though this edition of the Talmud was composed about A.D. 500, the passage in question is a "baraitha," or early tradition from the age of the Mishna, i.e., the second century A.D. BUHL, Canon, p. 5.
of Judges and Ruth. *David* wrote the book of Psalms by the ten venerable elders, Adam the first man, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Haman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. *Jeremiah* wrote his own book, the books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his friends (wrote the books included in) the mnemonic book Y.a.M.Sh.a.Q., *i.e.*, Isaiah (*Yeshayahu*), Proverbs (*Meshalim*), Canticles (*Shir hash-Shirim*), and Ecclesiastes (*Qoheleth*). The *Men of the Great Synagogue* (wrote the books included in) the mnemonic word HaNDaG, *i.e.*, Ezekiel (*YeHezkel*), the Twelve (*Nebhiim*), Daniel, and Esther. *Ezra* wrote his own book and continued the genealogies of the books of Chronicles down to his own times. . . . But who completed them (the books of Chronicles)? Nehemiah ben Hachaliah.”

Clearly, “wrote” cannot be used here of the literary composition of our present books. The Book of Joshua narrates the death of Joshua; the Book of Samuel narrates the whole reign of David, while Samuel died before his accession. The Great Synagogue, if it existed at all, was a post-exilic institution, and the Talmud could not mean that Amos and Hosea were post-exilic. Note, too, that David’s “writing” of the Psalms does not exclude “ten venerable elders” from a share in the work. The inevitable conclusion is that when the Jews of our Lord’s time spoke of anyone “writing” a book, they used the term in a very elastic sense; either of preparing the final edition which took its place in the Canon, or of having some connection with the book, as being its hero, and the author of part of its contents. Similarly, although Ecclus. xliv.–xl ix. implies that, in the author’s time, the books of the Law and the Prophets bore their present titles, it does not assert that the persons mentioned in the titles were the literary authors of the books in their present form. Even Philo and Josephus, who dilate on Moses’ gifts as a legislator, and speak of him as prophesying his death and burial, lay little stress on his actual literary authorship.

There is a story in Fourth Esdras, c. A.D. 90–100, that the Law was burnt, and that Ezra was inspired to dictate afresh
ninety-four books to five scribes, seventy of which were reserved for scholars and twenty-four published. This strange legend seems to point to a tradition of an extensive post-exilic revision of the Law and the rest of the O.T.

Thus external evidence shows that, for the most part, the books of the O.T. had their present titles at the beginning of the Christian era, and that the Law and the Prophets (including Joshua to 2 Kings, less Ruth) had such titles about B.C. 200; and that the Pentateuch existed in its present form c. B.C. 300. Further, Moses and others named in such titles are often spoken of as in some sense authors of the books to which their names are attached, but the extant evidence suggests that they may not always have been credited with the literary authorship of these books in their present form. Otherwise, our authorities seem to have had no information on the subject but that given by the titles and other contents of the O.T. Practically, therefore, we are left to determine the date and authorship of the books from the same evidence.

3. The General Course of Criticism. It follows, from what has been maintained in the section on External Evidence, that there is nothing to show either that Jewish views as to date and authorship were based on any careful and thorough investigations, or even that their statements are intended to ascribe literary authorship to the persons whose names they use as titles of books. The Pentateuch, for instance, might be called the Law of Moses, and carry his authority, even if it was not composed by him; it represented his teaching and his spirit. Thus the criticism of our books had not really begun when the Church took over the O.T. from the Synagogue. With the books, the Church also took the titles, and the loose understanding that the personal titles were, as far as possible, to be interpreted as ascriptions of authorship. With slight exceptions, there was no inquiry into the

1 xiv. 19-48; the book is called 2 Esdras in the English version of the Apocrypha. The twenty-four published books are probably those of the O.T., which were often reckoned as twenty-four.
evidence of date and authorship. The intellect of Christian scholars was preoccupied with the Canon and criticism of the N.T., and with the construction of a system of theology. Meanwhile, popular usage hardened into definite and rigid shape the traditional views taken over from the Rabbis. Lapse of time gave the authority of prescription to what had merely been accepted by an *otiose assent*; and, throughout the Middle Ages, the cruel weight of ecclesiastical intolerance effectually crushed any movement to reopen a question which both the Church and the Synagogue were supposed to have settled. Nevertheless, here and there, a passage of a father, like Theodore of Mopsuestia, or of a Rabbi, like Ibn Ezra, shows that the objections to the traditional views were patent to competent scholars who were also independent thinkers.

The Reformation promised, at first, to liberate criticism; Luther and Calvin were the pioneers of modern biblical criticism; they set aside traditional views on some points connected with the Apocrypha and minor O.T. books. But history repeated itself, the Protestant leaders were mainly occupied with the revolution in Church government and the reconstruction of theology. The traditional views which the Primitive Church had accepted by *otiose assent* from the Rabbis, the Protestants again accepted, with little change, from the Church of Rome. About this period, and before and after, Spinoza, Grotius, and others, besides the great reformers, made beginnings of O.T. criticism in various directions; but there was no comprehensive or thorough investigation into the date and authorship of the respective books. The movement towards inquiry was checked, and, in the absence of any emphatic challenge, it came to be supposed that the traditional views were part of the body of Christian truth, which Protestants held in common with the Church of Rome.

It was only towards the close of the last century that the principles of the Reformation began to be systematically applied to O.T. criticism. Since then, the question of the
date, authorship, etc., of all the books of the O.T. has been carefully examined. The process has been long, laborious, and difficult, and is by no means completed. Two special causes have added to the difficulty. (1) In most cases, and till recently in all cases, the scholars engaged in this task were trained to take the traditional views for granted, and to assume that they were always supported by conclusive evidence. When a scholar was engaged in a fresh and independent examination of some one subject, on all other subjects he was almost obliged to assume the traditional views, which had moulded all his habits of thought on the O.T. Hence the first solutions proposed often blend the assumptions of tradition and the results of criticism in the most curious fashion. (2) On the other hand, it was soon discovered that, in many cases, the strong evidence supposed to support the older views simply did not exist; and that what seemed to be evidence was often quite irrelevant. Hence there arose a tendency to reject both views and evidence in too wholesale a fashion. For these two reasons results have had to be revised and reconsidered again and again. But there are signs that something like finality is being reached as to the main facts; although in dealing with a very ancient literature chiefly by internal evidence, results must always be approximate and there will always be a margin of uncertainty, within which different scholars will arrive at different results.

There has also been a third difficulty. Naturally, anxiety has been felt lest the processes and results of criticism should weaken the authority of the Bible, and undermine the foundations of essential Christian doctrines. Now, however, the new positions have met with widespread acceptance for more than a generation, and experience shows that ministers and Christians generally hold such positions without losing anything of their fulness of spiritual life, or of their zeal and success in the service of their Master.

In many respects, especially in the Prophetic Books, criticism has substantially confirmed traditional views; in many other matters those views have been considerably
modified, or even entirely set aside. The general result, however, tends not to weaken, but to strengthen, the spiritual authority and value of the Old Testament.

The very general statement given above would apply to almost all schools of criticism. Some scholars, however, believe that the ultimate results of criticism will be much more in accordance with traditional views than the position taken in the O.T. section of this book. Cf. Preface and Appendix on Literature.

4. Canon.—The idea of a Canon, or collection of books distinguished from all others by unique inspiration and religious authority, was fully established among the Jews before the beginning of the Christian era. Yet there was not unanimity as to the exact list of canonical books. The Hebrew collection of sacred books was less numerous than that used by Greek-speaking Jews. Even amongst Palestinian Jews the canonicity of Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Esther, Proverbs, and Canticles was still discussed in the first century A.D. But the Synod of Jamnia, c. A.D. 90, seems to have fixed the Canon of the Hebrew O.T. as we now have it; and this Canon was confirmed by the Mishna, c. A.D. 200.

The O.T. as found in Hebrew MSS. and printed Bibles consists of three parts, usually in the following order, but cf. pp. 107, 172.

(i.) Torah, or Pentateuch.

(ii.) Nebhi'îm, or Prophets.

(a) Nebhi'îm Ri'shônim, or First Volume of the Prophets, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings.

(b) Nebhi'îm 'Aharônîm, or Second Volume of the Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve.

(iii.) Kethâbhîm, or Hagiographa, Psalms, Proverbs, Job; the Megillôth, or five festival rolls,—i.e. Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther—Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

1 Another, less probable, explanation of (a) and (b) is "earlier" and "later prophets."
This grouping is recognised in the N.T. in the frequent references to "the Law and the Prophets,"¹ and once to "the Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms."² Similarly the prologue to Ecclesiasticus speaks of the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers. Thus the two first sections of the Canon, the Law and the Prophets, seem fully accepted in their present form before B.C. 130, and almost certainly before B.C. 200. The canonical status of the Pentateuch is implied in Chronicles, B.C. 300-250; the priestly code became canonical under Ezra and Nehemiah; the kernel of Deuteronomy under Josiah.

So far we have been dealing with the Canon of the Palestinian Rabbis. Although the canonicity of some of our O.T. books was matter for discussion, no serious attempt seems to have been made to include in the Jewish Canon any books not contained in our O.T. The Alexandrine and other Hellenistic Jews, however, had a wider canon, including, in addition to all the books of our O.T., our Apocrypha, viz., the additions to Esther, the additions to Daniel (i.e., the Song of the Three Holy Children, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon), Baruch, the Epistle of Jeremiah, the Prayer of Manasses, Esdras, ¹ and ² Maccabees, Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, and Tobit.

Although we have no early express statements that the Hellenistic Jews had this wider canon, two considerations point to its existence: (i.) In the existing MSS. of the Septuagint the Apocrypha are not collected in a final appendix, but are distributed amongst the other books as if of equal authority. Although all these MSS. are Christian, the arrangement is probably borrowed from the Hellenistic Jews. (ii.) The Apocrypha were often included in the Christian Canon. Now Christian scholars who refused to accept any but our O.T. books, did so on the authority of the Palestinian Jews. Probably, therefore, those who accepted a wider canon also followed Jewish authority—in this case, the opinions and customs of the Hellenistic Jews.

¹ Matt. vii. 12, etc. ² Luke xxiv. 44.
With slight exceptions the books of the Palestinian Canon have been universally received by the Christian Church.¹

Christendom has never arrived at any unanimous decision as to the canonicity of the O.T. Apocrypha. In the Patristic period and throughout the Middle Ages, there were scholars who preferred the Palestinian Canon; but popular usage and Church authority adopted the wider Canon of the Septuagint.²

At the Reformation the Protestant Churches practically limited their O.T. to the Palestinian Canon, but at the Council of Trent, in 1546, the Church of Rome authoritatively accepted the Canon of the Vulgate, which includes the bulk of O.T. Apocrypha.³ The Greek Church arrived at a similar decision at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.⁴

¹ Some Syrian authorities omitted Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, Esther and Job; and the canonicity of Esther was not fully acknowledged even in the fourth century A.D.; Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen both omit it from their lists.—BUHL, O.T. Canon, Eng. tr., pp. 53, 58.

² Jerome attempted to limit the O.T. to the Palestinian Canon, but the Council of Carthage, held in A.D. 397, accepted the Apocrypha as well.

³ i.e., the additions to Daniel and Esther, Baruch, the Letter of Jeremiah, 1 and 2 Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom.

⁴ BUHL, p. 65. It seems, however, that the decision has not determined the practice of the Greek Church; "the current of Greek opinion" is said to favour the Hebrew or Protestant Canon. Cf. Smith’s Bible Dictionary, Canon. The Book of Enoch, see p. 270, is quoted as Scripture in Jude 14 f.
CHAPTER II.

EARLIER HISTORICAL BOOKS

GENESIS TO KINGS

1. Alphabetical Table of Terms and Symbols.
2. Methods of Composition.
3. Earlier Theories.
5. Methods of Analysis.
7. General Table of Analysis.
8. Sketch of Argument.
10. Argument from Theology.
11. Argument from Literary Parallels.
12. Linguistic Argument.
14. J.

15. E.
16. JE.
17. D.
18. JED.
19. II.
20. P.
22. Mosaic Elements.
23. Genesis.
24. Exodus.
25. Leviticus.
27. Deuteronomy.
30. Ruth.¹
31. Samuel.
32. Kings.
33. Teaching of Historical Books.

1. Alphabetical Table of Terms and Symbols.—

A, Dillmann’s symbol for P.
B, “ “ “ E.
Book of the Four Covenants, Wellhausen’s title for the Priestly Code.
C, Dillmann’s symbol for J.

¹ Ruth is included in this chapter in order to follow the arrangement of the English Bible; it is doubtful whether it can be called “earlier.”

15
D, either the Kernel of Deuteronomy, or the Deuteronomistic material generally, or in any particular book, §§ 17, 27.

D¹, the Kernel of Deuteronomy.

D², D³, Deuteronomistic material later than D¹.

Da., Kittel's symbol for a History of David, identified by Budde with J.

*Deuteronomy, Kernel of,* see Kernel of Deuteronomy.

*Deuteronomistic,* applied to material in the Kernel of Deuteronomy, or more widely to material in the style of Deuteronomy, for which "Deuteronomistic" is sometimes used.

*Deuteronomistic Epitome,* the abstract of an earlier source made by the Deuteronomistic author of Kings, § 32.

*Deuteronomist,* Author of Deuteronomy, or of D², etc.

*Deuteronomistic,* see Deuteronomic.

Dt. = D² or R².

E, the Elohist Prophetic Document, or its author, § 15.

E¹, earliest stratum of E.

E², E³, later strata of E.

El, symbol used in this work for the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha, § 32.

*Elohist,* used by earlier critics for the author of all the Elohim material in the Hexateuch, *i.e.*, P + E; by later critics for E, §§ 3, 15.

*Elohist, First or Earlier,* title given to P by critics who supposed it to be the earliest document of Hexateuch.

*Elohist, Later or Second,* title given to E by critics mentioned above.

*Elohistic Prophetic Document,* E, § 15.

Grundschrift, name given to the Elohistic material, P + E, of the Pentateuch, as the framework of the whole, § 3.

H, Law of Holiness, P¹, § 19.

Hexateuch, Hex., Pentateuch + Joshua.

Holiness, Law of; see Law of Holiness.

J, the Jehovistic Prophetic Document, or its author, § 14.

J¹, earliest stratum of J.

J² J³, later strata of J.
2. Methods of Composition.—A history of ancient times is the last stage of a process by which it is connected with the events it describes. The intervening links are, amongst other things, the effects of these events, monuments and inscriptions, and earlier histories. In a first-class history we have the result of careful study of these authorities; the author combines information from various sources, and
reconstructs the nature, sequence, and relation of events; he also adds notes which give references to and extracts from his authorities. The text is the homogeneous work of a single mind, and rests primarily on the authority of the author; its accuracy depends partly on that of his sources, partly on his industry, honesty, intelligence, and imagination. The notes enable the reader to test the judgment of the modern historian by the statements of the ancient authorities. In our O.T. books this advanced form of history has not yet been reached. They stop short at a much earlier stage, and are roughly equivalent to the notes of such a work without the text. There were early sources, the documents in which tradition was first written down, or the contemporary account of events. Later writers utilised these in primitive fashion. In the ancient East custom and tradition were supreme; when once a story had taken shape, its general form and, in a measure, even its words were sacred. Yet, from time to time, Israelite scholars were inspired to attempt a fuller and more spiritual treatment of the annals of the chosen people. A modern author tries to be original in method and language—in the text of his works, but not in his notes; there he is most anxious to reproduce his authorities as accurately as possible. The ancient historian reproduced and supplemented; he did not write a new work of his own. He used an ancient book as a groundwork, into which he inserted his new material; he retained time-honoured phrases, and interwove sentences and paragraphs from his sources with each other, and with connecting matter and other additions of his own, into a most remarkable literary mosaic. In the course of this process he expressed his conception of the course of events, and his judgment on history; he omitted objectionable passages, or accommodated them to the better taste and higher spiritual feeling of later times; he explained, illustrated, expanded, or moralised. Like

1 In the same way children resent any departure from the familiar form of a favourite story, and many people have a predilection for narratives "in the words of Scripture itself"—preferably the A.V.
modern historians, he exercised his judgment and imagination as to what, in the nature of things, must have happened, and supplemented or even corrected the earlier narrative accordingly. Nevertheless, he retained as many and as extensive verbatim extracts as possible; he was not writing a new book of his own, but preparing a new edition of the old history. Thus a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels shows that Matthew and Luke largely consist of matter extracted verbatim from older sources, and in Tatian’s Diatessaron a continuous narrative is constructed by piecing together extracts from the four Gospels. Similarly, Chronicles is an intricate combination of sections from the earlier historical books with the author’s additions. Several verses in Judges i. occur in different parts of Joshua. But this method of using verbatim extracts from earlier works is not confined to cases where the same passage is still found in two O.T. books. A careful examination of the books we are now dealing with shows that they are made up of extracts from earlier works, which are only preserved so far as they are contained in our present books. By using this method the authors, or rather editors, have done us much better service than if they had rewritten the history in modern fashion. For the statements in these books, we have not merely the authority of late editors, but of one or more earlier sources.

3. Earlier Theories.—We have only space to state briefly the chief types of these theories, and here and there to give some slight indication of the grounds on which they have been advocated or rejected.

(a) Authorship by Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and the Prophets.—This view, though supported by many other arguments, practically rests on the supposed consensus of opinion of the Rabbis and the early Church. It contains an important element of truth. The Pentateuch is Mosaic, inasmuch as it rests on the authority of Moses, and has its roots in his work and teaching. Its laws were promulgated by the Jewish
leaders, and accepted by the people, because they were rightly believed to be in accordance with the revelation made to him. It is not improbable that the prophets had a share in composing, editing, and preserving the sacred records. But there is no appreciable evidence that Moses, Joshua, or Samuel actually wrote the Pentateuch or the Books of Joshua, Judges, or Samuel, or that the prophets composed the Book of Kings.¹ The contents of the Pentateuch naturally suggested the use of the phrases, “Law² of Moses,” or “Book of the Law of Moses,” as titles of the Pentateuch. When once these titles were established, they were sure to be interpreted as implying that the Pentateuch, as a literary composition, was the personal work of Moses. On the other hand, the editors who gave the Pentateuch and the Books of Joshua and Samuel their present form, included in these works the accounts of the deaths of Moses, Joshua, and Samuel respectively. This fact shows that it was neither intended nor expected that they would be regarded as literary compositions by these three great leaders. A careful examination of the historical books shows that they contain material from sources belonging to different ages, and that much of their contents must be later than the times of the leaders whose names they bear. Hence the claims of Samuel and Joshua to authorship even of parts of books are not strongly urged; and almost all critics admit that the Pentateuch contains an appreciable amount of editorial additions made long after the Mosaic Age. A very large portion of the Pentateuch, forming the basis of the work, is still ascribed to Moses by some scholars; but the tendency of criticism is to minimise the Mosaic elements.

(b) The Older Documentary Theory.—The modern criticism of the historical books starts with the publication in 1753, by

¹ Cf. Ch. i. § 2, External Evidence.
² Torah, of which word “law” is an unsatisfactory equivalent. Torah was originally used of any instruction on religious matters, whether given by priest or prophet. In its earlier uses it is more akin to “revelation” than to “law.”
Astruc, a French physician, of his *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroit que Moyse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genese*. Noticing that the divine name *Elohim* was used throughout some sections of Genesis, and the divine name *Jehovah* throughout others, he analysed the book into two main sources, the *Elohist* and the *Jehovistic*, and ten minor sources, consisting chiefly of fragments. Moses, according to Astruc, arranged this material in four columns, the contents of which were afterwards rewritten as a consecutive work.\(^1\)

(c) *The Fragmentary Theory*.\(^2\)—The attack on the unity of the Pentateuch was not long confined to Genesis. The analysis into sources was carried to extremes, and it was maintained that the whole Pentateuch was a compilation from a large number of more or less independent fragments. The numerous resemblances between the Pentateuch and Joshua were observed, and the two books were ascribed to the same author.\(^3\) This analysis excluded the possibility of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch as a whole.

(d) *The Supplement Theory*.\(^4\)—The permanent elements of the Fragmentary Theory were the assertion of the composite character of the whole Pentateuch, of its close connection with the Book of Joshua, and the consequent denial of its Mosaic authorship. But criticism soon returned to the lines indicated by Astruc. Though a section might not connect with what went before and after, it was seen to connect with a series of similar sections throughout the Pentateuch and Joshua. Deuteronomy was soon seen to be substantially independent. The rest proved to be compiled from older documents, often interwoven, especially in the narrative sections, in a very intricate fashion. For this compilation Astruc's analysis into a main Elohistic document and a main Jehovistic document was accepted, and extended to

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1 Holzinger, p. 41.
2 Geddes, 1792; Vater, 1802–1805.
4 Stähelin, 1830; Ewald, 1831; Tuch, 1838.
BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

the whole Hexateuch,\(^1\) outside of Deuteronomy.\(^2\) The Elohist document was clearly the framework of the whole book, into which the other material had been fitted. Hence it was naturally supposed that this framework was the older book, and that the Jehovah material had been added by a later editor to supplement the original text. Because of the use of the Elohist material as a framework, it has often been called the "Grundschrift" or "Fundamental Document." Ewald called it "the Book of Origins."


(a) Completion of the Analysis.—Further examination showed that the Elohist material had been taken from two separate documents, the Priestly Code\(^3\) and the Elohist Prophetic Narrative;\(^4\) and that, although the Priestly Code had been used as the framework of the Pentateuch, the other material had not been composed to supplement it, but had been taken from independent documents. Further analysis has been occupied with the detailed division of the books between the several documents, and in showing that the main documents are themselves composite, especially that the Priestly Code may be divided into the older Law of Holiness\(^5\) and the more recent Priestly Code proper\(^6\); and that the documents of the Hexateuch extend into Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

As the result of this long investigation there is substantial agreement on the following points:

The Pentateuch is compiled from four main documents: the two Prophetic Documents, the Jehovah (J), using

\(^1\) *i.e.*, Pentateuch + Joshua.

\(^2\) There are small sections of the composite work in our book of Deut. See on Deut.

\(^3\) P, called at one time the First Elohist by those who regarded it as the older of the two.

\(^4\) E, similarly sometimes called the Second Elohist. The analysis of the Elohist material into these two documents was made by Hupfeld, 1853, but had been suggested by Ilgen, ADDIS, I. xxviii.

\(^5\) H or P\(^1\).

\(^6\) P\(^2\).
Jehovah in Gen., the Elohistic (E), using Elohim in Gen.; the Priestly Code (P), using Elohim in Gen.; the bulk of Deuteronomy (D).

The Priestly Code includes an earlier work, the Law of Holiness (H), Lev. xvii.–xxvi. There are post-exilic elements in the Hexateuch.

Josiah’s law-book was an early edition of Deuteronomy, and was composed not very long before its publication in 621.

The Prophetic Documents, J and E, are older than Deuteronomy.

The detailed analysis, as far as the division into P, D and the combined JE are concerned.

The following points, however, are still matters of controversy:—

The relative age of D and P; whether the Priestly Code, as a whole, apart from editorial additions, is post-exilic and later than Deuteronomy, or pre-exilic and earlier than Deuteronomy.

The relative age, mutual relationship, dates, and place of composition of the Prophetic Documents, J and E.

The detailed analysis of passages containing material from J and E into the portions belonging to J and E respectively.

The presence of the same documents in the Hexateuch and in Judges, Samuel, and Kings.

The process by which J, E, and D were combined.

The analysis of the four main documents into earlier sources and later additions.

The time and mode of separation of Joshua or its contents from the rest of the Hexateuch.

(b) The Theory of the Pre-exilic origin of the Priestly Code.—Of the above points of difference, that concerning the age of the Priestly Code divides the critics who accept the analysis of the Hexateuch into two schools. A minority, including very distinguished scholars,1 maintain that the Law

1 Dillmann, Kittel, Baudissin, etc.
of Holiness may include elements as old as Moses, and the bulk of the Priestly Code was composed before Deuteronomy.¹ But it is admitted that the Law of Holiness, though containing material older than the rest of the Priestly Code, was itself compiled during the Exile,² and that the Code contains post-exilic material. But those who regard P as post-exilic would admit that it is largely based on pre-exilic customs and ritual, perhaps partly preserved in writing. Hence the difference between the two schools is not so striking as it seems at first sight. According to the one, P is pre-exilic with post-exilic additions; according to the other, P is post-exilic, using pre-exilic sources. Both views would be included in the formula—P is a combination of pre-exilic and post-exilic material.

(c) The Theory of the Post-exilic origin of the Priestly Code.³—Arranging the four main documents in the order J, E, D, P.⁴

As this is the theory followed throughout the present work, it is explained here in a tabular form, and a sketch of the arguments in its favour, and some further details are given in later sections. According to this theory, the Hexateuch is the final result of a long development, during which its material passed through the following stages:—⁵

(i.) The events of early Israelite history, the work and words of Moses, primitive Israelite customs, traditions, and documents.

(ii.) The compilation, c. 800–650, of the two Prophetic Documents, J and E, which include, inter alia, the earliest extant edition of the Law (the Book of the Covenant, Exodus xx.–xxiii.), and some early poems.

¹ According to DILLMANN and NÜLDEKE, c. 800.
² DILLMANN, Num., etc., 645 ff.
³ GRAF, WELLHAUSEN, KUENEN, STADE, etc.; DRIVER, etc. This is often called the Grafian Theory, and is held by the majority of recent scholars.
⁴ The priority of J to E is not an essential feature of this theory.
⁵ For the sake of clearness, the analysis of J, E and the later additions to D and P are not represented in this table; cf. §§ 14–20.
METHODS OF ANALYSIS

(iii.) The combination of J and E into a single work JE, c. 650–600.

\[ (J + E) \text{R}^\text{je} = \text{JE}. \]


(v.) Combination of JE and D into a single work before the end of the Exile.

\[ (\text{JE} + \text{D}) \text{R}^\text{d} = \text{JED}. \]


(viii.) Combination of JED and P, and exclusion of Joshua or its contents,\(^2\) thus forming our Pentateuch, Fifth and Final Edition of the Law, and Book of Joshua, shortly after 444.

\[ (\text{JED} + \text{P}) \text{R}^\text{p} = \text{Pentateuch} + \text{Joshua}. \]

5. Methods of Analysis.—We have seen that the use of the divine name Jehovah in some sections of Genesis, and Elohim in others, afforded a clue to the composite character of the Pentateuch. This feature, however, is only one of many. There is a multitude of abrupt transitions, repetitions, contradictions, differences of style, theological standpoint, and historical situation, which are inexplicable on the theory that the Pentateuch is a single consecutive work; but which are perfectly intelligible when we recognise that it is compiled from independent documents. It will be convenient to describe the analysis under three headings:—

(a) The Legal Codes.—Most of the legislation is contained

\(^1\) \text{i.e., the composite work JE includes matter from J and E combined by a Redactor \text{R}^\text{je}, who added necessary connecting matter, and otherwise modified his sources. The other equations are to be interpreted in the same way.}

\(^2\) \text{ Cf. §§ 21, 28.}
in three separate codes: *The Book of the Covenant*, Exodus xx. 24–xxiii. 19; *The Kernel of Deuteronomy*, Deuteronomy v.–xxvi.; *The Laws of the Priestly Code*, the bulk of Exodus xxv.–xl.,¹ Leviticus, Numbers i.–x., etc. Here large blocks of material have been inserted whole. The differences between these codes show that they must have been composed at different times and under very different circumstances. Already, therefore, it is clear that at least three documents were used in the compilation of the Pentateuch.

(b) Complete Sections.—Apart from these codes, the composite character of the work is shown by the marked differences between consecutive sections. Take, for instance, the two accounts of the Creation, Genesis i. i–ii. 4a and ii. 4b–25. They differ in style: the former is a carefully ordered, almost scientific statement, arranged in formal schedules of the same type, with recurring formulæ; the latter is a graphic popular narrative; each has its own vocabulary and idioms. They differ in theological standpoint: the former takes great trouble to avoid every appearance of anthropomorphism, the latter is frankly anthropomorphic; the interests of the former are cosmic, it is concerned with earth and heaven and all life, the latter thinks only of an inland province—nothing is said of fishes; the moral of the former is the observance of the Sabbath sanctioned by the divine example, that of the latter, the sanctity of marriage as sanctioned by primitive usage. Moreover, the two accounts contradict each other. In the former the animals are first created, and then Elohim, by a single utterance, creates mankind in two sexes; in the latter a man is first formed, then the animals, then a woman.

In Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings there are consecutive sections which present similar contrasts. It is extremely difficult to suppose that a single author, writing a single consecutive work, wrote first in one style

¹ The main exception is Exodus xxxi. 18b–xxxiv. 28.
and then in another. Here again we trace compilation from independent documents.

A comparison of such sections, in style, theological standpoint, and historical situation, with each other and with the three codes shows that they fall into three series, one of which connects with the Book of the Covenant, another with Deuteronomy, and a third with the Laws of the Priestly Code. Moreover, the sections connecting with the Book of the Covenant can again be divided into two series. Thus our analysis has discovered the four main documents: two connecting with the Book of the Covenant, these are J and E; the Kernel of Deuteronomy, and connected passages, D; and the Priestly Code, P.

(c) Single Sections compiled from two or more Documents.—Further, however, what seems, at first sight, a single consecutive narrative of one event proves to be a combination of two or more independent accounts of that event. Here again the composite character of such sections is shown by differences of style, etc., by abrupt transitions, and by repetitions and contradictions. The following is the analysis of the account of the Flood. The sections in ordinary type are from P; those in italics from J; those in small capitals were added by the editor, who combined the two:

"And the Lord said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female: and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female. Of fowls also of the air by sevens, the male and the female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living substance that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the earth. And Noah did according unto all that the Lord commanded him.

"And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

"And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his
sons' wives with him, into the ark, because of the waters of the flood. Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of fowls, and of everything that creepeth upon the earth, there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, the male and the female, as God had commanded Noah. And it came to pass after seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth.

"In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

"And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights.

"In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; they, and every beast after his kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after his kind, and every fowl after his kind, every bird of every sort. And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God had commanded him:

"And the Lord shut him in. And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth.

"And the waters prevailed, and were increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man:

"All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living substance was destroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle,
and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark.

"And the waters prevailed upon the earth an hundred and fifty days. And God remembered Noah, and every living thing, and all the cattle that was with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged; the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped.

"And the rain from heaven was restrained; and the waters returned from off the earth continually:

"And after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

"And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: and he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. Also he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark, for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: then he put forth his hand and took her, and pulled her in unto him into the ark. And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed yet other seven days; and sent forth the dove; which returned not again unto him any more.

"And it came to pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first month, the first of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth:

"And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dry.
"And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried." (Genesis vii. 1–viii. 14.)

The composite character of this narrative is seen: (i.) from repetitions; as to the entering in to the ark, the rising of the flood, the perishing of all living creatures, and the drying of the earth; (ii.) from contradictions; in P we have periods of 150 days, in J of 40 and of 7; in P there are pairs of all the kinds of animals, in J sevens of the clean, pairs of the unclean. Moreover, the P passages present the characteristics of P, and thus connect with the rest of that document. They fit into its scheme of exact chronology; they give a quasi-scientific account on a cosmic scale, the great deep is broken up below, and heaven opened above; there is no anthropomorphism; we have the divine name Elohim, and P's favourite formulæ, "after his kind," "beast, cattle, creeping thing, fowl, bird," etc. On the other hand, in J we have graphic popular narrative, e.g., the picturesque episode of the dove; anthropomorphism, the Lord, i.e. Jehovah, shuts up the ark; the divine name Jehovah, etc. In several instances the P paragraphs interrupt the connection between the J paragraphs, and vice versa. The phrases in small capitals are assigned to the editor, because they do not seem to belong to their immediate context, and yet find no place in the other document.

Similar composite narratives and groups of laws occur in other books.

Thus, apart from the question of date and authorship, analysis is able to divide the Hexateuch into the four main documents, J, E, D, P; the exact division, however, of J and E being often difficult and uncertain. A similar analysis can be made of Judges, Samuel, and Kings.¹

6. Limitations of Analysis.—The reader will have gathered that the task of analysing the historical books into the earlier documents from which they were compiled is a difficult one—by no means so impossible as it seems at first sight, but

¹ See §§ 29–32.
still sufficiently serious to tax the resources of criticism to the utmost. Moreover, though most useful and interesting results are obtained, the task can be only imperfectly fulfilled, and the analyses given here and elsewhere are not put forward as being accurate and complete in every detail. The main documents have certain characteristics, and portions containing these, and all that obviously belongs to such portions, may be confidently assigned to given sources. But there is a certain amount of neutral material which might have been written in any period; it is natural to assign such to the same source as its context, and yet it may have been borrowed from an earlier document, or added by a later editor. To take a practical illustration: when a section is assigned to R or D, all that is meant is that the Deuteronomic characteristics are found in the passage and not those of the other sources. Hence it is mainly Deuteronomic, but may include phrases or sentences borrowed from earlier sources; or, again, information or laws obtained by the Deuteronomist from earlier sources, but expressed in his own language. On the other hand, a passage may be assigned to JE, without any intention of excluding the possibility that some neutral matter not essential to the original context may contain additions by later editors. In some cases a later writer, either unconsciously or as a matter of literary taste, imitated the style of an earlier document. It is often difficult to distinguish such imitations from the original, especially when they are largely made up of quotations from the document imitated.

In the analyses given in the following sections, space and clearness have necessitated the omission of many details.

1 This kind of uncertainty is specially common as to parts of sections which are substantially Deuteronomic, because they make large use of earlier material; the work of the Priestly writers is more easily and certainly distinguished.

2 As modern scholars write Ciceronian Latin. The Hebrew editors, etc. no more intended or expected their compositions to be taken for the work of the Jehovist or the Deuteronomist, than the author of a Latin essay to-day expects his essay to be ascribed to Cicero.

3 e.g., the Deuteronomic passages in Chronicles.
The origin of the longer sections has been given; the presence in such sections of phrases and verses from other sources has been indicated, where they contained anything important, either critically, historically, or in its bearing on the immediate context, otherwise such minutiae of analysis have been ignored. Phrases, etc. have usually been assigned to the same source as their context, when it is not clear that they belong to other sources, attention being called to any uncertainty where important questions are involved. In this way it is hoped that the reader will be able to obtain an accurate conception of the analysis as a whole, without being bewildered by a multiplicity of detail.

7. Sketch of Analysis.—The following table is intended to serve as a rough diagram of the contents and distribution of the main sources of the Hexateuch. For the sake of simplicity, where the bulk of a chapter belongs to one source and a few verses to another, the chapter is reckoned to the main source. For the more detailed and exact analysis see "Contents" in §§23–32. Genesis xiv. and Deuteronomy xxxii., xxxiii. are omitted, as not belonging to the main sources. The division of J, E, D, and P into various strata is ignored. Sporadic editorial additions, i.e., those which do not amount to a continuous revision, are also ignored:

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<tr>
<th>P and J Combined</th>
<th>Genesis 1–13, 15–19.</th>
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<tr>
<td>P and JE Combined</td>
<td>Genesis 20–50.</td>
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<td>Exodus 1–24.</td>
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<td>Numbers 11–16, 20, 21, 32.</td>
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<td>Joshua 22.</td>
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<td>Judges 20, 21.</td>
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<td>Leviticus.</td>
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### SKETCH OF THE ARGUMENT

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<td>Joshua 1-11. (Judges 2-8, 10-15.)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>J E</td>
<td>Exodus 32-34. Numbers 22-24. (Judges 9, 16-19.)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; (i. and ii. Samuel.)&lt;sup&gt;12&lt;/sup&gt; (i. Kings 1, 2.)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td>J</td>
<td>Judges 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Joshua 24.&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt; (i. Kings 20, 22.)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt; (ii. Kings 3?, 7, 9&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;, 10&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;)&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deuteronomicon</td>
<td>i. and ii. Kings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compilation</td>
<td>from</td>
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<tr>
<td>Older Sources</td>
<td>cf. JE and E</td>
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**8. Sketch of the Argument** for the post-exilic date of P and the order J and E, D, P. In the previous section we described the kind of evidence by which the composite character of the Hexateuch is established; we have now to show how the dates of the documents are determined. The arguments, alike for the analysis and for the theory of the dates and order of the documents, are cumulative. They

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<sup>1</sup> The identification of the sources of Judges 2-21 and Samuel, and Kings with J and E is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> Except poems and some other additions.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by RD.
do not form a chain, which is worthless if one link is broken; they are rather like an array of pillars supporting a roof—the roof will stand, even though some of the pillars are weak or rotten. These arguments fall into five groups, which partially overlap: (i.) Historical Situation; (ii.) Theological Standpoint; (iii.) Relation to other O.T. Literature; (iv.) Vocabulary and Style; (v.) Mutual Relation of the Documents. These will be dealt with more fully in separate sections, but it may be useful to take a general view of them here.

(i.) Historical Situation.—J and E imply the historical situation of the Early Monarchy; D that of the Later Monarchy, connecting especially with the reforms of Josiah; P that of the exilic or post-exilic period, connecting especially with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah.

(ii.) The Theological Standpoint of each agrees with what we know of the theology of the period of its historical situation.

(iii.) Relation to other O.T. Literature.—J and E have points of contact with the literature before c. 650; D with the literature between c. 651 and the close of the Exile; P with the literature during and after the Exile. D is unknown before the Later Monarchy; P before the Exile.

(iv.) Style and Vocabulary.—The style and vocabulary of each is that of the period to which it is assigned by its historical situation.

(v.) Mutual Relation of the Documents.—J and E together, D, P represent three ascending stages of development; and P implies the prior existence of D, and D that of J and E.

9. Argument from the Historical Situation.—The laws in the Book of the Covenant (JE) are addressed to a people cultivating the land, and living in houses; hence this code was compiled after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan. It contemplates a more settled state of society than that as

1 Exodus xxi. 6, xxii. 5.
described in Judges, and therefore belongs to the Monarchy. It also recognises a multiplicity of sanctuaries, and lays no stress either on ritual or on any official priesthood. Thus we read in Exodus xx. 24–26:

"An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me . . . in every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee."

The places referred to where Jehovah recorded His name are the holy places, Bethel, Beersheba, Gilgal, etc., consecrated by the appearances of Jehovah to the patriarchs, which are known in history as the "high places."¹ In these matters the Book of the Covenant reflects the practice of the time of the Judges and the Early Monarchy, when sacrifices were performed not only by priests, but by patriarchs,² heads of families,³ judges,⁴ and kings;⁵ not merely at the Tabernacle or the Temple, but at many places,⁶ especially, as Kings tells us repeatedly, at the high places.⁷ The leaders and teachers of this period and the early writers, seem quite unconscious that they are transgressing any law; the adverse comments on their behaviour come from later writers. Thus, in these and other ways, the historical situation implied by the Prophetic Documents is that of the Early Monarchy.

Two chief points in the laws of Deuteronomy are: (a) the limitation of sacrifice to a single sanctuary, which is therefore the only legitimate temple of Jehovah, and (b) the limitation of the priesthood to the Levites. As we have just seen, there are no traces of such limitations under the earlier kings. But Amos, Hosea, and Micah attack the

¹ Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 19; Hos. x. 15; Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 33; Amos v. 5; Gilgal, Joshua iv. 20, v. 13 ff., Amos iv. 4.
² Jacob, Gen. xxxiii. 20.
³ Manoah, Judges xiii. 19; Jesse, 1 Sam. xx. 29.
⁴ Gideon, Judges vi. 24.
⁵ Saul, 1 Sam. xiv. 35; Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 4.
⁶ Ophrah, Judges vi. 24; Ebenezer and Ramah, 1 Sam. vii. 9, 17; Gilgal, 1 Sam. xi. 15; Gibeon, 1 Kings iii. 4, etc.
⁷ 1 Kings xv. 14, etc.
BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

high places and their priests on account of immorality and superstition. Hezekiah made an attempt to suppress the high places. Isaiah’s teaching as to the inviolability of Zion and the deliverance from Sennacherib enhanced the prestige of the Temple. Josiah’s suppression of the high places was suggested by a law-book found in the Temple. This book was read by Shaphan to himself, and to the king, and read through publicly by the king to the people. Clearly the book was much shorter than our Pentateuch; but may very well have been an early edition of Deuteronomy. For the main object of Josiah’s reforms, the establishment of the Temple as the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah, is one of the chief themes of Deuteronomy, and most of the details of his reformation are based upon laws in Deuteronomy.

The northern kingdom had disappeared, and any point of Josiah’s dominions lay within easy reach of Jerusalem, so that it seemed that a single sanctuary might suffice for the wants of the whole community. Thus the historical situation implied in Deuteronomy is that of the times of Josiah, the close of the Jewish Monarchy.

One distinctive feature of the Priestly Code is the limitation of the priesthood to the house of Aaron, the establishment of a dynasty of supreme pontiffs or high priests, and the assignment to the non-Aaronite Levites of the menial duties of the Temple service. There is no trace of this distinction between priests and Levites in Deuteronomy, or in the account given by Kings of Josiah’s reforms, or in the prophecies of Jeremiah, or in any earlier documents. But Ezekiel confines the priesthood to the priests of the Temple at Jerusalem, and degrades the priests of the high places, i.e., the rest of the Levites, to the position of menial

1 Hos. x. 8; Amos iv. 4 f.; Mic. i. 5 f.
2 2 Kings xviii. 4.
3 Cf. in 2 Kings xxiii. 4-7 with Deut. xii. 1-16; 8, 9 with Deut. xviii. 6-8 (the discrepancy is quite intelligible on practical grounds, and the author of Kings seems conscious of it); 24 with Deut. xviii. 11.
4 Jeremiah speaks of “the priests, the Levites” (xxxiii. 18), and other places.
attendants. Although, according to this arrangement, the priests were only a single clan of the tribe of Levi, it is stated that over four thousand priests returned after the Exile, but only seventy-four Levites. Later on Ezra had great difficulty in inducing any Levites to accompany him to Jerusalem. Naturally the subordinate position assigned to them by Ezekiel had slight attractions. In this and in other matters, and especially in the account of the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, we see that the historical situation implied by the Priestly Code is subsequent to the time of Ezekiel, and is that of the period after the Exile, and that this code is to be identified with the Law which Ezra brought to Jerusalem. In every way the laws of the Priestly Code point to a time when the Temple, its services and priesthood, were the chief national institutions, and the main concern of the Jews. This was the case after the Exile, but not before.

10. Argument from Theological Standpoint.—There are special difficulties in the application of this argument; the line of development of Israelite theology is not fully determined, and chronological landmarks are more difficult to find in the case of doctrines than in the more concrete matters of temple and priesthood. Yet some points are clear, and make for the theory now being explained. The frank anthropomorphisms of J, and in a less degree of E, would naturally indicate an early stage in the religion of Israel; and the stress laid in these documents upon the dramatic interest of the narratives points to their proximity to the primitive tradition. Thus and otherwise the theology of J and E is consistent with a date in the Early Monarchy, or even earlier.

1 Ezek. xlv. 10-16. 2 Ezra ii. 36-40. 3 Ezra viii. 4 e.g., after the Exile there were no Jewish kings till the Maccabees, and the head of the community was the High Priest; so in the Priestly Code the greatest possible emphasis is laid on the supreme position of the High Priest, while the king is ignored. In Neh. viii. 18, the Feast of Tabernacles is kept for eight days, in accordance with Lev. xxiii. 39 (P), as against the seven days of Deut. xvi. 13-15. In Neh. x. 37 f., the people pay tithes to the Levites, and the Levites to the priests in accordance with Num. xviii. 20-26. The Deuteronomistic arrangements for tithes are quite different.
As Deuteronomy provides for a single sanctuary and a single priestly tribe, so it also asserts expressly and emphatically the unity of the Godhead: "Hear, O Israel, thy God, Jehovah, is one God." This express statement is the natural sequel to the attack of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah upon the popular worship of Jehovah as one among many gods, and prepares the way for the detailed exposition of monotheism in Isaiah xl.-lv.

Similarly there are many features in the Priestly Code which are best explained by assigning it to the post-exilic stage of Israelite religion, e.g., the scrupulous avoidance of all anthropomorphism, the numerous traces of systematic thought and method in the priestly versions of the narratives, the stress on the "holiness" of Israel, and the practical application of the principle to an elaborate system of minute external observances.

II. Argument from Literary Parallels.—Points of contact with J and E are found in the prophets of the eighth century. Hosea refers to Jacob's wrestling with the angel; Amos and Isaiah to the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah; Micah to "the land of Nimrod," and to the history of Balaam and Balak.

On the other hand, documents before c. 680-630 afford no evidence that their authors were acquainted with Deuteronomy, or P.

1 Deut. vi. 4.
2 Early ritual is often elaborate, and so far the priestly ritual might be early, and doubtless is partly based on primitive custom. But we know that enthusiasm for ritual was rife and increasing after the Exile, and the spiritual and scientific treatment of the subject points to the later date.
3 Of course, points of contact between two documents are evidence of the date of the one document only when the date of the other is known. So that for this purpose we can only use passages whose dates are fairly certain.
4 Gen. xxxii. 22-32; Hos. xii. 2-6.
5 Gen. xix.; Isaiah i. 9; Amos iv. 11.
6 Mic. v. 6, vi. 1-8; Gen. x. 8, 9; Num. xxii.-xxiv.
7 Approximate limits to the date of Deuteronomy as composed shortly before 621.
This statement would be challenged by some, space does not allow us to deal with it in detail; but as the treatment of the argument from literary parallels is very difficult, and needs much discrimination, it may be as well to say a few words on the subject, in order to show what is the point at issue. Parallels between the Pentateuch and early literature are often cited as arguments against this theory, although they are quite irrelevant for some such reasons as the following:

(i.) Only references in early literature to characteristic features of Deuteronomy and P could be used as arguments against the current (Grafian) theory; for that theory holds that J and E were early, at any rate in their original form, and that D and P also use earlier material, and that many of the customs and rites dealt with were much more ancient than these documents. Hence it is quite consistent with the Grafian theory that early literature should refer to J and E and to some matters found in D and P, and that sacrifices, feasts, etc. dealt with in D and P should have existed long before the dates assigned to these documents.

(ii.) Many alleged parallels are entirely irrelevant, and are only such as must naturally exist between works in the same language, by authors of the same race, acquainted with the history and literature, customs and traditions which were earlier than both of them. Thus we should not maintain that the parallels between J and E, and Amos, Hosea, and Micah are necessarily proofs that the prophets were acquainted with those documents.

(iii.) In considering two similar passages, A and B, there are at least three possible explanations of their resemblance. A may be dependent on B, or B on A, or both A and B may be dependent on something prior to both of them. A critic with a theory—and everybody starts with a prepossession in favour of some theory—is tempted to take for granted that the relation of the parallel passages is in accordance with his theory. If he holds that B is older than A, it seems to him that A is so obviously dependent on B, that this dependence proves the early date of B. But, as a rule, it is very difficult to determine which of two similar passages is dependent on the other. Often the question can only be settled by our knowledge that one passage is taken from an earlier work than the other; and where we do not possess such knowledge the priority is quite uncertain, and a comparison of the passages yields little or no evidence as to the date of the documents in which they occur.

(iv.) When a body of literature is known to belong to a certain period, and a document has numerous parallels to this literature, it probably belongs to the same period. It may be an earlier work used by the authors of the literature in question, or a later work which has used this literature; but it is easier to verify or eliminate these possibilities than to decide between the alternatives in the previous paragraph.

(v.) Where a work is known to be composite, a literary parallel to one section affords no direct evidence of the date of other sections.1

1 These considerations have to be borne in mind in studying the various attempts to show that the complete Pentateuch was known to almost all O.T. writers. For instance, it is for these reasons that Lex Mosaica, though a very useful and interesting study of the literary relations of the Pentateuch, affords no real evidence against the Grafian theory.
But Deuteronomy is very closely connected by numerous points of contact with the literature of the close of the Jewish monarchy and the beginning of the Exile. The parallels with Jeremiah are so striking that the prophet has sometimes been credited with the authorship of Deuteronomy. Investigation does not confirm this impression, but the resemblance shows that Deuteronomy and the prophecies belong to the same period, e.g., the term, "the Priests, the Levites"—unknown to earlier literature—is characteristic of both and of Ezekiel. Again the Book of Kings assumed its present form during this period. In the editorial notes the editor writes from the Deuteronomic standpoint that the Temple is the only legitimate sanctuary. Also Deuteronomy exercises a very marked influence on exilic and post-exilic literature.

The Law of Holiness, H or P₁, is even more closely connected with Ezekiel xl.—xlviii. than Deuteronomy with Jeremiah. Although it is not likely that Ezekiel compiled this code, its editor probably belonged to the same priestly circle, so that the code may be assigned to about the beginning of the Exile.

The characteristics of the Priestly Code proper, P or P₂, have affinities with the earlier, and influence the later post-exilic literature. The distinction between the priests, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites—a special feature of P—first appears in Ezekiel xliv., where the prophet ordains that the priesthood is to be confined to the Jerusalem Levites of the house of Zadok, and that the other Levites, the priests of the high places, are to be degraded to the level of menial attendants. In the Priestly Code the claims of the Levites to rank with the Jerusalem priests, the fact that their position was a menial one to which they had been degraded, are entirely forgotten, and their ministry is held to be a long-established privilege. Evidently a considerable interval separated the Priestly Code from Ezekiel.¹ Numbers

¹ Cf. § 9.
xvi., q.v. (Korah, Dathan, and Abiram), was unknown in its present form to the authors of Deuteronomy xi. 6, Psalm cvi. 17 (post-exilic), who speak of Dathan and Abiram, without Korah. Chronicles is acquainted with the legal institutions, etc. of all the documents of the Hexateuch, and thus affords conclusive evidence that our Pentateuch and Joshua existed, substantially in their present form, before B.C. 300-250.

12. The Linguistic Argument.—A careful examination of the lists in Driver's Introduction, in the articles in Hastings' Bible Dictionary, etc. will show that, not only in subject matter, but also in vocabulary and idiom, Deuteronomy resembles Jeremiah, and P resembles the exilic and post-exilic literature. Thus JE and D agree with the earlier literature in preferring the longer form 'ānōkhtî for the personal pronoun "I," while P agrees with the later literature in preferring the shorter 'ānî.

The use in the Pentateuch (not in Joshua) of forms which elsewhere are exclusively masculine, for both masculine and feminine, is not a proof of antiquity, but due to the fact that the text of the Pentateuch has been treated differently from that of the other books. In some MSS. the usage is found outside the Pentateuch.1

13. Argument from the Mutual Relations of the Documents.—An examination of the documents shows that they are arranged by our theory in the natural order of development, that J and E are the most primitive, H and P the most mature, and that D occupies an intermediate position. Thus J and E take little interest in ritual, which occupies much of the attention of D and H, and is almost the sole interest of P. In J and E any Israelite may be a priest; in D the priesthood is confined to the Levites; in H, the Levites are not named, the priests are the "Sons of Aaron," and the high priest first

1 Driver's Leviticus, pp. 25, 26.
appears;¹ in P the exceptional sanctity and authority of the priests as compared with the Levites, and of the high priest as compared with the priests, are further elaborated and emphasised. Again, as to the slaughter of animals for food and sacrifice, in J and E, animals may be killed, and sacrifices offered anywhere; in D they may be slaughtered anywhere, but only sacrificed at the "place which Jehovah chooses,"² i.e., the Temple. Similarly, as we pass from J and E to D and P, the feasts become more numerous, and are kept for a longer time,³ and with a more precise ritual. So, too, the provision made for the priests and the Temple grows as we pass from J and E, to D, and then to P. J and E provide for firstfruits and firstlings,⁴ and for tithes in connection with the Temple at Bethel.⁵ Deuteronomy defines the tithes, a yearly tithe, to be spent in sacrificing and feasting at the Temple at Jerusalem, and a tithe, to be taken every third year, and given to the poor and the Levites.⁶ The Priestly Code assigns the tithes to the Levites, and a tenth of them to the priests; gives thirty-five cities to the Levites and thirteen to the priests, and also gives to the priests the firstfruits, firstlings, most of the sacrifices and offerings, and a poll-tax of half a shekel.⁷ Many similar illustrations might be given of the way in which the documents taken in the order J and E, D, P present consecutive stages in the natural movement of national life.

Moreover, the literary relationship between the documents

1 No doubt each of the different priesthoods at Jerusalem and elsewhere always had a chief priest as a necessary practical arrangement, but the recognition of the high priesthood, as a special divine institution of exceptional sanctity, first appears in H, unless, indeed, the passages referring to a high priest are among the additions made to H by P.
2 Deut. xvi. 13-15 first directs that Tabernacles shall be observed seven days; P adds an eighth day, Num. xxix. 35. P also introduces the Feast of Trumpets and the Day of Atonement, Lev. xxiii.
3 Gen. xxviii. 22, E.
4 Exodus xxii. 29 f.
6 xx. 11-16; Lev. vii., xxvii.; Num. xv., xviii., xxv.; Joshua xxi.
is in favour of this order.\textsuperscript{1} The numerous parallels between the Book of the Covenant, JE, and D and P (especially H) are best accounted for by supposing that D and P knew JE. The shorter and simpler code in JE cannot be a selection from the larger and more elaborate D and P. The historical retrospects in Deuteronomy are largely a cento of material from JE.\textsuperscript{2}

The parallels between D and P, however, may perhaps be explained by supposing that both D and P used the same earlier material. It is doubtful whether, as a matter purely of literary dependence, it can be shown that P was acquainted with D.\textsuperscript{3}

14. The Judæan Prophetic Document, J.

(a) \textit{Analysis}.—J was compiled from older documents and traditions, which sometimes contradicted each other. From these contradictions J is sometimes\textsuperscript{4} analysed into earlier documents and additions by the compiler of J. Thus J has been separated into an older work J\textsuperscript{1}, c. 850, and other material added c. 650, J\textsuperscript{2}. Thus\textsuperscript{5} the narratives of the Creation and the Fall are given to J\textsuperscript{1}, and that of Cain and Abel to J\textsuperscript{2}.

(b) \textit{Place of Composition}.—The emphasis on the sojournings of Abraham at Hebron, and the interest in Judah in Genesis—according to J, Judah is the firstborn—and similar

\textsuperscript{1} Cf., however, pp. 39 ff. Although the dependence of the other sources on J and E seems absolutely certain, and the relation of D and P to each other and to J and E seems to imply the priority of D, more uncertainty attaches to the application of this piece of evidence than to some others, especially as regards the relation of D to P.

\textsuperscript{2} i. 6–iii. 29, ix. 6–x. 11, \textit{cf.} the tables.—\textsc{Driver's} \textit{Introduction}, pp. 73, 80. Chapters i.–iv., if not part of Josiah's law-book, were added soon after.

\textsuperscript{3} Such acquaintance is shown, however, according to our theory, from other evidence.

\textsuperscript{4} The different elements are denoted by J\textsuperscript{1}, J\textsuperscript{2}, etc.; the editorial matter by J or RJ.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{e.g.}, \textsc{Ball's} Genesis in \textsc{Dr. Paul Haupt's} \textit{Sacred Books of O.T.} and \textit{Polychrome Bible.}
features suggest that J was compiled in Judah. Some, however, have held that J or its original edition was compiled in the northern kingdom.

(c) Date.—Priority to Deuteronomy gives us a date before 621; the earliest possible date would be the final establishment of the Monarchy under David, c. 1000; but the dates assigned to J usually lie between 900 and 650. The religious attitude suggests the period of prophetic activity which began with Elijah, and was later on represented in Judah by the prophets of the eighth century rather than a less advanced age. If J is used throughout Samuel, we have further evidence that the document is later than the events recorded in that book, though it probably contains much older material.


(d) Contents.—J forms a quasi-anecdotal history of Israel and its ancestors from the Creation to the Conquest, perhaps to the death of David. It is found in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy xxxiv., Joshua, Judges, and perhaps Samuel. The editor incorporated some laws, e.g., Exodus xxxiv. 10-27, and ancient lyrics, e.g., the blessing of Jacob, Genesis xlix.

(e) Characteristics.—J uses Jehovah in Genesis, prefers the name Israel for the patriarch, calls the sacred mountain Sinai, and the inhabitants of Palestine Canaanites. He delights in etymologies of personal and place names. J's narratives are graphic, popular, and dramatic; they are told for the interest of the stories. At the same time, the religious sense of the narrator is quick to seize and set forth moral and spiritual teaching, yet not so as to mar the picturesque charm of his prose poems. The theology is primitive in

1 Dillmann, p. 626; Driver, "relatively probable," p. 116; Haupt. 2 Kuenen, p. 230. 3 Probably.
its frank anthropomorphism and other matters, yet somewhat advanced in its deliberate and conscious monotheism and its teaching that suffering is the consequence of sin. As to worship, J speaks of the high places, of sacred trees, without any consciousness of their being illegitimate.

15. The Ephraimitic Prophetic Document, E.

(a) Analysis.—E also has been analysed into various strata, E¹, E², E³, cf. on Date.

(b) Place of Composition.—E, or, at any rate, its original edition E¹, was compiled in the northern kingdom. It is specially interested in Joseph, the ancestor of Ephraim, and in the Ephraimitic hero, Joshua. Reuben, which belonged to the northern kingdom, is the firstborn of Israel. If there is a later stratum E², it probably originated in Judah.

(c) Relative Age of J and E.—J is usually¹ regarded as the older. Its anthropomorphism and its theology generally seem the more primitive, while E's theory of the origin and meaning of the name Jehovah,² its avoidance of that name in Genesis, its conception of Abraham as a prophet, and its use of earlier works, such as the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, point to a somewhat advanced stage of religious reflection on custom and tradition. A few scholars, however, regard E as the earlier.³ Some again hold that E used J or J¹.⁴ If the analysis of J and E into strata is accepted, the problem of priority becomes very complicated. But we may say that primitive elements are more conspicuous in J, and later developments in E.

(d) Date.—As an Ephraimitic work, E, or at any rate its original edition E¹, must have been compiled some time before the Fall of Samaria, 721, i.e., not later than 750; and if it is later than J, and refers to Elisha, it cannot be

¹ Cornill, J¹, Kautzsch, Kuenen.
² Exodus iii. 14, 15.
³ Dillmann, etc. Some of the passages cited by him as evidence of the late date of J are referred by others to J² or RJ⁶.
⁴ Kuenen, p. 248.
much earlier. Similar considerations to those which affect J have led most critics to date E, or E', between 850 and 750.


(e) Contents.—E is a history of Israel, similar to, but more systematic than J, beginning with the incident of Abraham and Abimelech in Genesis xx., and extending certainly to the close of Joshua, and perhaps as far as the Elisha narratives in Kings. It also incorporates ancient poems, e.g., some of the Balaam oracles, and laws, e.g., the Book of the Covenant.

(f) Characteristics.—E partially agrees with J in the following points: Its narratives still show a popular interest in the story as a story, but there are more formal and obvious signs of didactic purpose; according to E, also, high places and sacred trees were a legitimate feature of Israelite religion. But E uses Elohim (in Genesis), not Jehovah; Jacob rather than Israel; Horeb, not Sinai; Amorites, not Canaanites. The sacred pillar, or mafeba, occurs frequently in his narrative. Anthropomorphism, if not entirely absent, is far less marked than in J. God reveals Himself in dreams, or through angels; He acts through them, or by means, like Moses' rod, which do not attribute to Him ordinary human acts, such as the walking, sewing, shutting of a door, etc., found in J. In other ways, too, the conscious formulating of religious truth seems more advanced, e.g., the express condemnation of idolatry is constantly in the writer's mind: Jacob buries the family idols; 2 the first commandment forbids the making of idols; 3 Joshua induces the people to put away their idols. 4 If the Book of the Covenant and connected sections were included by E in his work, it shows a more direct interest in social order than J.

1 Probably, cf. on Num. xxiii. f.; Exodus xx. ff.
2 Gen. xxxv. 4.
3 Exodus xx. 3.
16. The Combined Prophetic Document, JE.

(a) Analysis.—The combination of J and E was a process the work of a school; but it is no longer possible to distinguish its stages.

(b) Place of Composition.—Judah.

(c) Date.—This process is, of course, later than the last editions of J and E, used in the compilation, i.e., probably after 650. It is difficult to fix the later limit, J and E seem to have been known separately to D¹, and can perhaps be traced later; but it does not follow that JE was compiled after D¹. At first, especially amongst the more conservative, the older separate works would retain their authority, while JE was ignored as a modern innovation. Some passages assigned to RJE, the editor who combined J and E, are so much in the style of the Deuteronomic editors, D² or RD, that it is often difficult to say whether a passage belongs to RJE or RD. Hence it has been suggested that RD and RJE are identical, i.e., that two stages of the development, J + E = JE, JE + D = JED, may be replaced by the single stage J + E + D. But the close interweaving of J and E, and the ease with which D can be separated from them, negative this view. The resemblance shows that J and E were combined during the period dominated by the influence of Deuteronomy. Yet, in spite of resemblances, JE is comparatively independent of D¹, and has by no means broken loose from the primitive ideas of religion and history to the same extent as D². The combined document JED was probably compiled during the Exile. Hence a pre-exilic date, 650–586, seems suitable for JE.

JE is dated: Cornill, 650–621; Driver, p. 109, about the eighth century; Haupt, c. 640; Kautzsch, c. 650; Kuenen, p. 249, "close of the seventh or opening of the sixth century"; Skinner, p. lvi. 621–586.

(d) Method of Combination.—It is possible that RJE used other documents besides J and E. Which editor first included in his work any given lyric, or other section not an integral part of the main sources, is often very difficult to determine.
R\textsuperscript{JR} combined his materials with great care and skill, so that it is often quite impossible to disentangle them with any confidence. The way in which P and J are combined in the account of the Flood also illustrates the combination of J and E, except that the latter are the more ingeniously and intricately interwoven. R\textsuperscript{JR}'s general principle was to make up his narrative of sections taken unaltered from the sources, but much has clearly been omitted. It is seldom that a narrative can be resolved into two parallel accounts, each complete in itself. Where the sources were virtually identical, repetition has been avoided by omitting material from one of them. Much has probably been cut out that seemed unedifying in the light of the fuller revelation of the Deuteronomic age. Moreover, there are additions; in piecing together the documents, connecting phrases were often necessary, and the redactor has modified and inserted to suit the ideas and teaching of his times. There is a certain amount of material clearly not Deuteronomic, and more closely united with J and E passages than the Deuteronomic additions usually are, and yet more akin to Deuteronomy than to the more primitive J and E. Such additions are probably R\textsuperscript{JR}, though perhaps some of them might be assigned with equal reason to the final editors of J and E. Of course, R\textsuperscript{JR} was not careful to see that editorial insertions in J were in J's style, and in E in E's style, but sometimes uses J words and phrases in his additions to E passages, and \textit{vice versa}. Hence the work of this editor has seriously added to the difficulty of separating J and E, and also accounts for the sporadic occurrence of J characteristics in sections clearly belonging to E, and \textit{vice versa}.

17. Deuteronomic Material, D.

(a) Analysis.—The contents of Josiah's law-book are denoted by D or D\textsuperscript{1}, and the later additions to this document, and the insertions in Joshua, Kings, etc. made by editors writing in the style and spirit of D, are denoted by R\textsuperscript{D}, D\textsuperscript{2}, D\textsuperscript{3}, etc.
(b) Place of Composition.—The earlier portions were composed in Judah, the later in Babylonia.

(c) Date.—Josiah's law-book was composed some time before its publication in 621, and some time after J and E, upon which it is dependent, and also after the prophets of the eighth century. The latter know nothing of Deuteronomy, while Deuteronomy gives practical effect to their attack on the high places by limiting sacrifice to the Temple. Further, the attempt to give exclusive rights to a single sanctuary is more probable after the fall of the northern kingdom. The Temple might serve the small area of the southern kingdom. Thus everything points to a date between 722 and 621. The anti-prophetic policy of Manasseh and the almost entire absence of literature belonging to his reign, c. 698–643, would account for the lack of any traces of the existence of Deuteronomy between 700–621.


D2, etc., i.e., the additions made to D1 in Deuteronomy, and the insertions by Deuteronomic editors in Joshua–Kings belong substantially to the period between 621 and the close of the Exile. In the Deuteronomic edition of the Book of Kings,1 the last event mentioned is the release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach in 561. The post-exilic additions to Joshua–Kings mostly bear the stamp of P, not of D. Chronicles, naturally, contains material borrowed from or in imitation of Deuteronomy.

D2 is dated thus: Cornill, Second Half of Exile; Haupt, 560–540; Kautzsch, 561–538

(d) Contents.—D1 certainly contained Deuteronomy xii.–xxvi., probably v.–xi. and xxviii., less probably i.–iv.2 To

1 i.e., our present book.
2 As to these passages see § 27 on Deuteronomy. Later editorial insertions are not taken into account.
D² are assigned all of Deuteronomy i.–xxx. which does not belong to D¹, a very small amount of material in Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Samuel, and considerable portions of Joshua, Judges, and Kings.¹

(e) Characteristics.—The Deuteronomic writers compose codes, exhortations to obedience; they provide earlier history with chronological framework and religious comment; only in Kings do they themselves write history. The historical retrospects in Deuteronomy are mere abstracts from JE, and are only introduced as a setting for the laws and exhortations. The Deuteronomic narratives in Joshua merely adapt JE to the Deuteronomic theory of the history that Joshua carefully observed the Law of Moses, i.e., Deuteronomy, and completely conquered Canaan, and cleared it of its inhabitants.

D, like E, uses the names Amorite and Horeb. Favourite phrases are “God of Israel,” “Thy God,” also perhaps found in R². Its main theme is the purification of worship by the suppression of the high places, by making the Temple the only sanctuary of Jehovah, and by doing away with idols, mæebebas, and all the paraphernalia of superstition. But it also enacts laws in favour of the social equity and benevolence inculcated by the prophets, and formally recognises the prophetic order.

18. The Deuteronomic History and Laws of Israel, JED.

(a) Analysis.—D², considered in the previous section, might be divided into: (i.) additions made to D² before it was combined with JE; (ii.) additions made to JE and D in the process of combination; (iii.) additions made to the threefold work JED after the combination had been effected. R³ is often appropriately used alike for (ii.), and for the Deuteronomic editor who inserted (ii.).² R³, like

¹ D² is used here for all Deuteronomic material later than D¹.
² (i.), (ii.), (iii.) can only be distinguished rarely and partially, so that R³ and D² are often used as equivalent.
R

stands for a school and a process, but the different stages and hands are only very imperfectly determined.

(b) **Place of Composition.** Babylonia.

(c) **Date.**—The Exile.

(d) **Scope and Method.**—The portion of JE extending from the Creation to the close of Numbers was only slightly modified by R

. At this point he inserted the Deuteronomic Code and its connected exhortations. Possibly the Book of the Covenant originally occupied the place of Deuteronomy, and was transferred by R

 to its present position in the account of the sojourn at Sinai. Another interesting suggestion is that for a time two editions of Deuteronomy were current, one consisting of xii.–xxvi. with v.–xi. for an introduction, and the other of xii.–xxvi. with i. i–iv. 40 for an introduction. If so, part of R

's work was the fusion of these two editions. He also added to D other material, either his own or borrowed. He dealt very freely with Joshua, providing it with an ample framework which gave a view of the history very different from that of JE. But, at the same time, he retained so much of JE unaltered, that JE's view is still plain, namely, that the land was only partially conquered, and that the inhabitants were not extirpated.

It is not certain that the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings should be reckoned as entirely one with that of JED. If JE extended to the times of Elisha, it seems probable that it was. If the documentary connection between the Hexateuch and these later books is confined to the use of J in Judges i., it seems more likely that the editing of JED and that of the Deuteronomic editions of Judges–Kings were two independent pieces of work, though carried out by the same school. Even in this latter case R

 is a sufficiently elastic symbol to be used for the

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1 Cf. (b), (c) of previous section. **Kuenen**, pp. 270 f., admits that R

 may be post-exilic, but regards an exilic date as more probable.

2 **Kuenen**, p. 258.

3 Here and elsewhere, Judges–Kings does not include Ruth.
editor of Judges–Kings and for his insertions, etc. In Judges and Kings he supplies a framework and religious comments; his contributions in Samuel are much slighter.

R may also have omitted portions of JE as unedifying, may possibly have had access to the separate J and E, and restored sections omitted by R. Possibly, too, R is responsible for the insertion of some of the poems.

19. The Law of Holiness, H or P.

(a) Analysis and Contents.—In addition to Leviticus xvii.–xxvi., portions of Leviticus xi., etc. have been assigned to H. This document was a compilation from older codes, and either H or some of its sources seems to have been dependent on the Book of the Covenant. H, as we now have it, contains additions made by the editor who incorporated it in the Priestly Code, and perhaps by others.

(b) Date and Place of Composition.—H has points of contact both with D and the Priestly Code, but is very closely connected with Ezekiel xl.–xlviii. Though not composed by that prophet, it probably emanated from the priestly circle to which he belonged. Like Ezekiel xl.–xlviii., it forms an intermediate stage between D and the Priestly Code, and was compiled in Babylonia during the Exile. Its sources were pre-exilic, and may be in part older than D.

H or P is dated: Cornill, second half of the Exile; Driver, pp. 138, 143, shortly before the Exile, H was known by Ezekiel; Haupt, Sacred Books of O.T., 570; Holzinger, pp. 447 f., immediately after the Exile, in Babylonia; Kautzsch, c. 561; Kuenen, p. 276, towards the end of the Exile.

(c) Characteristics.—H seeks to secure that Israel shall be “holy,” i.e., that condition and conduct shall be worthy of the people’s unique relation to Jehovah. It therefore lays down rules for ceremonial purity and moral life. Its keynote is the root QDSḥ underlying the Hebrew words translated “holy,” “holiness,” “sanctity.” These words
occur with special frequency in H, and the reason for demanding "holiness" is again and again expressed in the phrases, "I am Jehovah," "I am Jehovah, your God," etc., and is expressed fully in Leviticus xi. 45, "I am Jehovah, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt, that I might be your God; ye shall therefore be holy, for I am holy." H agrees with D¹ against P²: (i.) in making no mention of the inferior order of the priestly tribe—the Levites; (ii.) in insisting, expressly and with great emphasis, on the limitation of sacrifice to a single sanctuary, which P² takes for granted; (iii.) in legislating expressly for the people settled in Canaan.

Although the headings connect H with Moses and Sinai, there is no attempt, as in P², to write from the standpoint of the camp in the wilderness. Thus Leviticus xxv. 29, "If a man sell a dwelling-house in a walled city," cf. Deuteronomy xxii. 8, "When thou buildest a new house, then thou shalt make a battlement for thy roof." Both passages take for granted city-life in Palestine. In parts D¹ writes as if on the eve of the conquest, but takes no trouble to maintain this standpoint.

But H agrees with P², against D¹, in its interest in manifold details concerning sacred acts, persons, places, times, and instruments, i.e., those specially connected with the external observances of religion.

20. The Priestly Code, P, incorporating the Law of Holiness, H.

(a) Analysis.—P is commonly used for the whole of the composite document, which includes (i.) H or P¹; (ii.) the Priestly Code proper, or P²; (iii.) later additions, P³ or P⁴. As P² itself is partly based on earlier documents, it is often difficult to say whether a particular passage which seems earlier than the time of compilation of P² belongs to one of the sources of P², or to H.

(b) Mode of Composition.—It is commonly held that P² was composed independently of H, and that the two were subsequently united. Possibly, however, the author of P²
made H the nucleus of his work.\(^1\) Additions were further made to H + P\(^a\) by later writers, and also, of course, by the editor who combined them.

(c) Date and Place of Composition.\(^2\)—P\(^a\) was composed in Babylonia after the Exile and before the mission of Ezra to Jerusalem in 458; after the Exile, because there are no traces of its special characteristics in history or literature before this period, and because it marks an advance on Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and H; before Ezra’s mission, because it is part of the Law promulgated by him.\(^3\) H and P\(^a\) were also combined in Babylonia before 458, as H seems to have formed part of the Law promulgated by him in 444, and it seems scarcely likely that he combined H and P\(^a\) between 458 and 444. It is a natural supposition that Ezra was either the author of P\(^a\), or the editor who combined H and P\(^a\); but it is nothing more.\(^4\) Later additions to P as a separate work must have been made in Judah between 444 and 400.

According to Addis, I., lxxxiii., P\(^a\) about the time of Ezra; Cornill, P\(^a\) c. 500, union of P\(^1\) and P\(^a\) before 458; Driver, p. 129, P\(^a\) “belongs approximately to the period of the Babylonian captivity”; Haupt, P\(^a\) c. 500; Holzinger, p. 442, P\(^a\) the very beginning of the fifth century at latest, p. 453, H and P\(^a\) united in Babylonia, before 458; Ezra had no hand either in the compilation of P\(^a\), or in its union with H; Kautsch, P\(^a\) c. 500, united with H, c. 458; Kuenen, p. 303 f., P\(^a\) 500-475; Gray, Num., p. xxxi.; P\(^\&\) (P\(^b\)), c. 500; Skinner, p. lxiv., 621-444.

(d) Contents.—P is a code in the form of a constitutional history of Israel; a collection of laws and precedents, with the circumstances under which they were instituted. It begins with the Sabbath, as sanctioned by the example of God at the

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\(^1\) I have not noticed this suggestion elsewhere, but it is so obvious that it must have been made before, and set aside on account of the many difficulties it involves. It does not seem, however, out of the range of possibility.

\(^2\) For H see previous section.

\(^3\) Cf. §§ 8–13.

\(^4\) We can scarcely suppose with MEYER, Entstehung, etc., that the phrase, “scribe (sopher) of the Law,” is intended to mean “author of the Law.”
THE PRIESTLY CODE

Creation, and follows the course of events to the division of Canaan amongst the tribes by Joshua. It includes a large part of Genesis, the greater part of Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua xiii.—xxii., all Leviticus, and a few verses at the close of Deuteronomy and in Joshua i.—xi.

In Judges—Kings there are a small series of passages written under the influence of P, while Chronicles might be described as the priestly substitute for Joshua—Kings.

(e) Characteristics.¹—There is a large number of words, phrases, and idioms found only or chiefly in P, or in P and Ezekiel and post-exilic literature.

P, often like Haggai and Zechariah, denotes the months by numbers instead of names; it follows the post-exilic usage of writing 'dnt almost always for “I,” whereas in pre-exilic works 'ānōkht is as common or commoner, so in JE. 'Edd, in the sense of assembly, is almost, if not entirely, confined to P and post-exilic writers; 'ēduth, testimony, of the tables of the Law, occurs only in P, etc.; cf. table in Driver, pp. 123 ff.

It is fond of repeating the same formulæ again and again in the same or successive sections, and has all the technical verbosity of legal documents.

Thus in Genesis i., “Evening and morning were the —th day,” “And God saw that it was good,” etc.; in Genesis v., “And — lived — years and begat —” etc.; in Numbers vii., “On the — day —: his oblation was,” etc.; but cf. Amos i.

P² gives the laws with the circumstances of their origin, and with an account of the first instances of their observance. Thus, as the laws for the high priesthood are regarded as resting on the authority of Moses, they are given as addressed to Aaron, and we are told how they were carried out in the first instance by Aaron. In the same way the laws for the Temple and its furniture are given as addressed to the Israelites in the wilderness by Moses, and we are told how they were obeyed in the construction of the Tabernacle. All this represents a bonâ fide belief that the principles of the laws for the priesthood and the Temple were Mosaic, and that

¹ Cf. § 20.
the period immediately after the Exodus furnished precedents for some such laws. $P^2$ considers each law, etc. as an entirely new revelation at the time at which it is recorded. Thus in Exodus vi. 2–12 the Divine Name, Jehovah, is a new revelation; consequently it is never used in Genesis. Again sacrifices, the distinction of clean and unclean animals and meats, etc. were new revelations, and unknown before Moses. Hence in $P$ the patriarchs do not sacrifice, although they do in JE; and $P$'s account of the Flood ignores the distinction made by $J$ between clean and unclean animals.

$P$ follows $J$ in speaking of the mount of the Law as Sinai. While $P^2$ shares with $H$ and Ezekiel their interest in the buildings, furniture, services, and priesthood of the Temple, and in ceremonial observances generally, it introduces several new features, e.g., the distinction between priests and Levites, and the Day of Atonement, which is completion of a system of graduated sanctity, reaching its climax in a single point, temporal sanctity in the Day of Atonement, local sanctity in the Holy of Holies, personal sanctity in the high priest. $P^2$ takes the greatest pains to avoid anthropomorphism. Further, $P^2$ closely resembles Chronicles in its love of system and statistics; it provides the Pentateuch with a complete and consecutive chronology and set of genealogies, and gives in detail the specifications of the Ark and the Tabernacle.

21. The Completion of the Pentateuch, and the earlier Historical Books.

(a) Form of $JED$ and $P$ before Combination.—If JE only extended to the death of Joshua, then JED and the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings were separate from the beginning, and there is no reason why a Deuteronomic editor

1 A development from Ezekiel xlv. 10–16. In Ezekiel the status of the Levites is a degradation, newly ordained on account of their share in the corrupt worship of the high places; in $P^2$ the status is an old-established privilege.

2 Leviticus xvi., also a development from Ezekiel xlv. 18–20, who appoints two similar days.
should have separated the Joshua sections from the rest of JED. But if JE extended to the times of Elisha, JED might include the whole Deuteronomic history, as a single work from the Creation to the fall of the Monarchy. This long book would naturally be divided into sections, and the death of Moses would be a suitable close for the first of these.

Again P extended to the death of Joshua, but since it was promulgated as the Law of Moses,\(^1\) the Joshua sections may have been separated before the promulgation.

Thus, when RP\(^2\) set to work to combine JED and P, either (i.) the Joshua sections had already been separated from either or both documents; or (ii.) both documents still included the Joshua sections, and JED may have also contained the Deuteronomic edition of Judges–Kings.

(b) Method.—If the Joshua sections had already been severed from JED and P, the Pentateuchal sections could be at once combined, and the result would be substantially our Pentateuch. Otherwise RP himself may have separated the Joshua sections from either or both of his documents; or he may have combined JED and P, both containing Joshua sections, thus compiling the Hexateuch.

RP used P as a framework, into which he fitted the sections of JED. He probably omitted parts of JED, and perhaps restored\(^3\) passages omitted by RP or R\(^{JR}\). Otherwise he combined his material in the same way as R\(^{JR}\), RP. An example of his method has already been given in § 5.

If RP's work was the Hexateuch, Joshua was separated from the Pentateuch somewhat later. It seems more likely that Joshua was compiled from the Joshua sections of JED and P by another editor, who made JED the framework.

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1 Assuming that the description of the Code in Ezra–Nehemiah as the Law of Moses is not—as in the account of Josiah's reforms in Chronicles—merely due to the chronicler.

2 RP = the editor, who, writing under the influence of P, added P to JED.

3 J, E, and JE probably continued to exist as separate works after their contents were included in JE and JED.
In Judges–Kings the priestly editors had no complete parallel priestly history to combine with the Deuteronomic history. These books as we have them are substantially the work of the Deuteronomic editors; the priestly editors added comparatively little, and that little consists chiefly of small changes and insertions. The real priestly version of the history is Chronicles. Also some further additions were made to the Pentateuch after JED and P were combined. The final stage was the division of the Pentateuch into five books.

(c) Date and Place of Composition.—It has sometimes been supposed that Ezra’s law-book was the complete Pentateuch which had been compiled in Babylonia before 458. But the reading and exposition of the Pentateuch would scarcely have been accomplished even in the eight days devoted to Ezra’s law-book, and it would have severely taxed the ingenuity of the Levites to explain orally the many contradictions, obscurities, and abrupt transitions of the Pentateuch. The Priestly Code, even including H, was a fairly consecutive and consistent work, which lent itself to such treatment.

Hence the combination of JED and P was probably somewhat later than the promulgation of P in 444. It is usually dated about 400.¹ There was every reason for amalgamating the two works at once. Side by side, as separate books, they seemed to compete for the title of Law of Moses; their combination prevented any such controversy.

The work of the other priestly editors—the severance or formation of Joshua, the priestly additions to Judges–Kings, the further additions to the Pentateuch—lies between 400 and 300, the date at which external evidence² shows the complete Pentateuch to have been in existence. Somewhere about this time the Pentateuch was divided into five books.

Even after this we know from the LXX. and the history of the LXX. text that a number of small changes were made

¹ Kuenen, p. 303 f., Cornill, Kautzsch; Skinner, lxvi., after 444.
² Cf. chap. i. § 2.
in the Pentateuch and the historical books, but we have now reached a point at which the work of the editor can no longer be distinguished from that of the copyist, and higher passes into textual criticism.

The Pentateuch, in its final form, was called the Law, תּוֹרָה, and later, "the five-fifths of the Law."¹ The title "Pentateuch" or "five-volumed" was given to it by Greek writers, from whom it passed into Latin and other languages.

22. Mosaic Material in the Pentateuch.—We have seen that all the main documents rest on older sources, and that those used by D and P are not confined to J and E. It seems extremely probable, if not certain, that these earlier sources contained matter which originated with, or received the sanction of Moses. Even where a law as it stands was clearly addressed to the Israelites of the Monarchy, it may be an adaptation or translation, so to speak, of a Mosaic law to suit the needs of later times, an application of a principle laid down originally by Moses. A Mosaic element in the Pentateuch is as probable as Davidic poems in the Psalter; but in both cases we have no criteria which enable us to identify this element with any definiteness or certainty. Many Israelites, at certain periods, regarded Moses much as Christians regard Christ, as the supreme authority for religious truth. All that was implied by or deduced from the teaching of Moses was held to be Mosaic, just as we call all that is implied by or deduced from the teaching of Christ, Christian. The usage is natural and justifiable in both cases. Moses' position in Israelite religion was, of course, only similar, and not strictly parallel to the relation of Christ to Christianity; yet the Pentateuch is Mosaic as the final product of a process which owed its first impulse, its direction and character to Moses.

¹ הָמִשׁוֹשֵׁה הָמֶשֶׁה הָטָּהֲרָה.
23. Genesis.

(a) Title.—In the Hebrew Bereshith, "In the beginning," i.e., the opening word of the book; in the LXX. and Vulg., and from them in other versions, Genesis "origin," because it describes the origin of the world.

(b) Contents and Archaeology.—i. 1–ii. 4a, P's account of the Creation, as the Institution of the Sabbath. ii. 4b–25, J’s account of the Creation, "God" = R, in "Lord God."

Narratives of the Creation, mostly with some parallels to the above, are found amongst most races; but naturally the closest parallels are found amongst the Semites. Parallel to P, we have the Assyrian and Babylonian narrative preserved on seven (?) tablets. The Creation starts from chaos and proceeds by stages, presenting similarities of language and ideas with Genesis i., but loses itself in a contest between Merodach and Tiamat, and gives full play to polytheist mythology. A parallel to the Sabbath has been seen in the fact that amongst the Assyrians certain acts were forbidden on the 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th of each month.

J’s account shows traces of being based on ancient Semitic tradition, but no close parallel to it has yet been published.


The elements in the story of the Fall—supernatural serpents; forbidden food, the eating of which brings disaster; and sacred trees—are familiar features of all folklore. The sacred tree and the demon serpent figure constantly, but for the most part separately, on Assyrian monuments and gems. It is doubtful, however, whether the colossal winged Assyrian bulls with human faces were called Kiruba; and, even if they were, whether they are connected with the Cherubim. There are Phoenician sculptures which show griffins guarding a sacred tree. There seems no real parallel to the Fall, the resemblance between the Babylonian legend of Adapa, the progenitor of mankind, and Genesis iii. being probably fortuitous. Adapa forfeits immortality by following advice to avoid eating certain food.

The names in the genealogies are sometimes identified with those of Babylonian gods.

v., P; except 29 = J. The Sethite genealogy, Seth to Noah. Enoch.

1 Records of the Past, New Series, i. 122 ff. (cf. 147 ff.), also preserved by Berosus; cf. the Non-Semitic account vi. 109, which has points of contact with P.

2 Tiamat; cf. the tehôm, EV. "deep."

3 DAVIS, Gen., etc., p. 25.
The genealogy Kenan to Lamech is another version of the Cainite genealogy Cain to Lamech. The numbers differ considerably in the Hebrew, the Sam. Pent., and the LXX.

vi. 1-4, J, The Marriage of the "Sons of God," angels, to the daughters of men. vi. 5-viii., P; except vi. 5-8; vii. 1-5, 7-10, 12, 16b, 17, 22 f.; viii. 2b, 3a, 6-12, 13b, 20-22 = J. The Flood.

The Babylonian epic on the adventures of Gilgames contains an episode, in which Xisuthros tells how he escaped the Flood. The god Ea warned him that the other gods were about to send a Flood, and bade him build a ship. Xisuthros did so, dimensions, etc., are given; it was pitched, etc., and had storeys and a window. Xisuthros brought in his family, slaves, and cattle. The Flood came, lasted seven days, and drowned all mankind except those in the ship. The ship grounded on a mountain. Xisuthros sent out in succession a dove, a swallow, and a raven. The dove and the swallow came back, but the raven waded. When Xisuthros saw this, he left the ship with the rest, built an altar, and offered sacrifice. The gods smell the sweet savour, and swarm like flies to the sacrifice. Those who sent the Flood are angry because some have escaped, but Ea pacifies them, and Xisuthros and his wife are rendered immortal.

This account has some features in common with P, some with J. A fragment of a different Babylonian version has been found; and another version was preserved by Berosus. ¹ Traditions of great floods are also found amongst most races.

ix. 1-17, P, The Rainbow.

In the Babylonian Deluge story allusion is made to "the bow of Ishtar," which may be the rainbow.

ix. 18-27, J, Curse of Canaan.

ix. 28-x., P; except x. 8-19, 21, 25-30 = J. Noah's Descendants.

xi. 1-9, J, Tower of Babel.

xi. 10-26, P, Genealogy from Shem to Terah.

xi. 27-xii., J; except xi. 27, 31 f., xii. 4b, 5, xiii. 6, 11b = P, Abram and Lot, Migration to Canaan, Visit to Egypt, Separation.

xiv., Unknown Source, Abram and Melchizedek.

The inscriptions show that most, if not all the names in verse 1 are those of actual places and persons; that Babylonia and other powers to

¹ SCHRADER, Cuneiform Inscr., etc., Eng. Trans., i. 53, Records of the Past.
the east of Syria had dealings with Palestine in very early times, earlier than any date which might be fixed for Abraham; and that Elam was supreme in Western Asia at a period which might very well coincide with that of Abraham. But the inscriptions do not mention Abraham or Melchizedek, or any campaign which can be that of this chapter. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets show that Jerusalem was known as Uru-salim about B.C. 1300-1400. In a letter to the King of Egypt, the King of Jerusalem writes, "Neither my father nor my mother appointed me in this place. The strong arm of the king inaugurated me in my father's territory," a curious coincidence with the "without father, without mother" of Hebrews—nothing more. See Appendix B.

Differences of style, etc., show that this chapter stands alone, and does not belong to any of the main documents of the Hexateuch. It has no connection with any context either in P or J; this fact, and certain peculiarities of style show that it was inserted by a late editor, after the combination of JED and P; but the chapter may be based on an ancient narrative, or it may have been compiled in Babylon during or after the Exile, on the basis of those ancient archives, then complete and well known, whose fragmentary relics alone are now available. Verses 18-20 may be an interpolation. It is curious that the number, 318, of Abram's slaves, in verse 14, is the sum of the numerical values of the consonants of Eliezer, xv. 2, etc., the only male slave of his mentioned by name.

xv., JE, Promise to Abram of an heir whose seed shall inherit Canaan.

xvi., J; except 1a, 3, 15 f. = P, Birth of Ishmael.

xvii., P, Institution of Circumcision.

xviii. f., J; except xix. 29 = P, Promise of Isaac, Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot.

xx. ff., E; except xxi. 1-5 = P *; xxi. 6b, 7, 33; xxii. 20-24 = J; xx. 18, xxii. 14-18 = R †, Abraham, Sarah, and Abimelech, Birth of Isaac, Sending away of Hagar and Ishmael, Sacrifice of Isaac.

xxiii., P, Death of Sarah, Precedent as to sale of land.

xxiv., J, Eliezer, Rebecca, and Isaac.

xxv. 1-18, P; except 1-6, 11b, 18 = JE, Death and descendants of Abraham and Ishmael.

xxv. 19-34, J; except 19 f., 26b = P, Birth of Esau and Jacob, Birthright sold.

xxvi. 1-33, J; except 1-5 (parts of), 15, 18 = R †, Isaac and Abimelech.

xxvi. 34, 35, P, Esau's Wives.

1 Winckler, p. 303. * Mostly; so elsewhere.
xxvii. f., JE; except xxvii. 46-xxviii. 9 = P, Blessing of Jacob and Esau, Esau's Wives, Jacob's Flight, His Dream at Bethel.
xxix. i-xxxii. i, JE; except xxix. 24, 28b, 29, xxxi. 18* = P, Jacob and Laban.
xxxii. 2-xxxiii., JE; except xxxii. 18a = P, Jacob and Esau.
xxxiv. (constructed on a J basis by a later, probably priestly, writer), Dinah, Sack of Shechem.
xxxv. 1-22a, E; except 9-13, 15 = P, 21, 22a = J, Jacob at Bethel, Death of Deborah and Rachel.
xxxvi. 22b-xxxvii. i, P; except xxxvi. 31-39 = J, Family of Jacob, Death of Isaac, Descendants of Esau, Princes of Edom.
xxxvii. 2-36, JE; except 2a = P, Joseph and his Brethren.
xxxviii., J, Judah and Tamar.
xxxix.-xlvi., JE; except xlii. 46, xlvii. 6-27, xlvii. 5b, 6a, 7-11, 27f., xlviii. 3-7 = P, Joseph in Egypt, Brethren and Jacob come thither.

Egyptian papyri give a story in which an elder brother, his wife, and a younger brother play the parts of Potiphar, his wife, and Joseph.

xlix. 1-21, The Blessing of Jacob.

An ancient lyric incorporated either by J or R^{RB}. According to Skinner, Gen. p. 511, a "traditional document, altered and supplemented as it was handed down from one generation to another, portions (Reuben, Simeon, Levi) older than the Song of Deborah; others (Dan, Issachar, Benjamin) before the Monarchy; the Judah section implies the monarchy." There is no hint that Levi is a sacerdotal tribe, hence the Blessing was completed before 621. Verse 28 = R.

Addis, 878-857, J; Cornill, after Jeroboam, before 850, J; Dillmann and Driver, p. 17, Reign of David or Solomon, J; Kautzsch, Reign of David; Kuenen, p. 240, tenth or ninth century; Gunckel, c. 1000-950.

xlix. 29-1., J; except xlix 29-33, l. 12f. = P; l. 15-26 = E, Death of Jacob and Joseph.

(c) Use in N.T.—Chapter ii. 24 is used by our Lord to enforce the sanctity of marriage (Matt. xix. 5), and by St. Paul, in Eph. v. 31, as a reason for conjugal affection and a symbol of the relation of Christ and the Church, and, in 1 Cor. vi. 16, to show the heinousness of fornication. Chapter xv. 6,
Abraham's faith is used in Rom. iv. 3, Gal. iii. 6, Jas. ii. 23. There are other quotations and numerous references to the history, especially to show that the promises made to the patriarchs are fulfilled in Christ, and that the freedom of God's election is illustrated by the choice of Jacob rather than Esau.

24. Exodus.

(a) Title.—In the Hebrew Bible, We'el-leh Shemoth, from the opening words; LXX., Vulg., and other versions, Exodus, as narrating the departure of the Israelites from Egypt.

(b) Archaeology.—No reference has yet been found to the Exodus in the monuments. From considerations as to where it would best fit in to what we know of Egyptian history, the Exodus has been placed in various periods, and numerous Egyptian kings have figured at different times as the Pharaohs of the Oppression or the Exodus. Attempts are also made to combine the Biblical chronology, which, however, affords no clear or certain data, with that of Egypt, which is also only approximately known. The results are naturally unsatisfactory. Popular handbooks often refer to Rameses II., c. 1300, as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son and successor, Merenptah II., as the Pharaoh of the Exodus.¹ But this is only one of many possible theories, and the discovery of an inscription of Merenptah's, in which he claims to have subdued Israelites in Syria, renders it less probable than some others.

(c) Contents.

i., JE; except i.-7 = P, Oppression in Egypt.

ii. 1-22, JE, Youth of Moses.

ii. 23-27, JE; except ii. 23 ff., vi. 2-27 = P, Call of Moses, Mission of Moses and Aaron to the Israelites and Pharaoh, Genealogy of Moses and Aaron.

vi. 28-xi. (xii. 29 f., JE), JE; except vi. 28 ff., vii. 1-13, 19-22; viii. 1-3, 12-15, ix. 8-12, xi. 9 f. = P, Ten Plagues.

¹ So SAYCE, Higher Criticism, pp. 237 ff., mainly because Rameses II. is known from Egyptian inscriptions to have built Pithom. (Exodus i. 11.)
EXODUS

xii. i–xiii. 16, P; except xii. 29–39, 42 = JE; xii. 21–27,
xiii. 3–16 = RD, Institution of Passover.

xiii. 17–xv. 21, JE; except xiii. 20, xiv. 1–4, 8f., 15–18,

xv. 1–19, Moses' Song of Triumph; a lyric inserted by E
or RJE. It is later than the Conquest, 17, but may rest on a
more ancient, possibly even Mosaic basis.

xv. 20–xvii., JE; except xvi. 1–3, 6–24,* 31–36, xvii. 1* =
P, Marah, Manna, Quails, Water from the Rock at Massah–
Meribah, Amalek.

For the Quails, here P, cf. the fuller story in Numbers xi., J; for the

xviii., E, traces of J or RJE in 1f., 9ff., Jethro.

xix. i–xx. 21, JE; except 1, 2a = P, and traces, 6, etc., of RD or
P in xx. 2–17, The Ten Commandments given from Sinai.

The Decalogue, xx. 2–17, is generally held to have been incorporated in
E; but the substance is older than E, and may have been taken from the
tables of stone in the Ark. Addis dates the Decalogue in the eighth or

From xix. i onwards, the scene of the rest of Exodus, the whole of
Leviticus, and Numbers i. 1–x. 10 is SINAI.


The Book of the Covenant, cf. §§ 4–16, is generally held to have been
incorporated in E, or possibly by RJE in JE; it was edited in various ways
before and at the time of its incorporation. It is an ancient code of social
law and ritual, probably not older than the monarchy, but at least as old
as the earliest editions of J and E. Many of the laws it contains may be
much older still. It contains close parallels with the Code of Ham-

xxiii. 20–33, E; except 22b–25a, 31b–33 (against intercourse
with the Canaanites) = RD, Promises of Blessing if the Law is
observed.

xxiv. 1ff., 9ff., J (or E1), Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, etc.,
see Jehovah.

xxiv. 3–8, RJE (or E or E1), Covenant, with sacrifice, to
observe the Book of the Covenant.

xxiv. 12ff. (18a3b, xxxi. 18b), E (or E1 or E2), Moses in the
Mountain forty days.
xxiv. 15–xxxi., P; except xxiv. 18a ββ, xxxi. 18b = E, Moses in the Mountain, receives instructions for the Tabernacle and its appurtenances, and for the vestments and consecration of the priests, Aaron and his sons.

xxxii.–xxxiii., JE, Golden Calf.

xxxiv. 1–28, J, with editorial additions, a code parallel to E's Decalogue and Book of the Covenant.

Written, according to the narrative—here, probably, RJE — on the tables of stone, which replaced those broken by Moses. The contents, however, are quite different from that on the first tables.

xxxiv. 29–xl., P, Moses descends from the Mountain, and carries out the instructions given in xxv.–xxxi.

The narrative here is mostly obtained from the instructions by altering the tenses. The LXX. text differs widely from the Hebrew, especially in the order, cf. Driver, 37 f.

(d) Use in N.T.—There are numerous references to the history, especially in the historical retrospects in Acts and Hebrews; and to the Laws, especially the Decalogue. St. Paul uses, as illustrations of God's free election, the reference to Pharaoh in ix. 16, and xxxiii. 19, cf. Romans ix. 15, 17.

25. Leviticus.

The scene of the whole book is SINAI.

(a) Title.—Hebrew, Wayyiqra', from the opening word; LXX., Leuitikon; Vulg., and other versions, Leviticus, as containing the Levitical laws.

(b) Analysis.—The whole book is Priestly Code, incorporating the Law of Holiness, in xvii.–xxvi., etc.

(c) Contents.—i–x., The Sacrifices.

xi., Clean and Unclean Animals (? H).


xii., Purification after Childbirth.

xiii. f., Leprosy.

xv., Sexual Uncleanness.

xvi., Day of Atonement.
NUMBERS

Law of Holiness, xvii.–xxvi.

xvii., Law of Slaughter; at the Tabernacle only.
xviii., Unlawful Marriages, etc.
xix. f., Various Laws.
xx. f., Cleanliness of Priests, Sacrifices.
xxi. f., Feasts.
xxii., Various Laws.
xxiii., Sabbath Year, Jubilee.
xxiv., Exhortation to keep the preceding laws, enforced by promises and threats.

xxv., Vows and Tithes.

Verse 34 may have been added by the editor who divided the Pentateuch into five books, as a suitable conclusion for Leviticus, Kuenen, p. 341, cf. Numbers xxxvi. 13.

(d) Use in N.T.—There are references to some of the laws; xviii. 5 is quoted Rom. x. 5, Gal. iii. 12; xix. 2, “Be ye holy, because I am holy,” etc., 1 Pet. i. 16; xix. 18, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” Matt. xix. 19, Rom. xiii. 9, etc.; cf. xxvi. 12, 2 Cor. vi. 16.


(a) Title.—In Hebrew, according to Jerome Wayyedabber, the opening word, but in the MSS. and printed editions BeMidbar = “in the wilderness of,” a word in the first verse, which would serve to describe the position of the Israelites during the events narrated in the book; LXX., Arithmoi, Vulg. Numeri, English versions, Numbers, because the book contains the enumerations of the Israelites.

(b) Contents.—i. 1–x. 10, P, At Sinai, First Census of the Israelites who left Egypt, Duties of the Levites, Laws of the Nazarites, etc., Offerings for the Tabernacle, Laws as to the Levites, the Passover, Second Passover, Silver Trumpets, etc.

x. 11–28, P, Departure from Sinai, Order of March.

x. 29–xii., JE, Hobab asked to remain with Israel, Departure from Sinai, Quails, Seventy Elders who prophesy, Miriam and Aaron murmur against Moses, Miriam’s Leprosy.
In xi. two entirely independent stories, that of the Quails and that of the Seventy Elders, are curiously combined. Apart from editorial additions, the story of the Quails belongs to J, that of the Elders to E or possibly to RJ. There is a brief reference to the Quails in P, Exodus xvi. 13, before the arrival at Sinai.

xiii. f., P; except xiii. 17b-20, 22ff., 27-31, 32,*, 33, xiv. 1-4,*, 8 f., xi-25, 39-45 = JE, Spies, Evil Report of all but Caleb and Joshua, Discouragement of the People, All but Caleb and Joshua to die during forty years wandering in the Wilderness, The People seek to enter Canaan, but are defeated at Hormah.


xvi. 1a, 2-11, 16-24, 35-50,1 xvii. = P, Korah and the Levites attempt to exercise priestly functions, and are consumed by fire from Jahovah, Plague, Aaron's rod buds as a token of the exclusive right of the Levites to the Priesthood.

An earlier Priestly Narrative, in which Korah's fate enforced the rights of the whole tribe of Levi as against the other tribes, xvi. 3, xvii., has been modified to enforce the claims of the house of Zadok or Aaron, as in Ezekiel and P, against the Levites, xvi. 8-10.

xvi. 1b, 12-15, 23-34 = JE, The Reubenites, Dathan and Abiram, rebel against Moses; the earth opens and swallows them up with their families.

The authors of Deuteronomy xi. 6 and Psalm cvi. 17 were acquainted with a story concerning Dathan and Abiram, but not Korah or On. In xvii. 3, P, Korah is mentioned, without any reference to Dathan, etc. The name of On, who is only mentioned in xvi. 1, should probably be omitted as due to a corruption of the text through the accidental repetition of some of the consonants. Korah has been introduced into verses 24, 27, and 32 by the editor who combined JED and P in xvi.

xviii. f., P, Tithes and other Dues of the Priests and Levites, The Water of Separation for purifying anyone who has touched a corpse.


The incident at Hormah, xxi. 1-3, is probably J², *cf.* the parallel in Judges i. 17=J¹; also xiv. 45, probably E, and Deuteronomy i. 44, probably based on E. The List of Halting Places, xxi. 12-20, is an older document incorporated by E or R[J]. All the poems in xxi. may be from the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah" mentioned in verse 14, which may also be the source of other poems in the historical books; nothing more is known of this work. According to Addis and others, the poem in xxi. 27 ff. is a composition of the ninth century in which the Israelites celebrated their conquests in Moab. Heshbon, the city of Sihon, is here (verse 30) amongst the Moabite cities which had been sacked. If so, Sihon is here a Moabite king, and "to Sihon, king of the Amorites," in verse 29, is an editorial addition. The Conquest of Og in 33 ff. was not originally part of the same story as the Conquest of Sihon, but was added by R[J²] or R[D²].

xxii. ff., JE,* Balak and Balaam.

The following more detailed analysis is somewhat uncertain, especially as to the passages assigned to J:—

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In xxxiv. 20-24 "Assyria" is sometimes taken literally, and R will be R[J²]; or "Assyria" may be the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, in which case the addition must have been made in the Greek period. Apart from this and other editorial additions, the oracles uttered by Balaam belong to the early monarchy, perhaps to the period of David and Solomon. Their unqualified exultation in the strength and glory of Israel reflects a period of great national prosperity, and xxxiv. 17 f. may refer to the Conquest of Edom and Moab by David. The silence as to Judah suggests composition in Northern Israel. Some critics, *e.g.*, Von Gall (quoted Gray, *Num.*, p. 314), regard all the poems as post-exilic.

xxv. 1-5, JE, the Moabites corrupt Israel.
xxv. 6-18, P, Phinehas slays an Israelite chief, and a noble Midianite woman whom he had taken into his tent.

Cf. Ezra's attack upon marriage with foreigners.

xxvi.-xxxi., P, Second Census—of the children of those who left Egypt, the latter having all perished except Joshua and Caleb, Law of Inheritance of Females, Joshua Moses' successor, Laws of Sacrifices at the Feasts, etc., and of Vows, Defeat and Extermination of the Midianites, Division of the Spoil between Israel and the Tabernacle.

xxxii., 1-38, Constructed by a priestly writer on the basis of a JE narrative. The allotment of Eastern Palestine to Gad and Reuben.

Half Manasseh in 33 is an editorial addition, as in Joshua xxii., which is a very similar document, possibly by the same hand. In Numbers, however, the order is Gadites and Reubenites; in Joshua, Reubenites and Gadites.

xxxii. 39-42, J; except 40 = RJE, The Conquest of Gilead by the Manassites, Machir, Jair, and Nobah.

In 1-38, Moses gave Gilead to Gad and Reuben; here he gives it to Machir the Manassite. The verses were probably originally connected with Judges i.

xxxiii. 1-49, Compiled from the combined PJED. List of the Halting Places during the Wandering.

If, as seems to be the case, verse 2 states that this list was written by Moses, it is probably an independent summary of the history of the Wandering, and came into the hands of a late editor, who gave it this heading and added it to the Pentateuch. Verse 2, however, may mean that the list was based on some document or documents attributed to Moses, possibly PJED, or JED.

xxxiii. 50-xxxvi., P, Jehovah instructs Moses concerning the Borders of the Promised Land, the Princes who are to divide it amongst the People, the Levitical Cities, the Cities of Refuge, and the Law of Murder. Moses lays down a law as to the Marriage of Female Heirs.

Kuenen, p. 341, Addis, etc., regard xxxvi. 13, as added by the editor who divided the Pentateuch into five books, as a suitable conclusion for

1 Moses is overlooked.
2 Except in 1, possibly altered by an editor.
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Numbers. Since, however, it is immediately contradicted by Deuteronomy i. 1, which that editor must have had under consideration, there is less difficulty in supposing that it is P's conclusion of his legislation, imitated by the editor who added Leviticus xxvii. 34.

(c) Use in N.T.—In addition to references to the history, 2 Timothy ii. 19 is perhaps suggested by the LXX. of xvi. 5, "God knows them that are His," i.e., the faithful, in contrast to Korah and his company.

27. Deuteronomy, cf. §§ 1-18, especially §§ 17 f.

(a) Title.—Hebrew, 'Elleh had-Debhārim, the opening words; also spoken of as Mishneh, because regarded as a recapitulation of the laws in the previous books; similarly, LXX., Deuteronomion, the Second Law; hence Vulg. Deuteronomium; and E.V. Deuteronomy.

(b) Analysis.—Chapters i-xxx. consist of the various strata of D, incorporating material borrowed by the Deuteronomic writers from J and E or JE; with slight additions by the priestly writers. The analysis of xxxi.-xxxiv. will be given under the various sections.

(c) Contents.—i. i-iv. 40, First introductory Historical Retrospect and Exhortation.

Based on E or JE, by a different hand from xii.-xxvi., and added to Josiah's law-book after its publication, but before it was combined with JE. The archaeological details as to the original inhabitants of Canaan, ii. 10 ff., 20-23, are obvious additions, probably marginal notes by a reader, which have slipped into the text. The exhortation, iv. 9-40, is sometimes (Cornill, Addis, etc.) ascribed to a different author to the rest of this introduction.

iv. 41 ff., Cities of Refuge, E of Jordan. An isolated fragment, quite unconnected with its context. It is a correction of xix. 9, which directs the establishment of three cities at once, three more will be appointed if the territory of Israel is increased. Who composed these verses, and why they were placed here, is a mystery. They may be by a Deuteronomic writer to supplement xix. 9, or by a priestly writer to conform to P's provision of six cities of refuge.

iv. 44-49, Introductory Statement of the occasion on which the Deuteronomic Laws were promulgated.

Probably the original heading of Josiah's law-book, although either 44 or the whole paragraph is held by some to be a later addition. The paragraph may have been the introduction to an edition containing iv. 44-xxvi.
v.-xi., Hortatory Introduction to the Deuteronomic Code, including a Second Edition of the Decalogue, Exhortations to obey the Law, to avoid idolatry, and to have no dealings with the idolatrous Canaanites. These exhortations are enforced by appeals to their experience of the rewards of obedience, and the punishment of rebellion during the Wanderings.

In v.-xxvi., the mode of address varies, sometimes the second person singular, "thou shalt," is used; sometimes the plural, "ye shall"; sometimes the third person singular, "a man shall." Attempts have been made to use these as criteria of different sources.

Chapters v.-xi. may either be part of the original law-book; so Addis, ii. 25, Driver, p. 87, König, p. 210, Marti (Kautzsch, Bible), Ryle (Hastings’ Bible Dictionary), Steuernagel; or composed later than xii.-xxvi., but by the same author, Kuenen, p. 212; or they may be a later addition by a different author, Cornill, Holzinger, p. 275, Wellhausen, History, p. 369.

D borrowed the Decalogue, v. 6-21, either from JE or E, or, like E, may have known it as an independent document; he edited it in his characteristic style and spirit, cf. Exodus xx. The historical references in v.-xi. are to JE or E to the separate E.

Chapter x. 1-9 (10), (The writing of the second set of tables of stone, the command to make the Ark, the setting apart of the tribe of Levi), interrupt the obvious connection between ix. 29, and x. 10 or 11, and are probably a later addition. Verses 6 f. have no connection with 1-5, 8, 9, and are utterly out of place. They are often regarded as a piece of jetsam and flotsam from E, which, by some strange misadventure, has drifted on to an alien shore, cf. E’s list of halting places in Numbers xxi. If so, the reference to Eleazar is an addition of a priestly editor, for, with the very doubtful exceptions of this passage, and Joshua xxiv. 33, neither J nor E refer to Eleazar or Phinehas.

Chapter xi. 29 f. are also an addition by the Deuteronomic author of Joshua viii. 30-35.

XII.-XXVI., THE DEUTERONOMIC CODE (containing the laws on which Josiah’s reforms, 621, were based).

1 Especially by Stärk and Steuernagel, as criteria of authorship, by which v.-xxvi. may be resolved into earlier sources. The differences may very well indicate the presence of earlier material and later additions, but scarcely enable us to determine the literary history of these chapters.

2 Verse 10 is clearly written with reference to ix. 29, but it may be the work of an editor who tried to mend the confusion caused by the introduction of x. 1-9.

3 q.v., also probably by a priestly editor.

4 For Contents see next page.
These chapters, like v.-xi., ¹ have been analysed into earlier sources, whose distinctive marks are the singular and plural forms of address; but this analysis has met with little acceptance. The Code is an amended and expanded edition of the JE laws, the Book of the Covenant and the Decalogue, etc.; ² some laws it repeats, either verbatim or with explanations and slight modifications, e.g., the Decalogue; some it omits, e.g., Exodus xxi. 18-xxii. 15, the compensation to be given for injuries; and some it expands, or corrects, e.g., the single verse, Exodus xxii. 20, prohibiting the worship of strange gods, is expanded into a long paragraph, Deuteronomy xvii. 2-7, specifying the sun, moon, and stars as "other gods," and appointing the procedure to be observed in dealing with their worshippers. Again, the law limiting sacrifice, Deuteronomy xii. is a correction of Exodus xx. 24, which permits sacrifice at many sanctuaries. Also, the Code introduces many new laws, e.g., those limiting the priesthood to the tribe of Levi. For various other details see under the separate sections.

xii. 1-xiv. 21, The worship of Other Gods and the use of Foreign Superstitious Customs to be avoided by confining sacrifice to One Sanctuary, Animals may be slaughtered anywhere, Practices, etc. which are to be avoided, Punishment of those who observe or encourage such practices, List of Animals which may and may not be eaten.

This latter list, xiv. 3-21, agrees almost exactly with Leviticus xi. 2-23, which is probably H. Apparently the list was older than both D and H, and was used by both. The list is sometimes regarded as a later addition to D. ³

xiv. 22-xv., Tithes and Year of Release.

xvi. 1-17, Yearly Feasts.

xvi. 18-xvii. 13, Law Courts.

The sections prohibiting the use of Asheras and Mañébas, the offering of unsuitable sacrifices, xvi. 22-xvii. 1, have no connection with the context, and must be misplaced.

xvii. 14-19, Law for the King.

xviii. 1-8, Provision for the Levites.

xviii. 9-22, Prophets, How to distinguish the True from the False.

xix. 1-xxiii. 1, Laws concerning Murder, Cities of Refuge, Landmarks, Perjury, War, Authority of Parents, etc., Benevolence to Fellow-countrymen, Judicial procedure as to charges of Unchastity, etc.

¹ See above on v.-xi. ² See Table in DRIVER, p. 68.
xxiii. 2-xxv., Laws as to the exclusion of members of neighbouring tribes from the Assembly, Runaway slaves not to be sent back, Interest, Vows, Divorce, Provision for the Poor, Punishments, Marriage with Deceased Brother's Wife, etc., Curse on Amalek.

xxvi., Firstfruits, Tithe in Third Year, Closing Exhortation.

Although the main section of D² closes here, probably xxviii. also belongs to that document.

xxvii., The Law, i.e., D¹, to be written on stones, and set up on Mount Ebal; also an altar to be set up on Mount Ebal, and curses to be proclaimed.

This chapter, which breaks the connection between xxvi. and xxviii., is a series of later additions. Verses 9 f. may be the connecting link between xxvi. and xxviii., i.e., D¹, if xxviii. is D¹; if not by the Deuteronomic editor who added xxviii. Verses 1-8, 11-13 are closely connected with xi. 29 f. and Joshua viii. 30-35, and are by the same hand or hands. Verses 6 f. which order the erection of an altar cannot have been originally written by a Deuteronomist, because they, at any rate, seem to contradict the Law of the One Sanctuary. As Shechem lay between Ebal and Gerizim, they may be a fragment of E, to which 1-5, 8 have been added as a kind of correction. Verses 14-26, of which Joshua viii. 30-35 take no notice, and which are not Deuteronomic in style, must be a very late addition.

xxviii., D¹, The Rewards of Obedience, and the Punishment of Disobedience.

Ascribed to D¹ by Addis, Driver, p. 67, Kuenen, p. 124, Marti, Ryle, etc.; to a later Deuteronomic writer by Cornill, p. 21 f., Wellhausen, p. 369, etc. If D¹, there are later additions.

xxix. f., An Exhortation to Obedience, enforced by Promises and Threats.

A later Deuteronomic addition, differing somewhat in style from D¹; also xxx. 1-10 presupposes the Exile.

xxxii., Parting Words of Moses to Israel, Joshua, and the Levites. Moses finishes, 9, 24 f., writing "the words of this law," i.e., D, "in a book," and bids the Levites put the book by the side of the Ark.

A series of later additions. Verses 1-8 connect closely with i.-iv. and with the Deuteronomic verses in Joshua i., and are probably by the same hand. If i.-iv. is accepted as D¹, these verses will be D¹. Verses 9-13, the direction to read the Law, at the Feast of Tabernacles,
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in the Year of Release, may be D. The references to Joshua, 14 ff., 23, are probably E, edited by a Deuteronomic writer. In (a) 16-22 (?JE, so Addis, Kuenen, p. 256) (b) 24-30 we have two separate introductions to the Song of Moses. In 24 ff. Steuernagel proposes to read “Song,” shirá for “Law,” tórá.

xxxii. 1-43, Song of Moses, setting forth Jehovah’s love to His people, their apostasy from their Rock, Jehovah, to other gods, their punishment and ultimate restoration. An independent poem. Nothing in the poem itself suggests that it was composed by Moses. It looks back to a period of great national prosperity, accompanied by an outburst of the worship of other gods. Israel is oppressed by a nation, which is soon to be punished for its harshness to God’s people. There are points of contact with Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and II. Isaiah which suggest a date either just before or at the beginning of the Exile; so Addis, Driver, p. 89, König, p. 224, all three with some hesitation, Kuenen, p. 256, etc.; or even at the end of the Exile or later; so Cornill, Steuernagel, etc. If, however, Addis and Kuenen are right in ascribing xxxi. 14-22 to JE, and therefore regarding the Song as part of JE, we must either date JE in the Exile, or, more probably, place the Song before 650, regard the oppressor as the Assyrian, and suppose that the parallels to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and II. Isaiah are partly accidental, partly later additions. Dillmann, p. 394, considers that the Song was composed c. 800, and included in J. It is more likely that it was included in JED by its compiler or a later editor.

xxxii. 44, Subscription to the Song.
xxxii. 45-47, Closing Exhortation.
Deuteronomic, D or later.
xxxii. 48-52, P, Command to Moses to ascend Mount Nebo, to die.
xxxiii., Blessing of Moses, A series of oracles on the tribes, like the Blessing of Jacob.

There is nothing in the poem to suggest Mosaic authorship. Verses 4 ff., “Moses commanded us a law,” etc., and the “he said”s which introduce each oracle in 7-25, indicate that it was written on the basis of ancient oracles ascribed to Moses. Simeon has disappeared, Reuben is at its last gasp, Judah is in distress, and the Blessing prays that he may be reunited to his people; but Levi flourishes as a priestly tribe, Benjamin dwells in safety, Joseph enjoys an exuberant prosperity, Gad is powerful and warlike, and the other northern tribes are flourishing. Possibly some of the oracles retain features which were no longer found in the position of the tribes where the Blessing was compiled, and the oracle on Levi may be a later addition. But the general character of the poem shows that it was written by a native of the northern kingdom,

1 Cf. 39, Isa. xii. 4, xlviii. 12, xliv. 5; 15, Jer. v. 28; 41, Ezek. xxi. 9 f.
when that state was at the height of its power and prosperity, and
when the northern kingdom was regarded as the true Israel, from which
Judah had no right to hold aloof. A curious feature is the apparent
grouping of Benjamin with the northern tribes. The conditions are
held to point either to the time of Jeroboam I., so Dillmann, p. 415,
Driver, Deuteronomy i. i.; or to that of Jeroboam II., so Addis, Cornill,
Kuenen, Skinner, Gen., 510, regards it as composed in N. Israel after the
division of the kingdoms, and as dependent on Gen. xlix.

Its northern origin suggests a connection with E, so Cornill and
Dillmann. There is little to show in which document or edition of
the Pentateuch it was first included, but the absence of Deuteronomic
or priestly glosses points to its having belonged to JE or E.

Steuernagel regards 2-5, 26-29 as a post-exilic psalm, and 9a, 10 as an
addition, earlier than P.

xxxiv., P.; except 1b-7, 10 = JED, 11 f. = R', Death and
Burial of Moses.

(d) Use in N.T.—Deuteronomy is used in several import-
ant passages, especially in our Lord's utterances, and in
Romans and Hebrews. Owing to its didactic form, it lent
itself to quotation; and in it, as in II. Isaiah, O.T. Revelation
prepares the way for, and, in a measure, anticipates the gospel.
The three O.T. quotations used by Christ at the temptation
are Deuteronomy vi. 13, 16, viii. 3. The "first of all the
commandments. . . . Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is
one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God, etc."
Mark xii. 29 f., etc., the opening clause of the Shema or
Jewish Confession of Faith is from Deuteronomy vi. 4, 5.
On the other hand, the Law of Divorce, of which Jesus said,
"For the hardness of your heart he wrote you this precept,"
Mark x. 5, etc., is from Deuteronomy xxiv. 1. The promise
of xviii. 18, that God would raise up prophets for His people,
is specially applied to Christ in Acts iii. 22, vii. 37. In
Romans x. 6-9, what is said in praise of the Law in Deu-
teronomy xxx. 12 ff., is applied to Christ; cf. also Romans x.
19, xi. 11, xii. 19, xv. 10, with Deuteronomy xxxii. 21, 35, 43.
Hebrews i. 6, "Let all the angels of God worship him," is
from the LXX. of Deuteronomy xxxii. 43, and the description
of the scene at Sinai, in Hebrews xii. 18 ff., is from Deuter-
onomy iv. 11 f., v. 23-26. Cf. Deuteronomy xxv. 4, "Thou
shalt muzzle the ox, etc.," with 1 Corinthians ix. 9, 1 Timothy
v. 18.

(a) Title.—The book is named after the main character in the narrative, not after the author.

(b) Archeology. — The Exodus itself cannot be brought directly into relation with what is known from the inscriptions of the history of Egypt and Palestine; but the narratives of the Conquest may be in some measure related to extra-Biblical information. Our data are fairly numerous. It is true that, individually, many of them are uncertain, especially as to the reading and meaning of names; and may be irrelevant; and that they are often very difficult to reconcile either with each other, or with even the oldest Biblical narrative. Yet taken together they, at any rate, help to limit the number of possible theories.

There are (i.) a number of apparent references to the presence of Israelites in Palestine extending from about B.C. 1500 to about B.C. 1200. If these are to be trusted, they seem to indicate either that the Exodus took place very early before 1500; or that it took place after 1200, and that in Genesis the narratives of the Patriarchs refer either to chiefs of tribes, or to tribes themselves; or that only a portion of the Israelites went down to Egypt, while the rest remained in Canaan. The references are as follows:

At Karnak, in a list of Canaanite towns conquered by Thothmes III., we find the names of Jacob-el and Joseph-el, apparently implying a long prior occupation of the district by the tribes of Jacob and Joseph.

From the archives of Amenophis IV., the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, we learn that in his reign Southern Palestine (and perhaps also Northern) was being invaded by the Habiri. A theory has been advanced, and has met with some support,

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1 Cf. § 24 (b). For some of the following references I am indebted to an unpublished paper by Dr. Skinner, Presbyterian Coll., Camb.
2 1481-1449, Petrie, Egypt, ii. 29.
3 Petrie, Egypt, ii. 205, B.C. 1383-1365.
4 Winckler, p. 143, the rendering is uncertain at present.
that these are the Hebrews. The term "Hebrew," however, might include Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

In the inscriptions of Seti I. and Rameses II., a name which is read as Asher occurs as the name of a district, in about the region assigned by the Book of Joshua to the tribe of Asher.

In an inscription of Merenptah II., he claims to have subdued Israelites in Palestine.

But (ii.) another line of argument also points to a late date for the Conquest. In all the narratives, the deliverance at the Red Sea is regarded as the end of all difficulties with Egypt. None of the accounts of the whole period, including the Wandering, the Conquest, the Judges, Saul and David, hint at the presence of Egyptian armies or officials in the Sinaitic Peninsula, or in Palestine. Hence we ought to be able to fix the Exodus at the beginning of a period of, at the very least, two hundred years, during which Egypt left Palestine entirely to itself. Such a period is difficult to find. Thothmes I. overran the hill-country of Palestine, and advanced the Egyptian frontier to the Euphrates; his successor, Thothmes II., claims dominion over Syria; the next king, Thothmes III., subdued Palestine and Syria in a long series of campaigns; his successor, Amenophis III., also fought in Syria. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets seem to show that under the next king, Amenophis IV., the Egyptian dominion in Palestine was lost for a time, but it was recovered by Rameses I. and Seti I., and the next king, Rameses II., fought many campaigns in Syria. His successor, Merenptah II., claims

1 *Ibhrf.*
3 *Müller, Asien und Europa, p. 237.*
4 *Petry, Egypt, ii. 251, B.C. 1208, onward; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 1300-1266.* The translation of the inscription is not quite certain.
5 *Id., ii. 64, B.C. 1541-1516; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 1633-1600.*
6 *Id., ii. 73, 1516-1503; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 1600.*
7 *Id., ii. 100, 1503-1449; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, about 1600.*
8 *Id., i. 251, 1328-1327-1275; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 1400-1366-1333.*
9 *Id., i. 251, 1275-1208; Brit. Mus. Catalogue, 1333 1300.*
successes in Syria, and Rameses III.\(^1\) also fought in Syria. After his death, Egypt seems to have lost Syria, and the Egyptian annals record no invasion of Syria until the reign of Shishak I.,\(^2\) the contemporary of Jeroboam I. As the Exodus can scarcely have taken place two hundred years before Thothmes I., it seems necessary to place it some time after the death of Rameses III.

It may also be noted that the Tel-el-Amarna tablets and other inscriptions show that Palestine had existed for many centuries as a collection of tribes and city states, as Joshua found it at the Conquest.

(c) Analysis.—The history of the Book of Joshua is somewhat different from that of the rest of the Hexateuch, and presents some problems not yet solved. The groundwork is not P as in the first five books, but JED; the combination of P and JED in the Pentateuch and in Joshua was probably by different hands; R\(^P\) has dealt much more freely with his JE material in Joshua, than in the earlier sections. His work in some parts seems to amount to a rewriting of the history on the basis of JE, rather than a mere addition of editorial matter. Hence sections which, as they stand, are R\(^P\) may often be based upon and include JE material, which can no longer be separated with any certainty. Similarly, it is probable that P, in his account of the territories of the tribes, makes use of older sources. The conception of the Conquest as effected by united Israel, in a single war, under Joshua, which is absent\(^3\) from J, is apparently found in E, and was developed and systematised in part perhaps by R\(^JE\), but more thoroughly by R\(^P\). Hence there is sometimes a difference of opinion as to whether a passage belongs to E, R\(^JE\), or R\(^P\). Probably R\(^P\) comprises material from at least two hands. The characteristic idea introduced by R\(^P\) is that Joshua and Israel carefully observed the Law of Moses, \textit{i.e.}, D\(^1\), during the life of Joshua and those of his contemporaries who survived him.

\(^1\) Brit. Mus. Catalogue, about 1200.
\(^3\) Cf. on Judges 1.
BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

(d) Contents.—I.—XII., The Conquest.

i. 1—viii. 29, JE; except i. 3—9, ii. 10 ff., iii. 7, 10 b, iv. 12, 14, 21—24, v. 1, 4 f., vi. 2 b, 15 b, 17 b, 18, 24 b, 27, viii. 1 f., 27 = R p; and iii. 4, iv. 10 b, 13, 19, v. 6 ff., 10 ff., vi. 23 b, vii. 1, 24 b *= R p or P, Directions for crossing the Jordan, Spies and Rahab, Crossing of the Jordan, Circumcision of the People, "The Captain of the Army of Jehovah," Fall of Jericho, The unsuccessful attack on Ai, Achan, Fall of Ai.

Chapter v. 13—15, "The Captain of the Army of Jehovah," has no connection with the context, and may be a fragment of an unknown source used by JE, or J or E. Traces of late language, e.g. "Prince," may be due to editors, or the fragment may have been given its present form and inserted in the Hexateuch by a late editor.

viii. 30—35, R p, Altar on Mount Ebal, Blessings and Curses.

Cf. on Deuteronomy xi. 29 f., xxvii. 1—8, 11—13, where instructions are given for the ceremony here performed. Deuteronomy xxvii. apparently gives directions for two separate acts, the erection of an altar and the inscription of D 2 on stones; Joshua seems to combine the two into the erection of an altar on which D 2 is inscribed. Joshua viii. 30—35 may be by a later writer who misunderstood Deuteronomy; both may be by the author of Deuteronomy xxvii., who may have intended the passage as to the inscription as an interpretation of that about the altar, which he took from an older source, and shaped our present passage accordingly.

ix. 1—x. 27, JE; except ix. 1 f., 9 a, 10, 24 f., 27 b β, x. 8, 19 b, 25 = R p; ix. 15 c, 17—21, 23 b, 27 a β, x. 27 b β *= R p or P, League with the Gibeonites, Battle of Bethhoron, Sun and Moon stand still.

The Book of Jashar, cited in x. 12 f., is mentioned in 2 Samuel i. 18 as containing David's Lamentation over Saul and Jonathan, and in the original text 2 of 1 Kings viii. 12 as containing the short poem uttered by Solomon. It must have been a collection of poems compiled during the monarchy. "Jashar" means upright; it may be used, like Jeshurun, for Israel; or it may be a collective term for heroes. In the original poem the words about the sun and moon were figurative, like "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" in the Song of Deborah, Judges v. 20.

x. 28—xii., R p; except xi. 1, 4 f., 7 f.* = JE, Summary of

1 Sar, E.V. "Captain."
2 As indicated by the LXX. (verse 53).
Joshua's campaign in the South, Defeat of Jabin, King of Hazor, Defeat of the Anakim, Brief account of the Districts Conquered, List of Conquered Kings.

In x. 28-39, 43 R\textsuperscript{D} probably had a JE basis. The passage is sometimes described as JE, with additions by R\textsuperscript{D}.

XIII.-XXI., Division of the Land.

P's account of the territories of the tribes has been compiled from conflicting sources, one of which may have been JE, and has suffered from textual corruption. The lists of names are often confused and inconsistent. Many of the J passages in these chapters occur in Judges i.

xiii., P; except 1 = JE, 13 = J, 2-12 = R\textsuperscript{D}, Territories of the Eastern Tribes.

xiv., 1-5, P, Introduction to account of the Territories of the Western Tribes.

xiv. 6-15 R\textsuperscript{D}, Hebron given to Caleb.

Sometimes ascribed to JE. The discrepancy with xi. 21 probably indicates, at any rate, a JE basis.

xv., P; except 14-19, 63 = J, Territory of Judah.

xvi. f., P; except xvi. 1 ff., 9, xvii. 1b, 2*, 8, 9* = JE;

xvi. 10, xvii. 11-18 = J, Territories of Ephraim and Western Manasseh.

xviii. 1-10, JE; except 1 = P; 3, 7* = R\textsuperscript{D}, Introduction to the account of the Territories of the Remaining Seven Tribes.

xviii. 11-28, P; except 11b = JE, Territory of Benjamin.

xix.-xxi., P; except xxi. 41 ff. = R\textsuperscript{D}; xix. 9 = JE; xix. 47 = J; xix. 49 ff. = E, Territories of Simeon, Zebulun, Issachar, Asher, Naphtali, Dan and Joshua; Cities of Refuge; Levitical Cities.

In xx. vv. 4 ff. and 6b, which are omitted by the LXX., are a very late addition to the text, modelled on Deuteronomic passages after the manner of similar sections of Chronicles.

xxii., R\textsuperscript{P*}; except 1-8 = R\textsuperscript{D}, Return of Reuben, Gad and Eastern Manasseh to the East of Jordan, Erection of an Altar in Gilead by Reuben and Gad.

Verses 9-30, in their present form, were compiled by a late priestly writer, like Judges xxii. Cf. on Numbers xxxii. There was an older basis, probably JE, for this section; but the compiler has dealt with it so freely that the original narrative cannot be reconstructed. "Half Manasseh" here, as in Numbers xxxii., is an editorial addition.

G
xxiii., Rp, Farewell Speech of Joshua.

xxiv., E; except 11b, 13, 31, and a few phrases = Rp; 26a, 33 = Rp, Farewell Speech of Joshua.

Verse 33 is generally given to E, cf. on Deuteronomy x. 6.

(e) Use in N.T.—There are references to the history, especially Rahab and the Fall of Jericho. Cf. also i. 5, with Hebrews xiii. 5.


(a) Title.—Hebrew shophetim; rendered by LXX. Kritai; by Vulg. Liber Judicum or Judicium; by EV. Judges. This title was given because the narratives are chiefly concerned with the “Judges” or rulers in Israel, before the kings.

(b) Analysis.—The framework of the book is due to Deuteronomic editors, so that it once existed in a Deuteronomic edition, to which priestly writers made further additions. The Deuteronomic work made use of earlier material, which is often supposed to have been a section of JE, compiled from J and E.¹ In order to recognise the doubt which still remains as to the identification of this matter with JE, it is denoted in the sketch of contents by (JE).

On the understanding that the identification of the sources and early edition of Judges with J, E, and JE is probable rather than certain, the history of the composition of the book may be summarised as follows²:

During the monarchy, c. 850–700, two independent writers (J) and (E), made collections of the narratives concerning the Judges. Both contained accounts of Ehud, Gideon and Abimelech, Jephthah, the Migration of the Danites, and the Outrage at Gibeah. One narrative (?) J) contained also a narrative of the war with Jabin, and the story of Samson; the other narrative (?) E) contained also the stories of Deborah and Barak, and of Samuel. These were combined into a pre-Deuteronomic Book of Judges (JE), about 650. (JE)

¹ Budde, Moore. ² Substantially as Budde.
may have included the accounts of the "Minor Judges," Tola, Jair, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, from (J) or (E) or elsewhere. During the Exile (JE) was edited by a Deuteronomic editor, R^D, who added a system of chronology, and the story of Othniel, and interpreted the book so as to illustrate the Deuteronomic doctrine of the connection between national righteousness and national prosperity. He omitted J's history of the Conquest, i. i–ii. 5, the story of Abimelech, ix., the Death of Samson, xvi., the Migration of the Danites, and the Outrage at Gibeah, xvii.–xxi., as unsuitable to his purpose. R^D's Judges may have extended to 1 Samuel xii.; but on the other hand, both JE and JED may have been continuous works from the Creation to the end of their narrative. If so, we can scarcely speak of pre-Deuteronomic and Deuteronomic Books of Judges, they were merely yet unseparated portions of the continuous works.

(JE) continued to exist after the compilation of the Deuteronomic Judges, and a post-exilic editor, R^P, restored the portions omitted by R^D, editing them after his own fashion. The ground for supposing that these sections were omitted by R^P is that they bear no traces of Deuteronomic style, and do not fit into the Deuteronomic framework. The accounts of the Minor Judges may have been added by R^P.

(c) Chronology and History.—The preponderance in the dates of Judges, and of the history of Moses and Samuel of the number "forty" and its multiples and fractions, shows that the system of chronology has been constructed on the basis of reckoning forty years to a generation. Probably this chronology is due to the author who states that 480 years elapsed between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's Temple; the period was made up of twelve generations of forty years each. We have thus to consider the chronology of Judges in connection with that of the whole period of 480 years. The data may be arranged as follows:—

1 Not necessarily the same as R^D in the Hexateuch and elsewhere.
2 Not the R^P of the Pentateuch.
(i) Periods outside the Book of Judges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joshua</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eli</td>
<td>40 (Heb.) 20 (LXX.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saul</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
124 + x + y + z \\
or \quad 104 + x + y + z
\]


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judge</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Othniel</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehud</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barak</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gideon</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jephthah</td>
<td>6²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samson</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
226³
\]

(iii) The Periods of Oppression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oppressor</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cushan-rishathaim</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eglon</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jabin</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midianites</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammonites</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
71
\]

The 40 years oppression of the Philistines, xiii. 1, is clearly synchronous with the 20 years of Samson + the 20 years (LXX.) of Eli, and is therefore not to be reckoned.

(iv) Minor Judges.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judge</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tola</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jair</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibzan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elon</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdon</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
70
\]

If Abimelech's 3 years be added we get 73 years.

1 Before Building of Temple.  
2 LXX., Vat., etc., 60.  
3 Or without Jephthah, 220.
The sum of i.-iv. is $534 + x + y + z$ if the Philistine oppression and the reigns of Abimelech and Saul are included, and if forty years (Hebrew Text) are given to Eli. But the Philistine oppression should be omitted;\(^1\) Abimelech and Saul were probably left out of the reckoning as illegitimate, and the synchronism of the Philistine oppression with Samuel and Eli requires us to accept the LXX. number 20 for Eli. Thus the whole period from the Exodus to the Temple works out at $471 + x + y$. As $x + y$, the headships of Joshua and Samuel must have occupied much more than nine years, this result is strikingly at variance with the 480 years of Kings. The easiest solution is to allow Joshua and Samuel the usual 40 years each, and to suppose that $R^p$ omitted (iii.) from his reckoning on the assumption that the judgeships were continuous. Thus we get

$$471 + x + y - 71 = 471 + 40 + 40 - 71 = 480,$$

and the $R^p$ chronology of Judges agrees with the $R^p$ period in Kings.

Either then we may omit the Minor Judges as outside of the original scheme of chronology, and added by $R^p$ to supply Judges for the interregna of the oppressions,\(^2\) on the theory that as soon as one judge died, he was always immediately succeeded by another. Or we may omit the oppressions, and suppose that each oppression was reckoned to the reign of the following judge. On the former theory, the twelve generations are Moses, Joshua, Othniel, Ehud, Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, Eli, Samuel, David, Solomon.

The date of the building of the Temple is about 970, which, according to $R^p$, gives us 1450 for the Exodus, apparently much too early; cf. § 28 (b).

(d) Greek Versions.—There are two separate\(^3\) versions, one represented by most of the uncials, the other by various cursives, etc., and by Lucian's recension.

1 See above.
2 The discrepancy of a year will be due to some error in the transmission of the text.
3 Apart from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.
(e) Contents.—i. 1-ii. 5, J; except 1a a 4, 8f., 18, ii. 1-5 = R\textsuperscript{p}, Conquest of Canaan.

Not a sequel to the Book of Joshua, but a parallel account, much of which has already been given in that book. Verses 11-15, 21, 27 f., 29, 34=Joshua xv. 14-19, 63, xvii. ii ff., xvi. 10, xix. 47 (LXX.). Either J gave no account of Joshua or of the combined action of all Israel, and only narrated the conquests of single tribes or of groups of tribes; or J narrated the doings of Joshua and united Israel up to the battle of Beth-horon, and then, as here, the conquests of single tribes, etc. Possibly the editor who prefixed "After the death of Joshua" has removed Joshua's name from the paragraph on Ephraim and Manasseh.

This is one of the sections supposed to have been included in (JE), removed by R\textsuperscript{p} and replaced by R\textsuperscript{p}.

II. 6-XV. Deuteronomic Book of Judges.

ii. 6-iii. 6, R\textsuperscript{p} on a basis of E, with additions by R\textsuperscript{p}. Introduction, explaining that the Israelites suffered defeat and oppression because they worshipped "other gods," but were delivered by judges because Jehovah had compassion on their misery.

iii. 7-11, R\textsuperscript{p}, Othniel delivers from Cushan-rishathaim.

iii. 12-30 (JE); except 12-15a, 30=R\textsuperscript{p}, Ehud delivers from Eglon.

iii. 31, R\textsuperscript{p}, Shamgar ben-Anath kills 600 Philistines.

The absence of R\textsuperscript{p} formula shows that this was not in R\textsuperscript{p}'s Judges. Shamgar is ignored in iv. 1. The name was obtained from v. 6, the Song of Deborah, and was perhaps inserted to make up twelve judges, after excluding Abimelech.

iv. f. (JE); including an ancient poem, the Song of Deborah, v. 2-31a, and additions of R\textsuperscript{p}, viz., iv. 1ff., 23f., v. 31b; and R\textsuperscript{p}, viz., v. 1, Deborah and Barak deliver from Jabin and Sisera.

The Song is almost universally accepted as a contemporary poem, possibly by Deborah herself. The absence of any traces of Deuteronomic revision, and the presence of some words and idioms apparently characteristic of post-exilic Hebrew, suggest that this poem was not included either in (JE) or the Deuteronomic Judges, but was preserved either independently or in some collection of poems, and was inserted here by R\textsuperscript{p} after a revision necessitated by the fact that many words and idioms had become obsolete. Owing to the joint effect of the extreme antiquity of the poem and of the attempt at revision, parts of it are unintelligible, e.g., 14a. This Song is often considered to be the oldest extant piece of Hebrew literature, e.g., Nowack.

1 R\textsuperscript{p} has substituted Benjamites for Judahites.
vi. ff. (JE); except vi. 1-7, viii. 27b, 28, 33ff. = R\textsuperscript{D}, and editorial additions by R\textsuperscript{P}, Gideon delivers from the Midianites.

Two stories are combined: in one (J?), Gideon is instructed by the Angel of Jehovah, the princes of Midian are Zebah and Zalmunna, and Gideon sets up an ephod-idol at Ophrah; in the other (E?), Jehovah speaks to him in the night, i.e., in a dream, he destroys the altar of Baal and the Asherah, and the princes of Midian are Oreb and Zeeb.

ix. (JE); omitted by R\textsuperscript{P}, restored by R\textsuperscript{D}, Abimelech.

x. 1-5, Either (JE), omitted by R\textsuperscript{D}, restored by R\textsuperscript{P}; or first added by R\textsuperscript{P}, Two "Minor Judges," Tola and Jair.

x. 6-xii. 7 (JE); except x. 6-16, xii. 7 = R\textsuperscript{D}, Jephthah delivers from the Ammonites.

The account of Jephthah's negotiations with the king of the Ammonites, xi. 12-28, does not belong to (J) or (E), but to one of the editors, perhaps R\textsuperscript{M}.

xii. 8-15, Same source as x. 1-5, Three "Minor Judges," Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon.

xiii. ff. (J); except xiii. 1, xv. 20 = R\textsuperscript{P}, and editorial additions of R\textsuperscript{P}, Samson and the Philistines.

xvi.-xxi., Sections of (JE), Omitted by R\textsuperscript{P}, Restored and Edited by R\textsuperscript{P}.

xvi. (J), Samson and Delilah, His Captivity and Death.

xvii. f. (JE), Micah's Idols, Migration of the Danites.

xix. (JE), Outrage at Gibeah.

xx. f., R\textsuperscript{P} on basis of JE, War of the other Tribes against Benjamin to punish the Outrage. Wives provided for the surviving Benjamites.

These chapters are compiled from the older story in the same fashion as Joshua xxii., perhaps by the same hand.

(f) Use in N.T.—There are three or four references to the history.

30. Ruth.

(a) Authorship, Date, and Object.—The author's name is entirely unknown. The indications of time are conflicting. The post-exilic origin of the genealogy, iv. 8-22, is shown by its use of some of the formulæ of the Priestly Code; but, as
these verses are a later addition,¹ this does not show that the rest of the book—to which we may now confine ourselves—is post-exilic.

The language has points of contact with the pre-exilic literature,² but also with post-exilic books; moreover, there are Aramaisms.

The customs connected with the marriage of a Goel³ with his kinsman’s widow are spoken of as obsolete⁴; and differ from those prescribed in Deuteronomy xxv. 5–10.

The mention of David in iv. 17, shows that it is not earlier than his reign.

The book is not included in the historical books, or first section of the “Prophets” in the Hebrew Canon, but is placed amongst the “Hagiographa,” as one of a group of Five Megilloth or Rolls.

Upon these facts the following conflicting views have been based:—

(i.) The book was written before the Exile out of interest in the family history of David, and perhaps also to inculcate marriage with a kinsman’s widow.⁵ The Aramaisms are due to use of dialect, except in iv. 7, which is a gloss. This view removes the statement that the custom was obsolete. The differences from Deuteronomy⁶ show that the latter was not in existence, and that therefore our book is earlier than B.C. 621. As LXX. places Ruth after Judges, it is suggested—not very plausibly—that Ruth was originally an appendix to Judges, and was afterwards removed into the Hagiographa.

(ii.) The book is a post-exilic work based on a pre-exilic narrative.⁷ This view would explain the mixture of styles.

(iii.) The book is a post-exilic work, written as a protest

¹ BERTHOLET, DRIVER, etc., etc.
² The early portions of Samuel, Kings, etc.
³ R.V., “near kinsman.”
⁴ “This was the custom in former time in Israel,” iv. 7.
⁵ DRIVER.
⁶ Cf. also Deuteronomy xxiii. 3.
⁷ KÖNIG.
against the prohibition of mixed marriages by Ezra and Nehemiah.¹ The classical vocabulary and idioms are due to the author's familiarity with Samuel, Kings, etc., whose style and spirit he imitated; but the Aramaisms, etc., betray the post-exilic origin. The custom of marriage with a near kinsman was obsolete; and the writer, who was not in sympathy with Deuteronomy, describes it according to popular recollection, and not in terms of the law in Deuteronomy. The position in the Hagiographa points to a post-exilic origin.

In any case there is, doubtless, a historical basis²; some connection of David with Moab seems indicated by his committing his father and mother to the protection of the king of Moab.³ Whenever the book was written, the author would not have invented a Moabite ancestress for David, he must have had the authority of an accepted tradition. David's genealogy is used in those of Christ.

31. Samuel.

(a) Title and Divisions.—Hebrew, Samuel; LXX., i. and ii. Kingdoms; Vulg., i. and ii. Kings; E.V., i. and ii. Samuel; all with reference to the contents. Our two books originally formed a single book, and are so treated in the closing Masoretic note, and were so regarded by the Jews in the time of Origen. The division is first found in the LXX., from which it passed into the Vulg. and other versions, and into the printed editions of the Hebrew Text.⁴

(b) Analysis and Composition.—Samuel, also, is compiled from older sources; apart from the poems, there are repetitions, and diversities of style and standpoint; notably, a series of duplicate narratives; e.g., Saul is twice made king, I. x. 24, xi. 15; and twice spared by David, I. xxiv., xxvi.; and Goliath is twice slain, I. xvii., II. xxi. 19. The material may be grouped thus:—

A. Primitive Narratives, dealing with Saul and David,

¹ Bertholet; Cheyne, Origin of Psalter, p. 306; Cornill; Kautzsch, Bibel; Kayser-Marti, p. 208; Smend, A. T. Theol., p. 409; Nowack.
² Bertholet, König, Budde (ap. Cornill), see in Ruth a section of the Midrash used by the Chronicler.
³ 1 Samuel xxii. 3 f.
⁴ Cornill, Kirkpatrick, Ginsburg, 45, 953.
Saul's first appearance, I. ix. 1, to Solomon's accession, 1 Kings i. ii.; characterised by a human interest in life and a graphic style. They show moral and spiritual feeling, but are rather descriptive than didactic, and thus resemble the Pentateuchal J, to which Budde, etc., ascribe them. Kittel,¹ etc., derive them from S, a history of Saul, and Je., a history of David, both of the tenth century, and perhaps by the same author, and Da., a somewhat later history of David. In these narratives the monarchy is regarded with approval as a gift of God.

B. Secondary Early Narratives, and C, Deuteronomical Additions. The remaining material includes variants of A derived from early tradition, dealing with Samuel, Saul, the Ark and David; the list of ministers, II. viii. 16 ff., having been added as a conclusion of this series. Budde ascribes many sections to the Pentateuchal E¹, E²; and Kittel ascribes some (mostly Ark stories) to the Pentateuchal E, and others to SS, an Ephraimite history of Saul and Samuel, c. B.C. 750.

Many sections are ecclesiastical and didactic, magnifying Samuel and the prophets, and regarding the monarchy as an injurious concession to an unwarrantable demand. Here Dt additions are present.

It is doubtful how much is to be ascribed to B and how much to C. Driver, etc., regard both B and C as mostly pre-Deuteronomical, though including much that was written B.C. 750-600 under the same influences as those which produced Deuteronomy; while H. P. Smith regards B and C as Deuteronomical on older sources.

D. Later Additions, slight traces of influence of Priestly Code, and additions from various sources.

The above analysis implies pre-Deuteronomical sources or editions, Deuteronomical, and Final Editions. Perhaps the Dt Editor omitted II. ix.–xx., etc., and these sections were restored by the Final Editor (so Budde).

Probably 1 Samuel i.–xii. formed part of the (JE) and

¹ In KAUTZSCH, Bibel; H. P. SMITH, International Com., gives a similar analysis, referring most of Samuel to two main sources—Sl (early Monarchy), Sm (Exile or later), whose contents are roughly those of Budde's J and E.
R\textsuperscript{D} Books of Judges. Samuel’s Farewell Speech, xii., was probably E’s conclusion of the history of Samuel, corresponding to the Farewell Speech, Joshua xxiv., with which E concludes the history of Joshua. The chronological statements in I. iv. 18, and perhaps also in vii. 2, belong to the R\textsuperscript{D} system of dates. In the sketch of contents, both Budde’s\textsuperscript{1} and Kittel’s analyses are given; omitting, however, many details of the analysis.\textsuperscript{2}

(c) Contents.—First Samuel.
I-XII., Samuel, Eli, and Saul.

i. (E\textsuperscript{2}), SS, Samuel born and given to Jehovah.

The ordinary Hexateuch symbols J, E, etc., give Budde’s analysis; SS, etc.—for the meaning of which see above—give Kittel’s; where only one symbol, etc., is given, Budde and Kittel agree.

ii. 1-10, Song of Hannah.

According to Budde, post-exilic addition, so also Cheyne, Psalter, p. 57, “probably”; Kittel, addition from unknown source; Cornill and Driver, under the monarchy. The Song is not appropriate to the occasion, which is only touched upon in passing and in most general terms in 5b. Verse 10 implies either the present or past existence of the kingdom. In style and spirit the Song has much in common with psalms often regarded as post-exilic. It is a national lyric, celebrating some national deliverance.

ii. 11-iii. (E\textsuperscript{2}), SS; except that ii, 27-36 in both, and iii. 11-14 in Budde = R\textsuperscript{D}, Samuel announces the Doom of Eli’s Family, on account of the Wickedness of his Sons.

iv.-vii. i (E\textsuperscript{1}), E; except iv. 18b \beta, 22, vi. 15, 17, 18a = R, Ark lost at Ebenezer, its Wanderings amongst the Philistines, its Restoration to Israel.

vii. 2-viii. (E\textsuperscript{2}); except the “20 years” of vii. 2 = R\textsuperscript{D}; Kittel, vii. 2-17 = R\textsuperscript{D*}, viii. = SS, Repentance of Israel, Victory over the Philistines at Ebenezer, Request for a King.

ix.-x. 16 (J), S, Samuel anoints Saul.

x. 17-27 (E\textsuperscript{2}), SS; except 25-27 = R\textsuperscript{JE} (Budde), R (Kittel), Saul chosen by lot.

xi. (J); except 12 \(f. = \text{R}^\text{JE}\); S, except 12-15 = R, Saul’s Victory over the Ammonites.

\textsuperscript{1} In Dr. Haupt's Sacred Books of the Old Testament.

\textsuperscript{2} Brackets are used, as in Judges, to indicate that the identification of the sources with J, E, and JE is doubtful.
xii. (E'), with small additions by R\(^D\); Kittel, R\(^D\), Samuel's Farewell Speech.

XIII.-XXI., David, Saul, Samuel.

xiii. f. (J), S; except xiii. 1, R; 8-15 (J'), R; 19-22 (J'), R; xiv. 47-51, R\(^D\); also 52 is R in Kittel, Victories of Saul and Jonathan over the Philistines, etc.

Either we have, in xiv. 47-51, as above, a conclusion of the history of Saul by R\(^D\), who regarded his legitimate reign as concluded at this point; in the next chapters he is deposed by Samuel, and David is anointed king. Or, this is the conclusion of the history as given in one of the ancient sources, and is placed here by R\(^D\).

xv. (E'); except 24-31, 34 f. = (E'), SS, Saul rejected for sparing the Amalekite King.

xvi. 1-13, Post-exilic Editor, Samuel anoints David.

xvi. 14-23 (J), Da., David as Saul's Harper and Armour-bearer.

xvii.-xviii. 5 (E'); except xvii. 12, 13, post-exilic, xviii. 5 = J; SS, except 12a, 15 = R, David and Goliath.

LXX. B, etc., omit xvii. 12-31, 38b, 41, 48b, 50, 55-xviii. 5, probably to avoid the contradictions arising from the attempt to treat this and the preceding passage as parts of one continuous narrative. The alternative advocated by Robertson Smith, Old Testament, etc., p. 121 ff. and Cornill, p. 101, H. P. Smith, etc., that these passages are additions to the text, introduced from some lost history of David, seems less likely.

xviii. 6-30 (J); except 6a a* = R, 12-19 = (E'); Da., except 6a a* = R, 12-19, 28-30 = SS, Saul's Jealousy, David Saul's Son-in-law.

LXX. B, etc., omit 17-19, 29b, 30 and smaller fragments; cf. above.

xix. (E'); except 18a\(\beta\)-24, post-exilic; SS, except 3, 18-24 = R, Temporary Reconciliation, New attempts on David's Life by Saul, David flees to Samuel.

xx.-xxi. i (J); except 4-17, 40-42 = R\(^JE\); Da., except 4-10, 12-17 =?, 40-42 = R, David's Covenant with Jonathan.

xxi. 2-10 (E'), SS, David at Nob.

xxi. 11-16, Budde, post-exilic; Kittel =?, David at Gath.

xxii.-xxv. (J); except xxii. 19, xxiii. 14b-18 = (E'), xxii. 5, post-exilic, xxiv. 21-23a 0, xxv. 1 = R\(^JE\); Da., except xxii. = SS, xxiii. 6, 14-18, xxv. 1 = R, David at Adullam, Massacre of
the Priests at Nob, David at Keilah and Ziph, spares Saul at Engedi, Nabal.

xxvi. (E'), SS, David spares Saul in the Wilderness of Ziph.

xxvii.-xxxi. (J); except xxviii. 3 = R^p, xxviii. 16 ff. = R^m; Da., except xxviii. 3, 17 f. = R, David tributary to Achish, Philistine Campaign against Saul, Saul and the Witch of Endor, David’s Feud with the Amalekites, Defeat and Death of Saul.

xxviii. 3-25 should come after xxx.

SECOND SAMUEL.

I.-VIII., DAVID’S REIGN.

i.-iv. (J); except i. 6-11, 13-16 = (E'), ii. 10a, 11 = R^p; Da., except i. 6-16 = SS, i. 5, ii. 10a, 11, iii. 30, iv. 4 = R, ii. 13-16, iii. 2-5 = ?, Lament over Saul and Jonathan, David reigns at Hebron, Ishbaal at Mahanaim, Civil War between them, Abner and Ishbaal murdered.

The Lament is generally ascribed to David. On the Book of Jashar see § (28d), Ishboseth is a corruption of the more accurate Ishbaal, E.V. Eshbaal, preserved in 1 Chronicles viii. 33, ix. 39; cf. Mephiboseth, ix.

v. (J); except 4 f. = R^p; Da., except 3, 6-16 = Je., 4f. = R, David King over All Israel, Capture of Jerusalem, Alliance with Hiram, Victories over the Philistines.

According to Budde, numerous passages in i.-viii., xxii.-xxiv. have been transposed from their original position.

vi. (J), Je., Ark brought to Zion.

vii. (E^2); R^p on basis of Je., David forbidden to build the Temple, but promised a Permanent Dynasty.

viii. (J); except 1-7 = R^p; 11 f. = R^p; Kittel, R (?), David’s Victories over Moab, Syria, and Edom.

Verses 14b-18 are evidently the conclusion of a history of David’s reign. Cornill suggests that they were composed to replace ix.-xx. by an editor who considered the latter chapters damaging to David’s reputation. It may, however, be the conclusion of one of the older narratives of the reign of David.

IX.-XX., DAVID’S COURT AND FAMILY HISTORY.

Budde (J); except xii. 7 f., 10 ff. = R^p, xiv. 25 ff., xv. 24,* “Levites” and “Covenant,” xx. 23-26, post-exilic glosses.
Kittel, Je.; except xii. 10 ff., xv. 24,* “Levites” and “Covenant” = R or glosses.
ix., Meribbaal and Ziba.

Mephibosheth is a correction for the more accurate Meribbaal, preserved in 1 Chronicles viii. 34, ix. 40; cf. on Ishbaal, i.-iv.

x. ff., War with Ammon and Syria; Uriah, Bathsheba.
xiii.-xix., Absalom, Tamar and Amnon, Exile and Return, Revolt, Defeat and Death, David’s Return, Meribbaal and Ziba.

xx., Sheba’s Revolt.

In xx. 23-26 we have the formal close to this account of David’s reign.

XXI.-XXIV., APPENDICES.

xxi. 1-14 (J); except in 2 f. the words between “said unto them” and “what shall I do” = R"; Kittel = ?, R in 2 f. as above. To avert the famine caused by Saul’s attempt to massacre the Gibeonites, seven of Saul’s descendants are handed over to the Gibeonites, who hang them.

This incident, no doubt, took place at the beginning of David’s reign. Budde transposes the section, and places it before the first Meribbaal narrative, viii., to which it would form a suitable introduction.

xxi. 15-22 (J), Da., Feats of David’s Heroes against the Philistines, Elhanan kills Goliath of Gath.

Budde places this section after v. 25. It is in apparent contradiction with the narrative of David and Goliath (E?), SS. The text of verse 19 is corrupt, but the reading of 1 Chronicles xx. 5, “the brother of Goliath,” seems an obvious correction.¹ Kittel, Budde, etc. read “Elhanan ben-Jair the Bethlehemite.”

xxii., Budde, late post-exilic addition; Kittel = ?, R = R;

Psalm xviii.

Probably, like most of the poems in the historical books, inserted from a collection of poems; in this case, either from the Psalter, or from one of the earlier collections which were incorporated in the Psalter. The heading is the same as in the Psalter. The differences between this chapter and the Psalm are textual, not editorial, and are similar in character and extent to those found between the texts of a chapter of the Greek text, in two MSS., belonging to quite different groups. The section xxii. 1-xxiii. 7 interrupts the connection.

¹ Imitated here by A.V., one of the places where the anxiety of A.V. to harmonise inconsistent passages overcomes its usual deference to the Masoretic Text.
xxiii. I-7, Budde, late post-exilic addition; Kittel = ?, the heading by R, Last Words of David.

A poem describing the character and blessedness of an ideal king, and the hateful character and certain doom of the wicked. Budde's and Kittel's view is that of Cornill, p. 108. Cheyne, Psalter, 205 f., assigns it to the Exile.

xxiii. 8-39 (J), Da., David's Heroes and their Feats.

Placed by Budde with xxi. 15-22, of which it is the continuation, after v. 25.

xxiv. (J); Kittel = ?, Census punished by Plague, which is stayed by sacrifice on the site of the future Temple.

Closely connected with xxi. 1-14, and placed by Budde between viii. and xxi. i. In i. Kings, chaps. i f. are practically the conclusion of the Book of Samuel; cf. thereon in Kings.

(e) Use in N.T.—There are a few references to the history; among them, our Lord's appeal (Matthew xii. 3 ff.) to Abimelech's gift of the shewbread to David, I. xxi., as a justification of the disciples plucking corn on the Sabbath. The promise to David's dynasty, II. vii. 14, "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son," is applied to Christ (Hebrews i. 5.)

32. Kings.

(a) Title and Divisions.—Hebrew (in the MSS. etc.) Kings; LXX., iii. and iv. Kingdoms; Vulg., iii. and iv. Kings; E.V., i. and ii. Kings. Originally a single book; the division was made by the LXX., from which it found its way into the other versions and the printed editions of the Hebrew.¹

(b) Analysis and Composition.—Up to a certain point Kings presents the same phenomena as the previous books. There are obvious traces of pre-Deuteronomic sources, of Deuteronomic material, and of later post-exilic additions; and it is clear that an edition of Kings was included in the great Deuteronomic history or series of histories, Genesis–Kings,² compiled during or soon after the Exile.

On the other hand, Kings differs in important respects from

¹ Ginsburg, pp. 45, 953. ² Ruth, as always, excepted.
the preceding books. (i.) The Deuteronomic material is much more extensive than in Samuel. (ii.) Whereas in Judges and Samuel, the work of RD was confined in each case to re-editing a pre-Deuteronomic book, possibly a section of JE; in Kings, RD had no such earlier edition to work upon, but himself compiled the book from various sources. (iii.) J and E, if present in Kings at all, supply only a small portion of the material; and the main source or sources are a work or works constantly cited as “The Book of the Acts of Solomon,” “The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,” and “The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.”

Our book is clearly later than the release of Jehoiachin, 561; but probably not much later, for this section is the conclusion of the author’s work, there is nothing extant which can be a sequel by the same hand; the insertion of this section shows the author’s anxiety to bring his work up to date, and seems to be the last important event known to him when he wrote. On these and other grounds, the extant edition of Kings may be assigned to the second half of the Exile, or to a date soon after the Exile.

But the work of the exilic or post-exilic Deuteronomist to whom we owe Kings, was merely that of an editor, who brought an earlier RD book up to date, and co-ordinated it with the Deuteronomic editions of Genesis–Kings. Apart from xxiii. 26—xxv. 30, which were added by the later Deuteronomist, the rest of the book, in substance, was the work of an earlier Deuteronomist, writing soon after 621, possibly towards the close of Josiah’s reign, or in that of Jehoiachin. This earlier RD, the real author of Kings, writes from the standpoint of the Jewish monarchy, as still existing, and existing alone; e.g., II. xvii. 18, 21–23. So, too, the phrase “unto this day” is used in RD passages, in a way that

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1 See on I. i. f., II. xx. ff.
2 Of course, not our “Chronicles.”
3 II. xxv. 27–30.
4 Apart from insertions by post-exilic editors, see on I. 13, etc., which did not substantially alter the book.
5 Verses 19 f., which interrupt the connection, are a later insertion.
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shows that “this day” was a time when the Jewish monarchy still existed.¹

Amongst other material, the Deuteronomic authors furnished the introductory and closing formulæ to the various reigns, including the judgment on the character of the kings; and also a series of references to the sinful toleration of the high places, obviously written from the standpoint of Deuteronomy. The scheme of chronology and the synchronisms between the reigns of Jewish and Israelite kings are commonly ascribed to the later RΔ, because they are sometimes at variance with the history, as given in the body of the book,² i.e., as compiled by the earlier RΔ. The RΔ authors will have found their data—the lengths of the reigns—in the older sources.

The main sources used by RΔ were the “Books” referred to above. Those dealing with Solomon and the kings of Judah, or even all three “Books,” may be sections of one work. These books are not supposed to have been the official annals of the two kingdoms, but compilations from those annals. The material apparently derived from the “Books” had neither the dry matter-of-fact character nor the cautious reserve of official archives; and shows a special interest in ritual and the Temple.³ If the “Book” on Judah was used for the reign of Hezekiah, and possibly even for that of Jehoiachin,⁴ it must have been compiled in Hezekiah’s, or even in Jehoiachin’s reign. The latter seems impossible, it is too near to the latest possible date for the pre-exilic RΔ, and is also excluded by the absence of traces of Deuteronomic influence from the material supposed to be derived from the “Books.” Hezekiah’s reign would not be an improbable date for the “Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,” and if the other two “Books” are not sections or variant titles for parts of the same work, they may be earlier; but as they

¹ II. viii. 22, xvi. 6.
² CORNILL, p. 116, WELLHAUSEN, Composition of the Hexateuch, p. 300.
³ Unless the sections dealing with the latter are from another source.
⁴ Skinner, Kings, p. 22, dates this “Book” in Zedekiah’s reign.
seem to have been very similar in character, not much earlier. Early documents, J or an early history of David, E, ninth century prophetic narratives of Northern Israel are also distinguished, and apparently were not parts of the "Books."

If the "Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" is referred to the reign of Hezekiah, II. xxiv. 5, which cites it for Jehoiakim, is either a mistaken imitation by the later R⁹ of the formula of the earlier R⁹, or the "Book" itself was supplemented and used by the exilic R⁹. One is tempted to suggest that the "Acts" and the two "Books" were a Deuteronomic work or works used by the later R⁹.

Strictly speaking, our book does not state that the "Acts" and "Books" are the authorities for its statements, but refers the reader to them for further information; but, doubtless, as is generally taken for granted, the work or works in question were one of the chief sources used by the author of Kings. The sections of Kings derived from the "Books" are sometimes spoken of as the "Epitome," and, of course, owe their present form to the selection and arrangement made by the pre-exilic R⁹.

(c) Chronology.—The duration of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah furnishes two sets of data for the chronology, and the synchronisms bring the two into relation with each other. The two sets of data, however, are primâ facie inconsistent, e.g., the period from the accession of Athaliah and Jehu to the fall of Samaria is 165 years according to the Judahite reigns, but 143 years 7 months according to the Israelite reigns. While, according to the Assyrian dates, the interval must have been less than 132 years. By a free use of co-regencies between father and son, and of other uncertain elements in the data—such as whether the year of a king's death counts both to him and his successors—these, or any, discrepancies may be harmonised. But it is scarcely worth while to take the trouble, for Kings affords further evidence of what has already appeared in Judges, namely, that the Deuteronomic chronology is partly controlled by a priori theories. I. vi. 1 states that 480 years elapsed from the Exodus to the building of the Temple; the Judahite reigns, etc. give 480 years from the building of the Temple to the Return;¹ the total Israelite reigns amount to 242 years, which

¹ An argument for the post-exilic date of the later R⁹.
may reasonably be corrected to 240 years, the half of 480. Evidently sets of twelve and six generations of forty years each. The discrepancies when the two sets of data are closely compared may be due to the fact that one or other of the editors overlooked the fact that, owing to the adjustment of the figures to his theory of six and twelve generations, his sum would not "prove." Nevertheless for Kings, R° probably had accurate data, and has not seriously departed from them.¹

(d) Contents and Archaeology.

FIRST KINGS.

I., II., Conclusion of the History of David, Adonijah’s Conspiracy, Solomon Anointed, Death of David, Execution of Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei, Banishment of Abiathar.

With the exception of ii. 27, a later addition, and ii. 1-11, which has been edited by R°, chapters i., ii. are the conclusion of the early history of David, which Budde ascribes to J; cf. § 31.

III.-XI., Solomon.

iii., Pharaoh’s Daughter, Solomon’s Choice and Judgment.

Pre-Deuteronomistic; except 2f., 14f. = R°. How far the pre-Deuteronomistic sections in iii.-xi. come from the Book of the Acts of Solomon, xi. 41, or from "prophetical narratives," is matter of controversy.

iv. 1-14, Solomon’s Ministers, Splendour, and Wisdom.

Substantially pre-Deuteronomistic.

v. 15-ix. 9, The Temple—Treaty with Hiram and other Preparations, its Building. Palaces, Pillars, Furniture, etc. Jehovah appears again to Solomon.

Pre-Deuteronomistic groundwork, to which the following are the chief additions: R°, vi. 1 (later), 7, II-13, viii. 1-9, 14-66, ix. 1-9; late priestly writers, “the Most Holy Place,” in vi. 16, vii. 48-50, viii. 1a, 2aa, 4 from “And the Tent of Meeting,” 5, “the Most Holy Place” in 6. LXX. omits “the Tent of Meeting, and all the holy vessels that were in the Tent,” in v. 6; its reading in 12 probably shows that the original cited this verse from the Book of Jashar, cf. on Joshua x. 12; LXX. places 12 f. after 53.

ix. 10-x., Cession to Hiram, Acquisition of Gezer, Corvée, Commerce, Queen of Sheba, Splendour and Power.

Substantially pre-Deuteronomistic, from various sources.

xi., Solomon's Harem, Worship of Strange Gods, Adversaries and Death.

Deuteronomistic; except 14-28, 40, taken from one of the older sources.

XII.–XVI. JEROBOAM TO AHAB.

xii. 1–31., Division into Two Kingdoms, under Rehoboam and Jeroboam.

Pre-Deuteronomistic; except 26–29 = Rd.

xii. 32–xiii., Mission of Anonymous Prophet to Jeroboam at Bethel, the Prophet's Disobedience and Death.

Post-exilic addition, Benzinger, etc.

xiv. 1–20, Abijah pronounces the Doom of Jeroboam and his House, Death of Jeroboam.

Deuteronomistic.

xiv. 21–31, Rehoboam, Shishak.

Pre-Deuteronomistic; except the formulae. Shishak, c. 966–933, in his inscription in the temple of Amon at Karnak states that he captured cities both in Judah and Israel.

xv. f., Abijah, Asa, of Judah; Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Zimri, Omri, Ahab, of Israel.

Deuteronomistic epitome from the "Book of the Chronicles"; xvi. 2–4, perhaps composed by Rd, or even later.

In the Assyrian inscriptions, Omri is mentioned as paying tribute to Asurnazirpal in 876; Israel is often spoken of as the "House of Omri"; Ahab is mentioned in a list of Syrian kings whom Shalmaneser II. claims to have defeated at Karkar on the Orontes in 854.

On the Moabite Stone, Mesha, King of Moab, tells how Omri oppressed Moab, and how, under him (Mesha), Moab, by the grace of Chemosh, recovered its independence, and captured many towns from Gad. This narrative is the sequel to ii. Kings iii., or vice versa.

XVII.—SECOND KINGS. XIII.—ELIJAH AND ELISHA.

In these chapters, the bulk of the narratives concerning Elijah and Elisha are referred to ninth century prophetical documents of the Northern Kingdom, denoted below by El. Other long and graphic accounts of the Wars of Israel and Syria, and the overthrow of the House of Omri, are referred to another northern document, perhaps the Hexateuchal E.¹

xvii. ff., El., Elijah—Famine, Cherith, Zarephath, Victory over Baal at Carmel, Theophany at Horeb, Calling of Elisha.

xx. (E), Ahab's Victories over Benhadad.

The account of the anonymous prophet, 13 f., 22, 28, 35–43, is regarded by Wellhausen, Benzinger, and Kamphausen as a later addition, according to the latter, post-exilic.

¹ So Kamphausen; Benzinger, xx., xxii., 9th cent. hist. of Ahab.
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xxii. 1-38 (E), Ahab and Jehoshaphat at Ramoth Gilead, Micaiah's Warning, Death of Ahab.

xxii. 39-54, Jehoshaphat of Judah, Ahaziah of Israel.

Deuteronomic epitome from the "Books of the Chronicles."

SECOND KINGS.

i., Ahaziah's Sickness and Death, Elijah calls down Fire from Heaven.

Verses 1, 18, belong to the Deuteronomic epitome; 2-17 are held to be a late post-exilic addition on an earlier basis; Benzinger, 2-4, 17a = El., 5-16 belong to time of earlier R P.

ii., El., Elijah's Ascension, Elisha succeeds him.

This chapter and the succeeding sections of El., dealing with Elisha, probably belong to a document, different from, but allied to the document from which the earlier sections dealing with Elijah, were taken.

iii. (E); except iff. = R P*, War of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the King of Edom against Moab. Cf. on I. xv. f.

iv.-vi. 23, El., Elisha's Miracles—Widow's Oil, Shunamitess, Death in the Pot, Feeding a Multitude, Naaman, Gehazi, Floating Axe-head, Syrian Army beguiled into Samaria and released.

vi. 24-vii. (E), Benhadad besieges Samaria, Famine, Deliverance foretold by Elisha, Flight of the Besiegers.

viii. 1-15, El., Elisha commends the Shunamitess to the king, and anoints Hazael.

viii. 16-29, Jehoram and Ahaziah of Judah.

Deuteronomic epitome.

ix. f. (E); except ix. 7-10a, 14, 15a, 29, x. 28-31 = R P; x. 32-36 = Deuteronomic epitome, Jehu slays Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Jezebel, becomes king, and massacres the family of Ahab and the worshippers of Baal, Victories of Hazael, Jehu's reign and death.

From the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II., King of Assyria, now in the British Museum, we learn that Shalmaneser defeated Hazael in 842, and that Jehu sent tribute to the Assyrian king, which is depicted on it.

Deuteronomic compilation from "Books of the Chronicles," and perhaps other older sources, e.g., in xi. 13-18a. The identity of xiii. 12 f., with xiv. 15 f., is due to some accident, perhaps connected with the successive editings.

xiii. 14-21, El.; 22, 24 f.,* Pre-Deuteronomic; 23, R¹, Death of Elisha, Hazael's Victories and Death, Victories of Joash.

XIV.-XXV., CLOSING PERIOD OF THE MONARCHY.

xiv. f., Amaziah of Judah, Joash of Israel defeats Amaziah, Jeroboam II. of Israel, Azariah (Uzziah) of Judah, Zechariah, Shallum, Menahem of Israel; Invasion of Pul, King of Assyria, to whom Menahem pays tribute; Pekahiah and Pekah of Israel; Tiglath-Pileser, King of Assyria, carries captive Galilee and Gilead; Jotham of Judah.

Deuteronomic epitome, in which xiv. 5 f. and the framework, etc. of the formulae are added by the compiler.

Pul was the founder of a new Assyrian dynasty, who assumed the title of Tiglath-Pileser III., 745-727. His inscriptions record campaigns in Phoenicia, Syria and Palestine, tribute paid by Azariah of Judah, Rezin of Damascus, Menahem of Samaria.

xvi. f., Ahaz of Judah, Ahaz attacked by Pekah and Rezin, purchases the aid of Tiglath-Pileser, who attacks Damascus and Israel; Hoshea of Israel, Siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser IV., Fall of Samaria, Captivity of Israel, Settlement of Eastern Tribes in the territory of Israel.

Deuteronomic epitome, in which xvii. 7-41 is an epilogue to the history of Israel by the Deuteronomic editors.

The Assyrian inscriptions record Tiglath-Pileser's subjugation of Syria and Israel, the deportation of Israelites to Assyria, the annexation of part of the territory of Israel, the murder of Pekah by his subjects, the appointment of Hoshea by Tiglath-Pileser, to whom his nominee paid tribute, also how Sargon II., 722-705, took Samaria, and carried the Israelites away captive in 722.

xviii. ff., Hezekiah—Suppression of the High Places, Fall of Samaria, Deliverance from Sennacherib, Illness and Recovery, Embassy of Merodach Baladan.

Deuteronomic compilation from older sources, in which xviii. 4b-7, 12, etc. are additions of the editors; xix. 21-31, and apparently 32-34, are, according to Driver, p. 187, unquestionably Isaiah's, and, if so, may have been borrowed by the editor from an early collection of Isaiah's writings. Cheyne and Duhm deny that they are Isaiah's; if so, they will be late additions to Kings. The section xviii. 17-xx. 19 has been borrowed from here, with some abridgment by the author of Isaiah xxxvi-xxxix.
The events in xx. 1-19, Illness, Embassy, took place before those of xviii. f.

An inscription of Sennacherib tells how he defeated the Egyptians at Eltekeh, laid waste Judah, carried off more than 200,000 captives and much spoil, and received tribute from Hezekiah. Naturally, he does not mention the catastrophe which befell his army; but, on the other hand, he does not claim to have taken Jerusalem. The Babylonian Chronicle states that S. was assassinated by his son.


For the most part a free composition by the author of Kings, i.e., the earlier Deuteronomic editor who had access to contemporary information for this period. The "Book of the Chronicle," however, is still cited for all these kings, except Jehoahaz, so that some use was made of that authority, although some or all of the references are the work of a later editor. The speech of Huldah, xxii. 15-20, is regarded as the work of the later Deuteronomic editor, substituted for a parallel section in the first edition of Kings; xxiii. 26 f. is from the same hand. If the work of the earlier Deuteronomic editor concluded with Josiah’s Reformation, xxiii. 26-xxiv. 5 must be ascribed to the later editor.

xxiv. 6–xxv., Jehoiachin, First Captivity of Judah; Zedekiah, Fall of Jerusalem, Final Captivity of Judah; Release of Jehoiachin.

Composed by the later Deuteronomic editor. The editor of the Book of Jeremiah has borrowed, with slight changes, xxiv. 18–xxv. 21, xxv. 27–30 = Jeremiah lii. 1–27, 31–34. Nebuchadnezzar’s numerous inscriptions are taken up with his buildings and offerings in Babylon, and do not record his campaigns in Judah.

(d) Use in N.T.—There are a few references to the history, especially to Solomon, Elijah, and Elisha.

33. Teaching of the Historical Books.

(a) History.—The crucial events and main lines of the History of Israel—the Exodus, the Conquest, the establishment, development, and fall of the Monarchy—are guaranteed by the internal evidence of the narratives, and from the time of Ahab,¹ by the witness of the monuments and by secular literature.

¹ Before Ahab, we have direct evidence from the monuments as to isolated events, and constructive evidence bearing on the history generally; but from the renewal of the Assyrian advance westward, about the time of Ahab, we have a fairly continuous Assyrian and Chaldean history running parallel to, and on the whole confirming the history in Kings.
This history obviously serves for warning and example; its lessons are mostly pointed out by the prophets. Also, in conjunction with the prophetical writings, our books record the discipline by which God educated Israel, and the providential dealings by which He prepared the way for Christ.

(b) Symbolic Narratives.—Some, however, of the narratives are not generally accepted as literal history. Genealogies, etc., especially in Genesis, are often supposed to give tribal history and state tribal relationships in terms of the individual and the family. If this is the case, we merely lose one kind of information and gain another. In other cases, as in the chapters on the Creation, the Fall, the Flood, etc., the narrative is commonly held to be a kind of parable or allegory, rather than actual history. Again, when we recognise that we have parables and not history, we incur no loss of spiritual teaching; we change the form in which the lessons are taught, and perhaps even add to their force and significance. Some of the deepest and strongest religious experiences express themselves, consciously or unconsciously, through the dramatic picturesqueness of parable and allegory. It was so with Christ. In many ways, neither biography nor autobiography are so impressive or convincing as the symbolic narrative. The latter is the more candid and faithful, and by its means the seer can set forth the truth he has learnt from his personal experience, without the limitations and obscurities of a personal narrative. Much of the gospel is set forth in such parables as the Prodigal Son, which have ever been mighty to convince and save. How many Church histories, how many biographies of eminent divines would we not gladly sacrifice rather than lose the Pilgrim's Progress? The great revelations which came to primitive Israel naturally found expression in such narratives. They may not be literal history, but they none the less bear true witness that, in those far off days, God spoke to man, and man heard, and, in some measure, understood.

(c) The Selection and Transmission of the Narratives.—Our narratives, whether historical or symbolical, are the survivors of a much more numerous company. They are extant through
a spiritual survival of the fittest, as the conquerors in a spiritual struggle for existence. In the long process of repeated editings, inspired men were guided to choose the good and reject the evil, and the inspired Church within the nation was guided to accept and canonise the results of their labours. Thus it is that we have the noble and simple narratives of the Old Testament instead of the immoral and grotesque legends of polytheism. And where something is preserved the teaching of which was not accurate in the light of a fuller revelation, the editors have been careful to place some better expressions of the truth in the same context. Thus our narratives not only set forth, historically or symbolically, the experiences of the man or generation with which they originated, but also of countless subsequent generations who reiterated and accepted them. They stand in our Bible, because the spiritual truths they set forth have been recognised again and again by the hearts and consciences of men. As our own hearts respond to them, we share a fellowship of man with God, which began when these stories were first told, before the beginnings of history, and has continued ever since.

(d) The Law.—In many respects the social legislation represents a higher ideal than any Christian state or Church has ever seriously attempted to realise. The land laws, for instance, seek to provide every Israelite family with an independent means of livelihood. In other matters, many provisions which are not according to present Christian standards, nevertheless marked a distinct advance in justice and humanity. Thus slavery is permitted, but each successive code seeks to improve the condition of slaves. Similarly, ritual regulations, which do not appeal to us, suitably expressed the religious feelings of their times, and replaced others of a lower order. Even the multiplicity and minuteness of the Priestly Code testify to a profound conviction of the reality of the relations between Israel and Jehovah, and to the urgent necessity that the nation should be in right relations to its God. With certain necessary modifications, we may apply to the laws of
the Priestly Code what Canon Illingworth says of ethnic ritual. We should not speak of the Levitical regulations as "puerile," or even "human enough," though there is a large human element; but if the ethnic rituals witness to the reality of religion, the Pentateuchal legislation bears more forcible and convincing testimony. The passage runs as follows:—"The ritual regulations of India, Persia, Babylon, Egypt, speak for themselves. They are obviously human enough; minute, excessive, often puerile. Yet there is something behind them; they labour to formulate something other than themselves, a power, an order, an authority, of which man is vaguely, but really conscious, and which he craves to have translated into words that he can understand. We turn with impatience from the endless pages of the religious law-books of the world; but their very mass is an indication of the divine superintendence which they symbolise; an effort to express the sense of infinite obligation, by the accumulation of infinitesimal rules."\(^1\)

\(^1\) Personality, pp. 169 f.
CHAPTER III.

LATER HISTORICAL BOOKS

CHRONICLES TO ESTHER

1. Titles, Divisions, and Mutual Relations of Chron.-Ezra-Neh.
2. Date and Authorship of Chron.-Ezra-Neh.
3. Sources of Chron.

5. Historical Character and Teaching of Chron.
6. Use of Chron. in N.T.
7. Sources of Ezra-Neh.
10. Esther.

1. Titles, Divisions, and Mutual Relations of Chronicles—Ezra—Nehemiah.—Similarity of style and spirit, the identity of the end of Chronicles with the beginning of Ezra, and the fact that Chronicles ends in the middle of a sentence, show that Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah once formed a single work. Our English versions follow the Vulg. and LXX. in placing Chronicles after Kings, and before Ezra and Nehemiah—the natural order as Ezra—Nehemiah is the sequel to Chronicles. In the Masoretic lists and in the Spanish MSS., Chronicles stands at the beginning and Ezra—Nehemiah at the end of the Hagiographa; in the Talmud, most German MSS. and the early printed editions, Chronicles stands at the end of the Hagiographa, immediately after Ezra—Nehemiah. Apparently, when the division was made, it was intended to place Ezra—Nehemiah in the Canon, and exclude

1 ii. Chron. xxxvi. 22 f. = Ezra i. 1—3a.
2 Verse 23b β (Chron.) is the first half of the second sentence in verse 3 (Ezra).
3 GINSBURG, Introduction, pp. 6 ff.; article “Chronicles,” Dr. HASTINGS’ Bible Dictionary.
Chronicles, as a superfluous and inferior variant of Kings. The ragged end, so to speak, left to Chronicles, points to the same conclusion. But after the Hagiographa were otherwise complete, Chronicles was added, sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end. After this addition Chronicles still formed one, and Ezra–Nehemiah another single book; the present division into i. and ii. Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is due to the LXX., in some MSS. of which, however, Ezra and Nehemiah still make up one book, Esdras B.

The Hebrew title of Chronicles is Dibhhrè hay-Yamîm, or “Annals”; whence E.V., Chronicles. The LXX. is Ta Paraleipomena, usually explained as “the things passed over,” i.e., in Samuel and Kings; whence Vulg. Paraleipomenon. In Hebrew and E.V. the other two books are styled Ezra and Nehemiah, originally Ezra–Nehemiah went by the name Ezra; when they were divided Nehemiah was a natural title for the second book. The Vulg. styles them i. and ii. Esdras; the LXX., either Esdras B² (as one book) or Esdras B and Nehemiah.

The iii. Esdras of the LXX. and Vulg., the i. Esdras of the English Apocrypha, is a variant edition of our Ezra; see chapter on the Apocrypha.

2. Date and Authorship of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah.—The author’s name is unknown; his interest in the Levites and the Temple music suggests that he belonged to one of the Levitical choirs. The contents of the work show that it is considerably later than Ezra and Nehemiah, 458–432. Nehemiah xii. 10 f. mentions Jaddua, high priest in the time of Alexander the Great, c. 330. In i. Chronicles iii. 24, the genealogy of David extends, according to the Hebrew Text, to the sixth, according to the LXX., Syriac, and Vulg., to the eleventh generation after Zerubbabel, i.e., to c. 350 or to c. 200. On the other hand, there is no trace either of the sufferings or triumphs of the Maccabean period, c. 170–140.

¹ To be carefully distinguished from the “Chronicles” cited in Kings.
² In Lagarde's Lucianic Text as Esdras A.
Hence the date is usually fixed as 300-250. The style and language are consistent with this date, and with the reference to the book in Ecclesiasticus\(^1\) xl. 13.


(i.), (ii.), (iii.), and perhaps (xii.) are variant titles of the same work; most or all of (iv.)–(xi.), (xiii.)–(xv.) are the titles of sections of this work, a section being cited by the name of the best known prophet of the period it describes. Thus “The Words of Jehu ben–Hanani” were “inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel,” and “The Vision of Isaiah” is said to be in “The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.”\(^4\)

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1 c. B.C. 180.
2 So LXX., A.V., R.V. Mg.; Hebrew and R.V. Text “Hozai”; Kittel, Dr. Haupt’s Sacred Books of O.T., reads “Hozayw,” his seers, with Budd.
3 i.e., an edition supplemented by edifying illustrative narratives.
4 II. xx. 34, xxxii. 32.
As much of the material in Chronicles is identical with parts of Kings, this "Book of the Kings" may be our Kings. But Chronicles states that this "Book" contained certain information, which is not found in Kings. Hence it is commonly supposed that this "Book" was a Midrash or expansion of our Kings, and that perhaps the "Midrash" made use of the sources of our Kings. There seems no reason to suppose that Chronicles made use of any pre-exilic sources, with the possible exception of Kings, and some genealogical archives.

Chronicles has borrowed, more or less, directly or indirectly, from the Pentateuch, Joshua and Ruth; but chiefly from Samuel and Kings.¹ There are also excerpts from the Psalter.

4. Contents of Chronicles.²

FIRST CHRONICLES.
I.–IX. GENEALOGIES.

i.–ii. 17, Adam to David.
Compiled from Genesis, Numbers, Joshua, i. Kings, and Ruth, unless the genealogy in Ruth is from the source of ii. 5–12.

ii. 18–55, Ch., Calebites, their Settlements.
Kittel refers 25–33, 42–45, 49 to a source older than the Midrash; cf. § 5 (b).

iii., The Davidic Dynasty from David to Anani; 17–24 = Ch.
Anani was apparently the head of the House of David in the time of the Chronicler. Verses 1–16 compiled from ii. Samuel and Kings.

iv. 1–23, Ch., Other Judahite Clans, their Settlements.
Kittel refers 1–20 to an older source; cf. on ii. 18–55.

Verses 24, 28–33 compiled from Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Joshua xix.; most of the rest referred by Kittel to older source.

v., Ch., Clans, Settlements, Conquests, and Captivity of Reuben, Gad and Eastern Manasseh.

vi. 1–15, Ch., High-priestly dynasty from Aaron to the Captivity.

¹ Cf. Contents.
² Longer passages, peculiar to Chron. in substance as well as form, are denoted by Ch.; shorter fragments, in passages compiled from Genesis–Kings, are not indicated unless specially important.
Some of the names also occur in the earlier historical books. Kittel refers 5-15 to an older source.

vi. 16-48, Ch., Genealogies of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, the traditional ancestors of the Levitical choirs.

vi. 49-53 = 4-8, Ch., High-priestly dynasty from Aaron to Solomon.

vi. 54-81 = Joshua xxi. 5-39, Priestly and Levitical Cities.

vii., Ch., Clans of Issachar, Benjamin, Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher.

Kittel refers 14-19, 21b-24 to older source.

viii., Ch., Clans of Benjamin, Descendants of Saul.

Kittel considers viii., which is a variant of vii. 6-12, as a later addition. Such passages may, however, be additions made by the Chronicler himself to the material he obtained from his main source.

ix., Ch., Chief families, Priests, Levites, Gate-keepers at Jerusalem after the Return, Saul's Descendants.

Verses 1 f. = Ezra ii. 70 = Nehemiah vii. 73a, xi. 3b; 3-17a = Nehemiah xi. 4-19a; 35-44, Saul's descendants, is repeated from viii. 29-38.

X.-XXIX., David.

x. f. = i. Samuel xxxi., ii. Samuel v. 1-3, 6-10, xxiii. 8-39; except x. 13f., xi. 10, 41b-47 = Ch., Saul's Death, David's Accession and Capture of Jerusalem, His Heroes.

Kittel refers xi. 41b-47 to older source.

xii. = Ch., Warriors who came to David at Ziklag and at Hebron.

xiii. f. = ii. Samuel vi. 1-11, v. vii. 22; except xiii. 1-5,* xiv. 17 = Ch., Unsuccessful attempt to bring the Ark to Jerusalem, Hiram, David's Sons, Victories over the Philistines.

xv. f., Ch., The Ark brought to Zion.

Based on ii. Samuel vi. 12-20, fragments of which are reproduced in xv. 25-xvi. 3, 43. The psalm in xvi. is compiled from Psalms cv. 1-15, xcvi. 1-13,* cvi. 1, 47 f.

xvii.-xx. = ii. Samuel vii. f., x., xi. 1, xii. 26, 30 f., xxi. 18-22, Nathan's Prophecy, Wars with Ammonites, etc., David's Ministers, and Heroes.

dxvi.-xxii. 1, Census, consequent Pestilence, stayed by sacrifice at Araunah's Threshing-floor.

A much altered edition of ii. Samuel xxiv. Satan, and not Jehovah, tempts David to number Israel; Levi and Benjamin are not numbered. Instead of buying the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of
silver, he buys "the place" (of the threshing-floor) for six hundred shekels of gold.

xxii. 2–xxix., Ch., Instructions to Solomon as to the Building of the Temple, Organisation, etc. of the Levites, Priests, Singers, Gate-keepers, the Army, and the Tribes, Instructions to Solomon and Israel as to the Temple, Offerings of the people for the Temple, David's Thanksgiving, Solomon anointed King, David's Death.

SECOND CHRONICLES.

I.–IX., SOLOMON.

i. 1–13, Sacrifice, Dream and Choice at Gibeon.

Revised edition of i. Kings iii. 4–13, introducing the "Tent of Meeting."

i. 14–17 = i. Kings x. 26–29, Horses and Chariots.

Kings states that Solomon made silver to be as stones in Jerusalem, Chronicles expands this to silver and gold.

ii.–vii., Building and Dedication of the Temple.

A very much expanded version of i. Kings v.–ix.; chapters ii., iii., v. 11–13, vi. 12 f., 40–vii. 6, 11–15 are almost entirely the work of the Chronicler. He introduces the Levites and singers, and the courses of the priests, v. 11 f., and the keeping of the Feast (Tabernacles) on the eighth day, according to the Priestly Code.

viii. f. = i. Kings ix., x. (most), xi. 42 f.; except viii. 12–16,* and many small additions to ix. = Ch., Organisation of the Kingdom, Queen of Sheba.

In i. Kings ix. 10 f. Solomon gives cities to Hiram; in Ch. viii. 2, which corresponds to it in the arrangement of material, Hiram gives cities to Solomon.

X.–XXXVI., DIVISION OF THE TWO KINGDOMS TO THE RESTORATION.

x. ff. = i. Kings xii. 1–24, xiv. 25–28, 21; except xi. 5–xii. 1, xii. 2b–8 = Ch., Rehoboam.

The Ch. sections enumerate R's buildings, the migration of the Levites to Judah, R's family, and the warning of Shemaiah.

xiii. 1 f. = i. Kings xv. 1 f., 7b, Abijah.

xiii. 3–22, Ch., Abijah's Victory over Jeroboam.

Abijah is a bad king in Kings.

xiv. 1–xv. 15, Ch., Asa—Suppression of the High Places, Defeat of Zerah the Ethiopian, Prophecy of Azariah ben Oded.
Portions of i. Kings xv. 8-12 are reproduced in xiv. 1-5. Zerah is sometimes identified with Osorkon II., King of Egypt, who claims to have made a successful campaign in Palestine, c. 866. Kittel refers xiv. 8 f.,* 11, 12a to older source. *Oded, xv. 8, for Azariah ben Oded is due to a corruption of the text.

xv. 16-xvi. 6 = i. Kings xv. 13-22, Asa—Maachah deposed, High Places not suppressed, Alliance with Benhadad against Israel.

xvi. 7-14, Ch., Asa—Prophecy and Imprisonment of Hanani, Disease and Death of Asa.

Fragments of i. Kings xv. 23 f. in xvi. 12 ff.

xvii., Ch., Jehoshaphat—Itinerant Priests and Levites teach the Law, Peaceful Prosperity.

Kittel refers "sent" in 7, and 8b, 9 to older source.

xviii. = i. Kings xxii. 2-35a, Jehoshaphat and Ahab at Ramoth Gilead.

Verses 1 f., mainly Ch.

xix.-xx. 30, Ch., Jehoshaphat—Prophecy of Jehu ben Hanani, Priests and Levites as Judges, Invading Ammonites, Moabites, etc. exterminate one another while the Levitical choirs sing praises.

xx. 31-37, Jehoshaphat—Summary, Alliance with Ahaziah, Loss of Navy.

Based on i. Kings xxii. 41 ff., 48 f.; the condemnation of the alliance with Israel, and the prophecy of Eliezer are Ch.

xxi. = i. Kings xxii. 50, ii. Kings viii. 17-22, 24a; except 2-4, 10b-20 = Ch., Jehoram.

Ch. sections include Jehoram's Massacre of his Brethren, Elijah's writing to Jehoram, and the Misfortunes of Jehoram.

xxii. 1-9, Ahaziah.

Based on, and partly extracted from ii. Kings viii. 24-x.

xxii. 10-xxiii., Athaliah.

Revised edition of ii. Kings xi. 1-20, e.g., the Levitical temple-guard of the Chronicler's times is substituted for the foreign mercenary body-guard of the Davidic kings.

xxiv., Joash.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xi. 21-xii., e.g., the Apostasy of Joash, and the Martyrdom of Zechariah are Ch.

xxv. = ii. Kings xiv. 2-14, 17, 19 f., except 5-11a, 12-16 = Ch., Amaziah.

Ch. sections include Dismissal of Israelite Mercenaries at the bidding of a Man of God, and Amaziah's Apostasy rebuked by a Prophet.
xxvi., Ch.; except 1-4 = ii. Kings xiv. 21 f., xv. 2 f., and 20-23 include fragments of xv. 5 ff., Uzziah.

Ch. portions include the Mission of Zechariah, Uzziah’s Victories, His Intrusion into the Temple. Kittel refers 6, 8a, 9 f. to older source.

xxvii. = ii. Kings xv. 33-34, 35b, 38; except 2b, 3b-7 = Ch., Jotham.

Kittel refers 4 ff., Buildings and Wars to older source.

xxviii., Ahaz.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xvi. Ch. adds the Mission of Oded, Release of Judahite captives, Invasions by Edomites and Philistines, etc.

xxix.-xxxi., Hezekiah.

Revised and expanded edition of ii. Kings xviii.-xx. Ch. minimises the part played by Isaiah; and inserts profuse details as to Temple ritual, Levites and singers. Kittel refers xxxii. 30, as far as “David,” to older source.

xxxiii. 1-20 = ii. Kings xxi. 1-10, 18; except 11-19 = Ch., Manasseh.

Ch. section contains M.’s Captivity, Repentance, and Buildings.

xxxiii. 21-25, Amon.


xxxiv. f., Josiah.


xxxvi. 1-21, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah.

Compiled from ii. Kings xxiii. 30-xxv. 21. Ch. introduces a reference to Jeremiah, xxxvi. 12.

xxxvi. 22 f. = Ezra i. 1-3a, The Decree of Cyrus.

5. Historical Character and Teaching of Chronicles.—The Chronicler’s selection and statement of history were intended to enforce, in the most emphatic way, the teaching he had most at heart.1 He wished to give object lessons in the observance of the Law. The Law, he held, was not observed

1 The Chronicler and the author of his main source, the Midrash on Kings, were of the same mind and temper, so that in speaking of the Chronicler, we include the author of the Midrash. But the dependence of Chron. on this source shifts the responsibility for narratives not found in Genesis–Kings from the author of the canonical book to his authority.
before David, or in that product of schism and treason, the Northern kingdom. Hence he confines his history to the Davidic monarchy, even at the expense of sacrificing the history of Elijah and Elisha. He describes David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah as worshipping with a full accompaniment of ritual, priests, Levites and choirs, and according to the laws of the complete Pentateuch; for he assumed that what was binding in his own day must have been observed by the good kings. The Chronicler was anxious to teach that virtue and vice invariably meet with their due; Kings had not always recorded the sins which involved a disastrous close to the reigns of good kings, or the misfortunes which punished the wickedness of bad kings. The Chronicler, as far as his source permitted, supplied these defects.¹

As far as possible, nothing is told of the good kings which would weaken the force of their good examples. Thus the incidents of Uriah and Bathsheba, of Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom, are entirely omitted. The Chronicler also exalts his heroes by giving them large armies, great wealth and splendour²; and shows a fondness for statistics and genealogies.

Professor Sayce writes thus: "The consistent exaggeration of numbers on the part of the Chronicler shows us that from a historical point of view his unsupported statements must be received with caution. But they do not justify the accusations of deliberate fraud and 'fiction' which have been brought against him. What they prove is that he did not possess that sense of historical exactitude which we now demand from the historian. He wrote, in fact, with a didactic and not with a historical purpose. That he should have used the framework of history to illustrate the lessons he wished to draw was as much an accident as that Sir Walter Scott should

² Cf. Contents on ii. i: 14–17, Solomon:
³ Higher Crit., 1894, p. 464.
have based certain of his novels on the facts of mediæval history. He cared as little for history in the modern European sense of the word as the Oriental of to-day, who considers himself at liberty to embellish or modify the narrative he is repeating in accordance with his fancy or the moral he wishes to draw from it."

In considering the value of Chronicles, we must deal separately with the different kinds of material.

(a) _Material taken from Genesis–Kings, etc._—Chronicles preserves an alternative text, which sometimes gives the better reading.

(b) _Material from Older Sources._—If Kittel is right in assigning certain passages\(^1\) to a source older than the Midrash, we possess in Chronicles some fragments of information, _e.g._, as to the Invasion of Zerah, not given in Genesis–Kings, but derived from early, perhaps pre-exilic sources.

(c) _Narratives not traceable earlier than the Midrash of Kings._—Narratives which give no indication of early origin rest simply on the unsupported testimony of a document composed from 700 to 300 years later than the events described. For the teaching of (a), (b), (c) see chapter ii., § 33.

(d) _Narratives of Earlier Events in Terms of the Institutions and Ideas of the Chronicler's Own Times._—Here an example was set which is constantly imitated; teachers and preachers often seek to make a Biblical narrative more impressive by telling the story as if the event had happened in the nineteenth century. Probably Chronicles was very useful in this way to the Jews of the period. To us this material is valuable as revealing the institutions and ideas of the Chronicler's time; the comparison with Kings enables us to contrast the Jewish community with ancient Israel. Moreover the utterances ascribed by Chronicles to its characters often contain most useful and suggestive teaching; they were the expression of deep and real experience, and they still help to renew and express such experience.

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\(^1\) Not found in 'Gen.–Kings. _Cf._ Contents on I. iv., vi. f., II. xiv, xvii.
6. Use of Chronicles in N.T.—It is possible that some of the persons in Luke’s genealogy, iii. 2b f., are identical with persons mentioned only in I. iii. 19–22. Matthew ix. 36 is more closely parallel to ii. Chronicles xviii. 16, peculiar to Chronicles, than to Numbers xxvii. 17 or Ezekiel xxxiv. 5; but it may have been suggested by either of the latter, or may be simply the current form of a popular figure. The “Zachariah, son of Barachiah, whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar” (Matthew xxiii. 35)\(^1\) is identified with the Zachariah, the son of Jehoiada, whose martyrdom in the Temple court is related in II. xxiv. 21, and nowhere else. Otherwise there is nothing in the N.T. to show that any of its writers were acquainted with Chronicles.

7. Sources of Ezra–Nehemiah.—Ezra vii. 27–ix. are in the first person, and are derived from memoirs composed by Ezra; other passages in Ezra-Nehemiah may be based on these memoirs.\(^2\) Nehemiah i.–vii. 5 and xi.–xiii. (in part) are in the first person, and are derived from memoirs compiled by Nehemiah; other passages in Nehemiah may be based on these memoirs.\(^2\) Both sets of memoirs may be dated c. 430. Ezra iv. 8–vi. 18, vii. 12–26, which are in Western or Palestinian Aramaic, are taken from another source, which may be dated c. 450.\(^3\) Ezra–Nehemiah also contains a series of official documents: the Decree of Cyrus, Ezra i. 1–4; Letters between Rehum and Artaxerxes, iv. 7–23; Letters between Tattenai and Darius, v. 6–vi. 12; Artaxerxes’ Firman to Ezra, vii. 11–26. The authenticity of these documents is matter of controversy.\(^4\) Ezra iv. 7–23 is out of place, and belongs to the building, not of the Temple, but of the walls. Probably, as in Chronicles, the Chronicler did not compile Ezra–Nehemiah from the original sources,

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\(^1\) Also Luke xi. 51, where the father’s name is omitted. The first hand of Cod. Sin. omits it in Matt., and Jerome states that the Nazarene Gospel had “son of Jehoiada” in Matt. (Tisch.)

\(^2\) Cf. Contents.

\(^3\) KAUTZSCH, CORNILL.

\(^4\) They were rejected by KOSTERS, Het Herstel, etc., German Trans., but are accepted by Kautzsch, and with the exception of i. 1–4 by MEYER, Entstehung, etc.
but revised a compilation already made, possibly a portion of the same work, parts of which are referred to as the Book of Kings," etc., or the "Midrash of the Book of Kings," etc.

8. Historical Accuracy of Ezra–Nehemiah.—It has been maintained that the Chronicler, or one of his authorities, has entirely misunderstood the course of the history on two main points.

(a) The Return and Building of the Temple.—There was, it is said, no Return in 538; there was no attempt to rebuild the Temple till the time of Haggai and Zechariah, 520; and the Temple was rebuilt by the Jewish community left behind in Palestine, when the bulk of the population were carried away captive in 586. The main argument for this view is that Haggai and Zechariah make no reference to any Return, or to any previous work towards the building of the Temple. The treatment of the history in Kings by the Chronicler or his source, weakens the authority of the statements in Ezra i.–vi. Yet the silence of Haggai and Zechariah does not seem conclusive disproof of statements made even as late as 250.

Cheyne's Introd. to Isaiah, xxxviii. f., substantially adopts Kosters' view. This view is also adopted in the article EZRA-NEHEMIAH by Kosters and Cheyne in the Encyclopaedia Biblica, 1901, II. 1478 ff. An extreme form of this view and of the unhistorical character of Ezra-Nehemiah is given in C.C. Torrey's Ezra Studies, 1910 (Theol. Lit. Zeit.). G. A. Smith, in a careful discussion of the subject in Book of the Twelve, p. 204 ff., concludes that the Return took place in 537, and that the Jews who returned rebuilt the Temple, and probably made some beginning immediately after the Return. Meyer, Entstehung, combats Kosters view at length, and it has also been rejected by Kuenen and Wellhausen (ap. Meyer). Many critics, however, who accept the Return, maintain that no attempt was made to rebuild the Temple before 520.

(b) The Date of Ezra's Mission.—It is also maintained that Ezra's mission and reforms took place—not, as the Chronicler represents, in 458, before Nehemiah's first term of office, but—either in Nehemiah's second term of office,

1 Cf. Cornill, p. 135.
2 Kosters, Het Herstel, etc., German Trans.
3 Kosters, etc.
The different sections of Nehemiah have to be re-arranged and Ezra vii.–x. is placed immediately before Nehemiah ix., x. These views have met with little acceptance.


I.–VI. Return, Rebuilding of Temple.

1., Ch., Decree of Cyrus, Return.

Ch. is used, as in Chronicles, for matter composed by the Chronicler, or by the author of his late post-exilic Midrashic source.

ii.–iii. i = Nehemiah vii. 6–viii. 1a, Statistics of those who returned under Cyrus, their gifts to the building of the Temple.

In Nehemiah vii. 5, Nehemiah states that he found this list in a book; possibly a contemporary record. Ch. has repeated it here from Nehemiah vii., and, in a most curious fashion, has utilised Nehemiah vii. 73b, viii. 1a, the opening verse of the account of the promulgation of the Law, as the opening verse, Ezra iii. 1, of the account of the laying of the foundation stone of the Temple. Kosters holds that this list does not refer to a Return under Cyrus, but is a census of the population in the time of Ezra–Nehemiah, and that the book in which it was found was Ezra’s Memoirs. There are numerous variations, especially as to names and numbers, in the three texts of this list, Ezra ii.; i. or iii. Esdras v.; Nehemiah vii.

iii.–iv. 5, Ch., Altar of Burnt Offering, Feast of Tabernacles, Foundation Stone, Opposition of Samaritans.

iv. 6 f., Complaints made against the Jews to Xerxes and Artaxerxes.

The text is probably corrupt; the verses were used by Ch. or his source as an introduction to the next section.

iv. 8–23, Aramaic Source, Letters between the Persian Governor and Artaxerxes.

Out of place here, belonging properly to the end of interval between the arrival of Ezra and that of Nehemiah.

iv. 24–vi. 18, Aramaic Source, Rebuilding and Dedication of the Temple, Letters between the Persian Governor and Darius.

iv. 24 is the continuation of iv. 5, and is probably Ch.

vi. 19–22, Ch., Passover.

Darius is styled “King of Assyria.”
VII.–X. Mission of Ezra.

vii. i–ii, Ch., Introductory Abstract.
vii. 12–26, Aramaic Source, Firman of Artaxerxes to Ezra.
vii. 27–ix., Ezra’s Memoirs in the First Person, Thanksgiving to God for Firman, Ezra’s Companions, Journey, Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners.
x., Ezra’s Memoirs, edited by Ch., Conclusion of account of Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners.

Though ix. and x. are essentially one narrative, x. changes to the third person, probably because Ch. has recast this portion of Ezra’s Memoirs.

NEHEMIAH.

vii. 6–viii. 1a=Ezra ii.–iii. 1, q.v.
vii. 73b–x., Ezra’s Memoirs recast by Ch., Promulgation of the Law, and Covenant to observe it.

The Law was probably the Priestly Code; cf. chapter i. §§ 19 f.

xi., Migration from the country to Jerusalem, Location of the Clans in Jerusalem and the country.

An official list, part of which is given in i. Chronicles ix. 1–17. It is freely edited by Ch. from a list, which probably belonged to Nehemiah’s Memoirs, and followed vii. 5.
xii. 1–26, Ch., Chiefs of the Priestly and Levitical Clans.

Note the reference to Jaddua, High Priest under Alexander, in 22, and to a “Book of Chronicles” in 23.
xii. 27–43, Nehemiah’s Memoirs in the First Person, with additions by Ch., Dedication of the Walls.
xii. 44–xiii. 3, Ch., Provision for Priests and Levites, Extrusion of Foreigners.
xiii. 4–31, Nehemiah’s Memoirs in the First Person, Nehemiah’s Return to Artaxerxes, and Second Term of Office, Expulsion of Tobiah the Ammonite from the Temple, Provision for Levites and Singers, Safeguarding the Sabbath,

1 Sēpher Dibhrē hay-Yānim.
Renewed Attempt to suppress Intermarriage with Foreigners, Expulsion of a grandson of the High Priest, who was son-in-law of Sanballat.  

10. Esther.

(a) Date and Authorship.—The local colouring suggests that the author lived in Persia, nothing else is known of him. The absence of any reference to the book in Ecclesiasticus points to a date not much earlier than B.C. 200, and this conclusion is confirmed by the language; its linguistic affinities are with Daniel, Chronicles and post-Biblical Hebrew, and there are Aramaisms.

Esther is ascribed to the earlier Greek period by Adeney, _Exp. Bible_, p. 353, Cheyne, _Encycl. Brit._, Driver, etc.; to a later date by Cornill, c. B.C. 130, Kautzsch, c. B.C. 150, Wildeboer, after B.C. 135, and Siegfried.

(b) Canonicity.—The canonicity of Esther was contested amongst the Jews, even apparently after the Synod of Jamnia, c. A.D. 90, for the book is absent from the list of books of the Jewish O.T. obtained by Melito, Bishop of Sardis, A.D. 150–175. The exaggerated enthusiasm of later Rabbis, e.g., Maimonides, for the book suggests an uneasy consciousness of its lack of full authority. The Church, like the Rabbis, hesitated over Esther; even as late as the fourth century, Athanasius and Gregory Nazianzen do not include the book in the Canon. Its position was doubtful in the East throughout the Middle Ages; but in the West its acceptance by the Council of Carthage, A.D. 397, assured its position till the Reformation. Luther, however, spoke of the book as "judaising" and "containing many heathenish improprieties," and said he wished it did not exist.

(c) The Greek Esther.—In the LXX. there are numerous late interpolations, designed to remedy supposed defects in religious and other matters, e.g., in these additions "God"

1 For teaching see chapter ii. § 33. There is no trace of Ezra-Nehemiah in N.T.
3 The Law and Esther will survive all the rest of the O.T.
4 Rejected by Nicephorus Callistus, A.D. 1323. _Westcott, Bible in the Church_, 227.
and "Lord" occur frequently, and Mordecai offers a long prayer.

(d) Contents and Historicity.—In spite of the general accuracy in details, etc. of local colouring, the book is commonly regarded as a kind of parable or allegory, with a certain basis of fact, rather than as exact history.\(^1\) Difficulties have been found in the way in which the fact of Esther and Mordecai being Jews is in one place represented as known, and in another supposed to be concealed, and in the extraordinary character of the edicts for the extermination first of the Jews and then of their enemies, and in many other features of the story. These difficulties do not seem to furnish a formal proof that the narrative is not historical in its main outlines. On the other hand, the probable composition of the book in the Greek period, and the absence of any corroborating references to the events narrated, make its substantial historicity uncertain.

For instance, Mordecai and Esther are not mentioned in Ecclus. xlv.—xlvi.

It is doubtful whether the Feast of Purim originated as our book states. No Persian word *Purim* is known in the sense of lots; but there was a Persian feast *Farwardigan*, and the *Phrouraia* or *Phroudaia* of some MSS. of the LXX.\(^2\) has been thought to identify Purim with this feast. Moreover, Mordecai and Esther are the names of the well-known Babylonian gods Marduk, or Merodach, and Ishtar. Accordingly it has been suggested\(^3\) that the original basis of the book is a Babylonian myth, which had been connected with the Persian feast, which was originally Babylonian. This view might explain the entire absence of any Jewish divine name—God is never mentioned—and the hesitation of the Jews as to the canonicity of Esther. But so startling a theory will hardly be accepted till there is further evidence for it.\(^4\)

\(^1\) DRIVER, KÖNIG, WILDEBOER, etc.

\(^2\) The Sinaitic has *Phrouraia*.

\(^3\) JENSEN, ap. Wildeboer.

\(^4\) There are no quotations from Esther in N.T.
CHAPTER IV.

THE POETICAL BOOKS


(a) *The Historical Basis.*—The view that the book, as a whole, was a historical record of things said and done, was widely held amongst Jews and Christians up till and even after the Reformation. Yet it was denied by a rabbi, whose opinion—that Job never existed, and was merely a parable—is preserved in the Talmud, by Maimonides, and by Theodore of Mopsuestia, c. A.D. 440, who held that Job existed, but that the Book of Job was a fiction, and a wicked slander on the character of the Patriarch. Luther recognised a historical basis, but denied that the book was exact history. The existence of Job is supported by the references in Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20,¹ and by the improbability that both the hero and his story were pure inventions. But the whole character of the book shows that the traditional material has been freely used as the setting of a didactic colloquy, which is partly paralleled by Plato’s Dialogues. The modern view is well expressed by Keil,² when he says that the book is “old legend wrought up and sustained throughout with poetic freedom.”

The suggestion that the Prologue and Epilogue are taken from an old prose history of Job has met with some support.³ The apparent inconsistency between these sections and the

¹ The only references outside of the Book of Job. There is nothing to connect our Job with the Job of Gen. xlvii. 13; where, moreover, Jashub should be read with LXX. and Num. xxvi. 24, Ball, *S.B.O.T.*
² *O.T. Introd.*, English Trans., i. 485.
³ DuHm.
rest of the book would be partly explained, if we supposed that the author felt bound to conform to established tradition, especially with regard to the happy ending. Otherwise we have no data for determining the form in which the story was known to Ezekiel or the author of the Book of Job.

The names of persons and places, as far as they occur elsewhere, belong to Edom or the neighbouring desert.¹ Probably, according to the ancient tradition, Job was a wealthy and pious Edomite, who was grievously afflicted, and afterwards restored to prosperity.

An apocryphal appendix to the LXX. identifies Job with Jobab ben-Zerah, king of Edom,² a conjecture suggested by the similarity of the names; states that the book was translated, whether into Greek or Hebrew is not clear, from the Syriac, and that Uz was on the borders of Edom and Arabia. It makes Zophar king of the Minæi, an Arabian tribe.

(b) Date and Authorship.—The author’s name is quite unknown; all existing evidence is opposed to the suggestion that either Job or Moses wrote the book.

The date has to be determined by internal evidence, which has been variously interpreted.

(i.) The Exile is very widely accepted as the period when the book, or its original edition, was composed,³ a view supported by many important considerations.

(ii) The formal discussion of the consequences of the doctrine of the divine righteousness as applied to the dealings of God with the individual, does not appear to have begun much before the Exile. An early stage of the dis-

¹ Uz, Lam. iv. 21; Eliphaz and Teman, Gen. xxxvi. 11, 42 P, Jer. xlix. 7, etc.; Shuhite may connect with Shuah, one of the sons of Abraham by Keturah, sent away by him eastward, Gen. xxv. 2, 6, JE. Naamah can scarcely be the town in the south of Judah, Josh. xv. 41. The mention of Naamah as the wife of a Cainite Lamech, suggests the existence of a Kenite clan of that name; the meaning of the word—pleasant—makes it probable that it was commonly in use both for persons and places.

² CHETNE, Job, etc., 67, 73 f., DAVIDSON, DAVISON, König, and DILLMANN, immediately before the Exile; but in Introduction to Isaiah, iii, CHEYNE writes, re Job xiv. 11, “the speeches in Job are very much more probably post-Exilic.”
cussion is found in Habakkuk, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, who deal briefly with the difficulty of the prosperity of the wicked, while the latter discusses at length the question of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children. 

On the other hand, the author of Job seems entirely ignorant of the explanation of the sufferings of the righteous by the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement given in Isaiah liii. and other Servant-passages. Hence, the Book of Job will be later than Ezekiel, but not later than Isaiah liii.; i.e., unless Isaiah liii. is post-exilic, the Book of Job is exilic.

(2) There are numerous parallels with Jeremiah, Lamentations, Isaiah xl. ff., and contemporary literature; but there is the usual difficulty in determining whether the parallels indicate literary dependence, or merely authorship in the same period and under similar circumstances; and, if there is dependence, which parallel is dependent on the other. Also the date of the parallel is often uncertain. The parallels between Job and the Servant of Jehovah are also striking; both are lepers, innocent sufferers, who are restored and rewarded. Job xxviii. on Wisdom, q.v., seems earlier than Proverbs i–ix.

(3) The references to ruin and captivity seem reminiscences of a recent calamity, possibly the Captivity of Israel, more probably that of Judah.

(4) Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20 show that the story of Job was in men’s minds about the time of the Exile, but do not suggest that Ezekiel knew our book. But the intercession ascribed to Job in the Epilogue may have been suggested by these verses.

(5) The Aramaisms and Arabisms of the book are perhaps best explained by an exilic date.

1 Hab. i. 13, Jer. xii. 1.
2 Jer. xxxi. 29, Ezek. xviii.
3 Cf. iii., Jer. xx. 14 ff., cf. note on latter; vi. 15, Jer. xv. 18; xix. 7, 8; Lam. iii. 6–9; ix. 8, Isa. xli. 24; xiii. 28, Isa. i. 9; xv. 35, Isa. lix. 4 i
xxvi. 12 f., Isa. ii. 9; xxx. 21, Isa. lxiii. 10.
4 iii. 18–20, vii. 1, ix. 24, xii. 6, 17, xxiv. 12.
5 CHEYNNE, Job, etc., 99, 293 f.
BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

(ii.) A post-exilic origin has also met with much acceptance, and is supported by the following considerations:

(1) If Job in any way stands for Israel, the assertions of innocence point to a date after 400.
(2) The parallels with Isaiah liii., etc., if the Servant-passages are post-exilic.
(3) The use of Psalm viii. 5 in vii. 17 f., if Psalm viii. is post-exilic, as Cheyne.
(4) Job xv. 7 f. is said to be clearly dependent on Proverbs viii. 22 ff., especially 25.
(5) Elsewhere Satan only occurs in post-exilic literature.

Other views are far less probable.

(iii.) The ascription to Job or Moses, or Mosaic or pre-Mosaic times is due to a confusion between the period of the patriarch Job and of the author of the book. The scene being laid in Edom in patriarchal times, express allusions to the law and literature of Israel are avoided, and God is usually spoken of as Eloah; but, as we have seen, the book constantly betrays acquaintance with the ideas and circumstances of the later monarchy, and most probably of the Exile.

(iv.) The age of Solomon has commended itself to many scholars on account of the parallels to Davidic Psalms, and to Proverbs i.–ix., etc., supposed by them to be Solomonic, and the alleged dependence of Amos, Isaiah, and other pre-exilic literature on Job. But the Psalms and the sections in Proverbs which have most in common with Job are probably

2 Psalter, 201, Baethgen, about the time of the Exile.
3 So Cornill, who regards Prov. i.–ix., q.v., as late post-exilic.
4 Zech. iii. 1 f., Ps. cix. 6, i. Chron. xxii. 1.
5 For the value of the Talmudic statement that Moses wrote the "section about . . . Job" see p. 8.
6 Luther, Delitzsch, etc., ap. Cornill.
7 Cf. ix. 8 f., Am. iv. 13, v. 8; xii. 15, Am. ix. 6; xviii. 16, Am. ii. 9; xxx. 31, Am. viii. 10; xiv. 11, Isa. xix. 5.
post-exilic, and, in the case of the other parallels, the dependence, if any, is as, or more likely to be on the side of Job.

(v.) A date about the time of Isaiah is suggested by the view that the Captivity which forms the background of the book is that of Samaria. While this view is not impossible, it seems disproved by the arguments for an exilic or post-exilic date.

(c) Integrity.—The main difficulties arise from an apparent inconsistency between the different parts of the book.

The Prologue supplies an explanation of Job's sufferings—that they are to test his righteousness—which does not seem to harmonise with the poems. On the whole, however, the poems presuppose the Prologue.

The Epilogue seems to spoil the whole book by rehabilitating the very doctrine which the book was written to disprove. Job, restored to health and prosperity, and living to a good old age, would have been a triumphant example of the doctrine that, sooner or later, the righteous were rewarded in this life. Possibly, however, the author felt it necessary to assert the final bliss of the righteous, even at the cost of apparent inconsistency.

The Elihu speeches, though still defended by some distinguished critics, are generally regarded as a later addition, intended to correct what was regarded as the undue emphasis on certain aspects of truth. Elihu is never mentioned elsewhere; no notice is taken of his argument by Job or by Jehovah; his speeches interrupt the connection between

1 Noldeke, Merx, Hitzig, Reuss, Ewald, under Manasseh, ap. Cornill.
2 On shorter doubtful passages see Contents passim.
3 Cf. Teaching, ii.
4 The Prologue is regarded as later addition by König, possibly from a prose work on Job; but is accepted by most critics. Cheyne is doubtful, p. 66 f.
5 Cheyne, p. 69, Epilogue by an editor, based somewhat carelessly on the Prologue. Duhm derives both from an ancient popular work.
6 Budde, Cornill.
7 Baethgen, Cheyne, Driver "all but certain," Dillmann, Duhm, König, Siegfried, Strack, etc.
Job's appeal to the Almighty, xxxi. 35, and Jehovah's answer, xxxviii. 1; although his contribution is not mere repetition, it adds hardly anything to the argument against Job. Dr. A. B. Davidson writes: ¹ "The difference" between the views of Elihu and those of the three friends "does not amount to much, and is apt to be exaggerated." "So far as Elihu's relation to the three friends is concerned, it is not easy to find any great difference between his conception and theirs, or almost any difference whatever in principle." The style of the Elihu speeches differs in many ways from, and has seemed to many scholars ² very inferior to, that of the rest of the book. The two last objections might be met by supposing that this section was added by the author in his later years.³

The speeches of Jehovah have been doubted as a whole,⁴ but unless the original book is cut down to the speeches of Job and his friends, the utterances of Jehovah seem necessary to the plan of the work. The descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan, xl. 15-xli., are more often regarded as additions; the style seems inferior to that of xxxviii. f.⁵

Duhm, in the Kurzer Handkommentar, ascribes the Prologue and Epilogue to the close of the Monarchy; the discussion between Job and his friends and the speeches of Jehovah to c. 560-450; the Elihu speeches by a much later writer. There are also many other additions.

(d) Text.—The obscurities and other difficulties of the Hebrew text, and the fact that the LXX. text is very different and much shorter, indicate that many glosses and corruptions have crept in. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct the original readings by the use of the versions, and by the application of theories as to metre, but none have met with much acceptance.⁶

1 Pages xliv., xlii. ² Cheyne, Renan, ap. Cheyne.
3 Kamphausen and Merx, ap. Cornill.
4 Cheyne, p. 69.
5 König, Siegfried; Driver is inclined to reject xl. 15-24.
6 The most important are Bickell, Carmina V.T., tr. in Dillon's Sceptics of O.T.; Budde, Hiob; Merx, Das Gedicht von Hiob; Siegfried, S.B.O.T.
JOB

(e) Contents.—I.—II., Prologue.
Satan is permitted by God to test Job's righteousness by depriving him of his wealth and of his children, and by afflicting him with a loathsome disease. Job remains faithful. His three friends come to comfort him.\(^1\)

III.—XXXI., Job and his Friends Discuss the Problem of the Relation of Suffering and Sin.

iii. Job.—He curses the day of his birth and longs for death.\(^2\)

iv., v. Eliphaz.—Job's complaint seems to reproach God; but, in any issue between God and man, man must be in the wrong. Job, being human, must have sinned. His calamities are chastisements, sent for his good. If he submits and repents he will be restored to great prosperity, and die in a good old age.

vi., vii. Job.—Renewed complaint and prayer for death. Job is innocent, his friends have interpreted him harshly and unfairly. If he has sinned, let God remove his sin and pardon him.

Siegfried regards vii. 1–10, the brevity and weariness of life, as editorial.

viii. Bildad.—God deals with men according to their deserts; such is the tradition of the fathers. Job's sons must have perished for their sins, and if Job were righteous, God would restore him to prosperity.

ix., x. Job.—Still lamenting and longing for death, Job disclaims any controversy with God, he is too helpless in spite of his innocence. But, as a fact, God does not deal with men according to their deserts; good and bad alike suffer, or God "shines on the counsel of the wicked." Job appeals to Him to explain the mystery.

xi. Zophar.—Would that God would make Job see his sins, as God sees them. Job is really suffering less than he deserves. Prosperity will follow repentance.

xii.—xiv. Job.—He claims to be as wise as his friends, their traditional doctrines are either commonplaces or "maxims of ashes." The wicked prosper, the righteous suffer. Let God

\(^1\) Cf. p. 127. 
meet him as an equal, and convince him of sin. If there were any prospect of vindication and renewed happiness, he would wait patiently for it, even in Sheol, if compensation in a future life were possible.¹

Siegfried treats xii. 4–xiii. 1, God's power in Nature and Providence, as editorial; xiii. 2 connects closely with xii. 3; xii. 9–12, which seem to confirm Zophar's estimate of traditional wisdom, are also omitted by Cornill.

Siegfried also regards xiv. 1 f., xiii. 28, xiv. 5, 7–12, 14, 18–22 (a didactic poem on the brevity and misery of life, and the certainty of death, parallel to vii. 1–10), as a later addition.

xv. Eliphaz.—Job's arguments are blasphemous quibbles, most discourteous to older and wiser men. All are guilty before God. By a detailed picture E. shows that the wicked do not prosper, but suffer calamity, and perish miserably.

xvi., xvii. Job.—Condemned by God and man, Job protests that he is an innocent man delivered up to the wicked. He must die, but he has a witness in heaven. God knows his innocence. His sufferings are a marvel to the righteous, who yet persevere, like Job himself. His only hope is in death—a barren hope.

xviii. Bildad.—Calamity dogs the steps of the sinner; his name and family are cut off (like Job).

xix. Job.—Overwhelmed by God's wrath, forsaken and despised by God and man, Job appeals to his friends for pity. Yet he is confident that, even after death, his Vindicator ² (God) will establish his innocence, and he will see God, i.e., be restored to happy fellowship with Him, 25–27.

For a discussion of the very obscure passage, 25–27, see Davidson's Job, C.B.S. 291 ff. The Hebrew Text, as it stands, has, by the application of somewhat unfair pressure, been interpreted to mean that Job expects to be vindicated by God and restored to His favour before death. Cf. the alternative renderings: "I shall see God—in my flesh," A.V., "from my flesh," R.V., "without my flesh," R.V. Mg. Siegfried obtains from LXX., etc., a reconstruction of the text, which makes the reference to a resurrection definite and certain, but he regards the passage as a later addition. Cheyne, Origin of Psalter, 442, regards the text of the passage as corrupt.

xx. Zophar.—If the sinner prospers, it is only for a time; he is quickly overtaken by misery and shame (like Job).

xxi. Job.—Not so; is it indeed the rule that calamity and sudden death overtake the sinner, 16–18? Far from it; the wicked live prosperously to a good old age; they see the prosperity of their children; they are honourably buried; and men honour them both in life and after death. If their children suffer, what is that to them?

A.V. takes 16–18 as a statement; “it is the rule.” But this contradicts the argument of the context. Siegfried also takes it as a statement, and regards it as an interpolation.

xxii. Eliphaz.—God cannot afflict for selfish ends of His own, but only in the interests of justice. Sin must be the reason of Job’s sufferings, doubtless the cruelty and oppression, for which Job’s wealth and power would give him opportunity. Let him repent, amend, and prosper.

Hitherto Job’s guilt has only been implied, now he is expressly charged with specified crimes.

xxiii., xxiv. Job.—He longs for access to God, that he may prove his innocence, and learn the reason of God’s dealings, and why, in spite of his innocence, he is afflicted as by a blind Fate. In the world, might and fraud reign, the poor are oppressed by the rich, the workers by their employers. Crime is rampant, and the wrongdoer goes unpunished till he dies, like other men.

xxiv. 18–21, the doom of the wicked, are supposed to be a statement, by Job, of the views he is refuting. Siegfried regards 13–21 as an addition.

xxv. Bildad.—What is sinful man before God?

xxvi.–xxxi. Job. xxvi. i–xxvii. 6.—Job acknowledges the infinite power of God, and again protests his innocence.

xxvii. 7–23.—The inevitable doom of the wicked and his family.

As this passage expressly contradicts Job’s main position, it is probably not part of his speech. Its teaching is that of Job’s friends, and it may be altogether or in part either a misplaced speech of Zophar,¹ who has no speech in the third set, or a later addition.²

¹ Cheyne, Job and Solomon, 38, 114.
² König, Siegfried, Smend, Strack, etc. Budde and Cornill defend the originality of the ascription to Job, and explain thus: As the friends know so well the fate of the sinner, let them take warning, for they are behaving wickedly.
xxviii.—A didactic poem in praise of Wisdom.

The earliest or, at any rate, the most primitive of the great O.T. passages on Wisdom. As yet, Wisdom is not personified. It is commonly explained as a further illustration by Job of the mystery of God’s ways, but its calm, didactic tone is out of place at the crisis of his agony, and it is probably a later addition, perhaps an independent poem inserted here to secure its preservation.

xxix.–xxxii. Job.—He meets the definite accusations of Eliphaz in xxii. by a detailed statement of the innocence and benevolence of his prosperous life, which he contrasts with his present misery.

XXXII.–XXXVII. The Elihu Speeches.

Job’s friends having been silenced, Elihu, a younger man, comes forward to set both parties right, to refute Job by arguing the friends’ case more efficiently than they have done themselves; or, as we might say, modern thought comes to the rescue of traditional wisdom. His contribution, however, is substantially a repetition of the friends’ speeches. He asserts that suffering is due to sin, and that Job is presumptuous in questioning God’s doings. The special features of his speeches are (i.) his reply to Job’s complaint that God does not answer him; God speaks to men in dreams and by angels, or prayer (as in Job’s case) is left unanswered, because of the pride of man; (ii.) the stress laid on the disciplinary value of suffering. The concluding picture of the majesty of God, partly anticipates the speeches of Jehovah.

XXXVIII. i–XLII. 6, The Speeches of Jehovah and Job’s Submission.

Jehovah shows that Job had spoken presumptuously, by describing His wonderful works in Nature, especially the horse, the hippopotamus (behemoth), and the crocodile (leviathan). Job acknowledges his presumption.

1 Duhm, Siegfried, Smend, A.T. Theol., 508.
2 Similarly Cheyne, Job, etc., 94. But Budde and Cornill defend the passage. The author of Job may have written xxviii. independently, and have sacrificed dramatic effect to his desire to use the poem as an illustrative parallel; but it can hardly have been written as an integral part of the book. 3 xxxiii. 14–23. 4 xxxv. 12. 5 xxxiii. 14 ff., xxxvi. 7 ff., cf. v. 17 ff. 6 Cf. p. 127. 7 Cf. p. 128.
Jehovah declares that the friends "have not spoken of me the thing that is right, as my servant Job hath," but they may be forgiven, if Job prays for them. Job is restored to health, and to greater prosperity than that which he formerly enjoyed.

(f) Teaching.—The main subject of the book is the relation of suffering and sin. According to popular Jewish theology, all suffering was punishment; a righteous moral government of the world was fully manifested in the present life; happiness and prosperity, loss and suffering were meted out in exact proportion to men's virtues and vices. This doctrine is denied (i.) by the picture of an exceptionally good man, beggared and bereaved, tortured by loathsome disease; (ii.) by Job's description of the prevalence in the world of unmerited suffering and unpunished sin, by the friends' failure to prove him mistaken, and by the explicit statement of God that Job is right and the friends wrong.

This denial of the popular doctrine leaves us face to face with the problem of the compatibility of evil and suffering with the Divine Righteousness. It is not clear what solution, if any, the author proposes.

(i.) The Speeches of Jehovah suggest that we are to regard the problem as an insoluble mystery. If we cannot understand God in Nature, we must be still more incapable of fathoming the mysteries of His moral government of His creatures. Job's speeches, however, lead us to expect something more practically useful.

(ii.) The Prologue explains Job's sufferings as a test of his righteousness. Assuming that the Prologue is by the author of the poem, it is difficult to believe that this is put forward as an adequate explanation of the unmerited suffering of the world. The author might perhaps intend to illustrate one way in which a good man's sufferings might be explained without supposing him guilty of secret sin.

(iii.) Job expresses a desperate hope that his innocence

1 Cf. p. 127.  
may be vindicated and he restored to happy fellowship with God in a future life. The author may have intended to suggest that the solution might possibly be looked for in that direction, but compensation in a future life is only a possible hope, not a certain conclusion.

(iv.) Job’s piety and fortitude in his affliction—he denies that God’s righteousness is manifested, but always believes Him righteous—are doubtless intended for an example.\(^1\)

(v.) The literary power of the book suggests that the author has not merely worked out a didactic theme, but has rather depicted the tragic consequences of the popular doctrine of retribution, using the deeper mysteries of evil, of Nature, and Providence, to illustrate his main subject. The author’s premeditated intention to teach may not go beyond the denial of exact retribution in this life.

Hebrew theology was primarily concerned with the nation; doubtless the Book of Job shows us the difficulties in which this theology was involved when it turned from the nation to the individual. But, without regarding Job as a mere personification of Israel, we may suppose that the sufferings of the restored Jews, in the days of their devoted adherence to the Law, raised difficulties as to the old doctrine of retribution, even as applied to the nation. The author probably has the nation in mind, as well as the fate of the individual.

(g) *Use in N.T.*—It is remarkable how little use is made of this book in N.T. “The patience of Job” is mentioned in James v. 11, and there are a few parallels, which might be coincidences.\(^2\) Apart from these, the only quotation is v. 13 in i. Corinthians iii. 19, “For it is written, He that taketh the wise in their craftiness.” But for this last it would be possible to argue that the N.T. writers were not acquainted with the Book of Job.

2. Psalms.

(a) *The Arrangement of the Psalter.*—The following table shows the arrangement of the Psalter in the Hebrew Text and

\(^1\) Davidson, xxvi.

\(^2\) Phil. i. 19a, however, is identical with Job xiii. 16a, LXX.
in the Septuagint. In both it is arranged in five books, each concluding with a doxology. The difference of numbering in the two texts is due to the fact that in four instances a single psalm in one text forms two in the other, thus:

Hebrew, ix. + x. = LXX., ix.
`` cxiv. + cxv. = '' cxiii.
`` cxvi. = '' cxiv. + cxv.
`` cxlvi. = '' cxlvi. + cxlvi.

The LXX. contains an additional psalm, purporting to be written by David, in the first person, to celebrate his victory over Goliath.

In the table the numbers showing the frequency of occurrence of the Divine Names are taken from Lowe and Jennings on the Psalms I. xxvii.; they exclude cases where Elohim occurs in phrases which do not admit of the use of Jehovah, e.g., “thy God.”

The names, etc. to the left hand are the names of persons, apparently authors, mentioned in the titles. The figures in italics refer to the LXX., and the names in italics are names occurring only in the LXX., either in that particular book or part of a book, or in the Psalter as a whole. Where the number of a psalm occurs against two different names, the title, mostly in LXX., gives both names.

**Book I. 1-41, 1-40.**

**Jehovistic, Jehovah** 272, Elohim 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>1, 2</th>
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<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>3-8, 9</td>
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<td>3-8, 9</td>
<td>10-31</td>
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**Book II. 42-72, 41-71.**

**Elohistic, Jehovah** 30, Elohim 164.

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<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>43</th>
<th>66, 67</th>
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<td>50-64</td>
<td>66, 67-69</td>
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**BOOK II.—continued.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sons of Korah</th>
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<th>44-49</th>
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<tr>
<td>Asaph</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>43-48</td>
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<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
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*Sons of Jonadab and of the first captives*

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

**BOOK III. 73-89, 72-88.**

Psalms 73-83 are Elohistic, 84-89 Jehovistic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>David</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sons of Korah</td>
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<tr>
<td>Asaph</td>
<td>73-83, 83, 84, 86, 87</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethan</td>
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<td>Jeduthun</td>
<td>77, 76</td>
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<td>Heman</td>
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**BOOK IV. 90-106, 89-105.** Jehovistic.

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<td>91, 99, 101</td>
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<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>90, 92-98, 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moses</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BOOK V. 107-150, 106-151.**

Jehovistic, except that cviii. = lvii. 7-11 + lx. 5-12 is Elohistic, and Elohim is used absolutely in cxlv. 9.

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<tr>
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<td>107-109</td>
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<td>Solomon</td>
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136 BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION
Anonymous 128-130 132 134-136, 137
127-129 131 133-135
David 131 133 138-145
130 132 136, 137-144
Anonymous 146 147 148, 149, 150
David 151
Haggai and Zechariah 145 146, 147, 148 149, 150

Psalms 120-134 have the title "Song of Ascents," and Psalms 135, 146-150 begin and end with "Praise ye the Lord," "Hallelujah."

(b) The Growth of the Psalter.—The table in (a) contains the chief data for determining the history of the Psalter. Our Psalter is the final edition of the canonical Temple hymn-book; other collections of hymns may have been used at the Temple later on, but they were not combined with the Psalter. Such a national collection of sacred song must have connected with individual psalms through a series of earlier and shorter collections. The compiler of a hymn-book may either rearrange earlier collections according to some principle, authorship, subject, metre, etc., or he may simply combine previous collections; or he may partly follow one method, and partly the other. In most modern hymn-books the hymns are arranged according to subjects, and afford no evidence of the history of previous collections from which the hymns are derived. But sometimes a supplement is added without altering the arrangement of the earlier collection, e.g., two or three such supplements have been added to Sankey’s Hymn-book, and the arrangement of the latest edition reveals the history of the gradual growth of the book to its present form.

Similarly the present arrangement of the contents of the Psalter shows that the Psalter is the result of a process of aggregation, by which earlier collections were combined and supplemented, without any extensive rearrangement of their contents.
The Psalter is not arranged according to authorship as indicated in the titles, for the Davidic psalms are distributed through the five books; nor according to subject matter, for psalms on similar topics are often found far apart, separated by others which deal with very different topics. An attempt has sometimes been made to show that the present arrangement is, in a fashion, based upon subject matter; but its advocates often rely on mechanical similarity of diction, *e.g.*, xxxiv. and xxxv. have been supposed to be placed together because they are the only psalms which mention the Angel of the Lord. It is much more likely that these psalms were found side by side in an earlier collection, and the similarity is due to their composition by the same author or during the same period.

We may therefore examine the present arrangement of the Psalter to see what evidence it affords of its growth from earlier collections.

The fact that the Jehovistic psalms are not all in one collection, nor all the Elohistic all in another, shows that the present grouping has not been arranged by a final editor according to the Divine Names, but has been taken over by him from earlier collections. Hence we may conclude that Book I., Book II., lxxiii.-lxxxiii., lxxxiv.-lxxxix., Book IV. + Book V. are earlier collections.¹

Hence, again, the books are not wholly, at any rate, divisions made by the final editor, but correspond to earlier collections.

The Elohistic character of Book II. and of lxxiii.-lxxxiii. is due to an editor; the Jehovahic psalms xiv., xl. 13-17 are found in II. and III. as liii. and lxx. with Jehovah changed to Elohim; such phrases as "God thy God," "Elohim Sabaoth," *i.e.*, "God Sabaoth," are obtained by altering the Jehovah in "Jehovah thy God," "Jehovah Sabaoth" to Elohim. Since, however, this Elohistic editor did not venture

¹ They may have been modified by addition, omission, etc. The reasons for combining IV. and V. and for separating lxxxiv.-lxxxix. from them will appear later.
to make a similar revision of Book I. as a whole, the latter must have been already firmly established.

The Elohist section II. + lxxiii.–lxxxiii. is plainly a combination of three smaller collections: (i.) a Davidic hymn-book, li.–lxxii., to which the doxology, and the subscription, "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended," originally belonged; (ii.) the hymn-book of the Korahite temple choir, xlii.–xlix.; (iii.) the hymn-book of the Asaphite temple choir, l., lxxiii.–lxxxiii. (i.) is probably the oldest of these collections.

The Jehovistic appendix, lxxxiv.–lxxxix., is a later Korahite hymn-book.

Books IV. and V. are very similar, and there is no reason for a division at cvi., since cvii. is the sequel to cvi. Hence IV. and V. were one collection, and the doxology at the end of cvi. cannot be, like the other doxologies, the conclusion of an earlier collection. The different Divine Names show that IV. and V. were not edited by the editor of II.; the subscription to II., "the prayers of David are ended," shows that that editor was not acquainted with IV. and V., in which several psalms are ascribed to David. Moreover cviii. is made up of sections of two Elohist psalms, and retains the editorial Elohim, hence the editor of IV. and V. or one of his predecessors was acquainted with the Elohist collection. On these and other grounds IV. and V. are later than II. and III.

The absolute date of these collections is difficult to fix; the most probable conclusions are as follows. In I., i., ii., anonymous both in LXX. and Hebrew, were prefixed by the final editor as a suitable introduction to the complete Psalter. The Davidic group, iii.–xli. is the earliest Temple hymn-book. The literary parallels in some of the Psalms suggest that the collection was made after the Exile, perhaps in connection with the organisation of the Temple services by Ezra and Nehemiah.

1 Unless indeed all these titles were added after the collection IV. + V. was compiled.
2 Individual psalms, of course, may be much earlier.
The Elohist section, as later than I., will also be later than Nehemiah, a conclusion supported by the fact that in Nehemiah vii. 44 there is only one Temple choir, the sons of Asaph,1 whereas before the compilation of this section, the Korahite choir had been formed. On the other hand, this section was compiled before the time of the Chronicler, 300–250, for Chronicles names three choirs, Asaph, Heman, and Ethan or Jeduthun.2

The Jehovistic appendix., lxxxiv.–lxxix., to II. and III., is somewhat nearer to the Chronicler. It marks the transition from Korah to Heman and Ethan, by combining Korahite psalms with one headed Ethan, and another, in LXX., Heman.3

Hence IV. and V. are later than the Chronicler. The presence in them of Maccabæan psalms indicates a date in that period.

The history of the Psalter may therefore be summarised thus:—

(i.) It includes very early material, but no date can be fixed, even approximately, as that at which the most ancient elements of the Psalter were composed. But the stages of its compilation which we are able to trace belong to the period after the Exile.

(ii.) The earliest collection is the Davidic hymn-book, iii.–xli., compiled about the time of Nehemiah.

(iii.) Later on, three other collections were formed, another with the title David, and two belonging to the Temple choirs, Asaph and Korah. These three were combined by an Elohistic editor.

(iv.) Another Korahite collection was made, and added to the Elohistic section.

1 Neh. xi. is not part of Nehemiah’s Memoirs, but only based upon them; the threefold division in xi. 17, is not found in the LXX.
2 i. Chron. vi. 31 ff., xxv. 1. The Chronicler describes the past in terms of the institutions of his own times.
3 If these positions are correct, the “Jeduthun” of lxxii., Heb. and LXX., may be a later insertion.
(v.) The collection IV. + V. was made, also from earlier collections, cxx.—cxxxiv., cxlvi.—cl., etc.
(vi.) The final editor combined I., II. + III., and IV. + V.; and prefixed i., ii., not later than about B.C. 132 (the date of the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus).

This view of the growth of the Psalter, and the arguments by which it is sustained, are substantially those of Robertson Smith. We can only notice four of the objections to this view; only the third and fourth are serious. The objections are:—

(i.) That the Canon was closed in the reign of Artaxerxes I. But the weight of evidence, both internal and external, is decisively against this view. Josephus seems to have held some such theory; but his view is merely a deduction from insufficient and misunderstood data. We also read in ii. Maccabees ii. 13,8 that Nehemiah established a library containing "books concerning the kings and prophets, and those of David, and kings' letters concerning offerings," but this does not show that the Canon or the Psalter were closed in Nehemiah's time. Moreover, ii. Maccabees is a very doubtful authority. The fact that the Samaritans only received the Pentateuch makes it improbable that the full O.T. Canon had been authoritatively established in Nehemiah's time.

(ii.) The translator of Ecclesiasticus, writing in B.C. 132, refers to a Greek translation of "the Law, the Prophecies, and the rest of the books." The third class probably includes the Psalter, and it has been argued that if the Psalter was translated into Greek in 132, it must have been completed at a much earlier date. But collections of psalms may have been translated into Greek long before the Psalter was completed. The Greek editions of Daniel and Esther were supplemented after they had been translated, even without

1 Op. cit. Lect. vii., similarly CORNILL. CHEYNE holds that the Psalter was completed before B.C. 142, and that the collections II. + III., IV. + V., were both formed in the Maccabæan period. CORNILL thinks the Elohistic section received its Elohistic revision some time after the collection was formed.
2 Against Apion, i. 8. 3 Probably written before A.D. 70.
4 BUHL, English Trans., io.
any Hebrew authority for the additions; *a fortiori* the Greek edition of the national hymn-book would be readily enlarged to conform with the latest Hebrew edition.

(iii.) We have seen that the doxology, cvi. 47 f., at the close of IV., was added by the final editor; but in i. Chronicles xvi. 8–36, we find a psalm made up of cv. i–15, xcvi. i, etc., and cvi. i, 47 f. This acquaintance of the Chronicler with the doxology seems to show that the Psalter was completed before he wrote. Numerous answers have been given to this objection; (a) that the doxology was a part of the psalm as an independent poem; this is not likely; (b) that the doxology was composed by the Chronicler, and borrowed by the editor of the Psalter; (c) that i. Chronicles xvi. 8–36, is a very late addition to Chronicles.

(iv.) If, as Grätz and Cheyne maintain, Maccabæan psalms are found in all the sections of the Psalter, either the collections are more recent, or the editors have interfered with them much more extensively than Robertson Smith supposed.1

The last two objections suggest, as an alternative theory, that the stages of the growth of the Psalter were as given above, but that a Psalter in five books was compiled before Chronicles, *i.e.*, c. 300, and that later additions were freely inserted at such points as seemed suitable.

(c) *Date and Authorship of Individual Psalms.*—We have three kinds of evidence: titles, position in the Psalter, internal evidence. For the titles see (d), where it is maintained that they afford us little help. For position in the Psalter, see (a); we may be able to say that certain psalms are older than Nehemiah, and that all are older than B.C. 132, but cannot be much more definite. The internal evidence as to pre-exilic, Davidic, and Maccabæan psalms is considered in (d), (e); otherwise internal evidence does not carry us far. Many of the Psalms are short devotional poems, presupposing no special

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1 Briggs, *Psalms*, I. lx. ff. adds to the list of collections older than final Psalter, collections headed Miktam, Maskil, Mizmor, Director (Chief Musician), whence psalms so headed were taken. Psalms with two or more headings were in two or more collections. Thus he determines the evolution of the Psalter, B.C. 536–150. Some Psalms are pre-exilic. *Cf.* pp. 144 ff.
historical situation, expressing sentiments common to devout believers in all ages, written in a style which—allowing for the editing inevitable in a hymn-book in current use, and for the imitation of older styles by late scholars—might be used at any time from Isaiah to the Maccabees.

The history of the Psalter renders it probable that a very large proportion of the Psalms, especially in II.—V., are post-exilic, and that many in II. and III. belong to the period of Nehemiah or somewhat later, and that most of the contents of IV. and V. are later still. The contents of many of the Psalms confirm such conclusions; they express the anxious piety of a poor and suffering people whose main interest is the Temple and the Law.

(d) The Titles, Davidic and pre-Exilic Psalms.—In attempting to use the titles as evidence for authorship, we meet with many difficulties. Probably the oldest titles did not originally denote authorship. Apparently the "David," "Asaph," "Korah" psalms are taken from collections bearing those titles. When the smaller collections were merged in larger ones, the origin of the individual psalms was shown by prefixing the title of the collection to each psalm taken from it. But the titles "Asaph," "Korah" probably meant that the collections were the hymn-books of these choirs. So the title "David" given to iii.—xli., li.—lxxii., doubtless indicates some connection with David or his dynasty, but not necessarily authorship by David.

In most of the Davidic psalms, the internal evidence, as far as it goes, is unfavourable to Davidic authorship; and, with the exception of xviii., never amounts to anything like a proof of authorship by David. The notes of time, place, and circumstance, where there are any, do not point to David or his times, and the contents do not suggest the David of the Book of Samuel. As to style, before we can apply this criterion, we must have a fairly large group of psalms, certainly David's, before we know what his style was. We

1 i.e., iii.—xli., li.—lxxii.; the case is different with the other Davidic psalms. N.B.—In the title of xxxiv., Abimelech is a mistake for Achish.
have no such group. In the Lament over Saul and Jonathan, the absence of any religious element in dealing with so solemn a theme is in marked contrast with the deeply religious character of the psalms ascribed to David.

These facts render it difficult to believe that the Davidic collections consist to any great extent of psalms written by David or in his time. Nevertheless, the tradition that David was a poet, and especially interested in sacred music, is early and persistent; probably he composed psalms, some of which are preserved in I. and perhaps II., disguised by a long process of editing.

The evidence for Davidic authorship is strongest for xviii., a thanksgiving for success in war, which might well have been written by the victorious poet-king.

Pre-exilic psalms will most probably be found in the Davidic collections, those mentioning the king seem to presuppose the existence of the pre-exilic kingdom, i.e., ii., xviii., xx., xxi., xxviii., xlv., lxi., lxiii., lxii.; but the king in some of these may be borrowed from a pre-exilic model, or may be an archaic ideal, or even, as has been suggested, a Greek or Maccabæan king, or some of these psalms may be purely Messianic.

Outside of I. and II. the title David is probably due to conjecture. There has always been a tendency to ascribe anonymous psalms to David. The LXX. ascribes to him many psalms, which are anonymous in the Hebrew, while some of the "Davidic" psalms in V. are anonymous in some of the best MSS. of the LXX. Later on "David" becomes a title for the complete Psalter. N.T. quotations which connect a name with a psalm, invariably quote it as "David,"

1 i. Sam. xvi. 18, Saul's minstrel; ii. Sam. i., the Lament over Saul and Jonathan; iii. 33, Lament for Abner; vi. 5, plays before Ark; xxii., author of Psalm xviii.; xxiii. 1-7, last words of David; Am. vi. 5, David inventor of musical instruments. As Sam. is composite, the passages cited show the tradition in existence at different times.

2 So BAETHGEN, KÖNIG, SCHULTZ, etc.; other psalms often ascribed to David by modern critics are iii., iv., vi.-xii., xv., xix. 1-6, xxiv. 7-10, xxix., xxxii. But, according to CHEYNE, Introduction to Isaiah, 171, "no part of the Psalter has yet been shown to have a pre-exilic basis."
even when it is anonymous both in the Hebrew and the LXX., e.g., ii. in Acts iv. 25.

According to Briggs, Psalms, about seven psalms belong to the early Monarchy; some of these may be by David; about twenty-six are pre-exilic.

(e) Maccabæan Psalms.—From the time of Theodore of Mopsuestia there have been critics, including Calvin, who have held that the historical situation implied in some of the Psalms is that of the Maccabæan period. The psalms most often ascribed to this period are xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxiii. In these psalms the Jews are suffering cruel persecution, the Temple has been defiled, and the synagogues burnt, there is no prophet. Yet the Jews maintain their innocence, they are persecuted on account of their faithfulness to Jehovah. The only corresponding event known to us in O.T. times is the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress Judaism, in the course of which he tortured and massacred many faithful Jews, sacked Jerusalem, and polluted the Temple. The persecution was checked, Jerusalem recovered, the Temple purified and reconsecrated, and Judæa rendered independent by the revolt of the Maccabees. As an Elohistic revision of these psalms occurs in II. + (III.), and Robertson Smith attributes this revision to a pre-Maccabæan editor, he rejects the Maccabæan date for xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., and suggests that a similar persecution may have taken place under Artaxerxes Ochus, c. 350. Cheyne, 1891, regarded lxxiv. and lxxix. as Maccabæan, but his analysis of Isaiah led him to accept the view that such a persecution took place under Ochus, and to connect lxxiv. and lxxix. with that persecution.

Another group of psalms often regarded as Maccabæan

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1 D. A.D. 428.
3 xliv. 7, 8, 9, lxxix. 1. lxxiv. 17–22, lxxix. 2, lxxxiii. 3, 4.
4 Origin of Psalter.
5 Introduction, 1895.
comprises cx., cxv., and cxviii. cx., gives a picture of a priest-
king, after the order of Melchisedec, \textit{i.e.}, not in the legiti-
mate line of succession, which exactly describes the position of the Maccabæan priest-kings, the first of whom was Simon, 142–135. As the first four verses, neglecting opening formulae, begin with \textit{Sh, M, Ayin, N}, some have seen in it an acrostic
on his name; but the attempts to fit the other three initials,
Aleph, Y, M, into the acrostic have not been successful.

cxv., cxviii. celebrate a successful war, in which the leaders
have been the house of Aaron, to which the Maccabees
belonged.

If any of these are Maccabæan, it is probable that other
psalms, which do not clearly reflect their historical situation,
also belong to that period. We should naturally expect to
find most of these in IV. and V.\footnote{Cheyne, \textit{Origin of Psalter}, 1891, accepted 26, \textit{viz.}, 20, 21, 33,
\textit{Psalms}, accepts 33, 102b, 109b, 118, 129, 139c, 147, 149.}

Some of the objections to the existence of Maccabæan
psalms have been dealt with already, \textit{viz.}, the alleged prior
closing of the Canon and of the Psalter. Others are:—

(i.) That as Maccabæan psalms must have been composed
shortly before the closing of the Psalter, the names of the
authors would have been known, and given in the titles.
But the anonymity of most of the later psalms shows that
it was not the custom to affix the author’s name to productions
known to be recent.

(ii.) It is asserted that the Maccabæan period was not one
of literary activity. This assumes the point at issue. More-
over Daniel is now assigned to this period, and Ecclesiasticus
to a slightly earlier date, \textit{c. B.C. 180}.

(iii.) The language of most of the psalms supposed to be
Maccabæan is said to be too classical for so late a period,
but the fragments of the Hebrew original of Ecclesiasticus
show that writers of the period imitated classical Hebrew with
tolerable success.

These objections are not sufficient to prove that there are
no Maccabæan psalms; in the case of those mentioned above, the internal evidence is strongly in favour of a Maccabæan origin; others probably belong to the same period, but it is difficult to identify them.

(f) Use in N.T.; Messianic Psalms.—As "David" and "son of David" were synonymous with the promised Deliverer of Israel, and "David" became a title of the Psalter, the N.T. freely uses the Psalms as describing the character and experience of the Messiah. Messianic psalms may be divided into:

(i.) The Righteous King; ii. 7, "Thou art my Son, etc.," is applied to Christ, Acts xiii. 33, Hebrews i. 5, v. 5; also, "Thy throne, O God, etc.," xlv. 6, in Hebrews i. 8, 9; cx., with its king, who is also priest after the order of Melchisedec, is applied to Christ in Hebrews v.–x., Matthew xxii. 44, etc., "If David call him Lord, etc.," Acts ii. 34 f., and i. Corinthians xv. 25.1

(ii.) The Innocent Sufferer; "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me," Matthew xxvii. 46, etc., is from xxii. 1; xxii. 18, "The casting of lots" is applied to the Passion, John xix. 24; xxxi. 5, in Luke xxiii. 46, and xxxiv. 20 in John xix. 36.2

(iii.) The Typical Man; viii., the divinely appointed relation of Mankind to Nature and the Angels, is applied to Christ, Matthew xxi. 16, Hebrews ii. 6, 7, i. Corinthians xv. 27.

(iv.) The Perfect Believer; xvi. 8–10, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, etc.," was applied to the Resurrection by St. Peter at Pentecost, and by St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia, Acts ii. 25 ff., xiii. 35.3

The Psalter possesses a special Messianic character as containing some of the loftiest and purest ideals, and most exalted anticipations of O.T. religion, in some of which, at any rate,

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1 Cf. also ii. 1, Acts iv. 25; xviii. 49, Rom. xv. 9. Other psalms sometimes included in this class are xx., xxii., xl., lxxi., lxxxix.

2 Cf. also xxii. 22, Heb. ii. 12; xxxv. 19 and lxix. 4, John xv. 25; xli. 9, John xiii. 18, of Judas; lxix. 9, John ii. 17, Rom. xv. 3; lxix. 23, Rom. xi. 9 f.; lxix. 25, Acts i. 20, of Judas.

3 Cf. also xl. 7, Heb. x. 5–7.
the authors consciously express expectations whose complete fulfilment lay beyond their own horizon.\(^1\)

(g) Contents and Teaching.—As these are too rich and varied to admit of detailed treatment, the Psalms have been arranged in groups. But a single psalm often touches on several subjects, so that the classification is only roughly accurate.

I. The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance.
(i.) The appeal of Israel against her oppressors, 44, 60, 74, 94, 129-132, 137.
(ii.) The appeal of the suffering saint—the Israelite or Israel—against the oppression of sinners, mostly either the Gentiles, or the Jews who ally themselves with them. Such alliances are known between Jewish nobles and the Samaritans in the time of Nehemiah, and between the hellenising Jews and the Greeks in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and doubtless existed at other times, 3-5, 7, 10-14, 17, 22a, 26-28, 31, 35, 41-43, 53-59, 62, 64, 69-71, 89b, 109, 120, 123, 140-143.
(iii.) The appeal of the sufferer for deliverance, 6, 39, 40, 61, 63, 86, 88, 90, 102.
(iv.) The appeal of the sinner for mercy, 25, 38, 51.

II. Praise and Thanksgiving.
(i.) For the actual or prospective deliverance of the righteous and punishment of the wicked, the speaker being still in the shadow of recent trouble, 9, 16, 21, 22b, 23, 30, 32, 36, 52, 75, 116, 124, 138.
(ii.) Confident prayer and praise, and expressions of confident faith. There is a tone of unclouded brightness about

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1 Cf. also x. 7, Rom. iii. 14; xiv. = liii., Rom. iii. 10-18; xix. 4, Rom. x. 18; xxiv. 1, i. Cor. x. 26; xxxii. 1, Rom. iv. 7, 8; xxxiv. 12 f., i. Pet. iii. 10 f.; xxxvi. 1, Rom. iii. 18; xlv. 22, Rom. viii. 36; li. 4, Rom. iii. 4; lxviii. 18, Eph. iv. 8; lxxxi. 6, John x. 34; lxxxi. 6, Acts xiii. 22; xc. 4, ii. Pet. iii. 8; xci. 11 f., Matt. iv. 6, Temptation; xciv. 11, i. Cor. iii. 20; xciv. 7 ff., Heb. iii. 7 ff.; xcvi. 7, Heb. i. 6; ci. 25 f., Heb. i. 10 f.; civ. 4, Heb. i. 7; cix. 8, Acts i. 20, Judas; cxii. 9, ii. Cor. ix. 9; cxvi. 10, ii. Cor. iv. 13; cxvii. 1, Rom. xv. 11; cxviii. 6, Heb. xiii. 6; cxviii. 22, “The stone which the builders rejected”; Matt. xxi. 42, etc., Acts iv. 11, i. Pet. ii. 7; cxi. 3, Rom. iii. 13.

2 Verses 1-21.

3 Verses 38-51.

4 Verses 22-31.
these psalms. Many are expressly national, and some celebrate the triumph of Israel over its enemies, 2, 20, 24b, 34, 46–48, 50a, 65–68, 76, 84, 85, 91, 92, 95, 101, 103, 108, 110, 113, 115, 117, 118, 121, 122, 125, 128, 134, 144, 146, 150.

(iii.) Praise of God in Nature and Providence, 8, 19a, 29, 93, 104, 107, 145–147.
(iv.) Praise of the Law, 19b, 119.
(v.) Praise of Zion, 87.

III., Historical Retrospects, 78, 81, 89a, 105, 106, 114, 135, 136.
IV., Exposition of the Doctrine of Rewards and Punishments, parallel to Proverbs, 1, 15, 24a, 37, 49, 50b, 112.
V., Discussion of the apparent failure of Divine Justice, parallel to Job, 73.
VI., Marriage Ode, 45.
VII., Eulogy of a King, 72.

Probably when 45 and 72 were included in the complete Psalter, a spiritual or Messianic interpretation had been given to them. It is often supposed that in most of the psalms which use the first person singular the speaker is the community—a view supported by the long and widespread use of the Psalter in public worship. Yet such psalms would be based on personal experience, since the Psalter has also proved to be a perfect manual of private devotion.

(h) Form of Hebrew Poetry.—A priori probability and the tendency to equal length in corresponding lines suggests an original regular metre; but, so far, all that has been established is a certain correspondence of sense, and, in a less degree, of form, called parallelism. The unit of Hebrew verse is usually a couplet, less often a triplet, and occasionally a set of four, five, or six lines. The correspondence of sense between two members of a couplet is of the most varied description.

Each of the two members may express the same or a very

1 Verses 7–10.  2 Verses 1–15.  3 Verses 1–6.  4 Verses 7–14.
5 Verses 1–37.  6 Verses 1–6.  7 Verses 16–23.  8 Cf. p. 151.
similar idea, in which case we have *synonymous parallelism*, e.g., Psalm lxix. 8,

“I am become a stranger unto my brethren,
And an alien unto my mother’s children.”

Sometimes the two members express contrasted truths, which both illustrate the same general principle, in which case we have *antithetic parallelism*, e.g., Psalm xxxii. 10,

“Many sorrows shall be to the wicked:
But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about.”

Sometimes the second member of a couplet merely completes or supplements the sense of the first, in which case we have *synthetic parallelism*, e.g., Psalm ii. 6,

“Yet I have set my king
Upon my holy hill of Zion.”

Such couplets are only distinguished from prose by the context, and, perhaps, by a certain similarity of length and sound between the two members; the general rhythm of a psalm would guide a singer or punctuator in dividing a verse into its two halves.

The subdivisions of these kinds of parallelism have been variously named by different scholars. Two striking peculiarities are: (i.) the actual repetition of a phrase from (a) in (b), e.g., Psalm xcvii. 5,

“The hills melted like wax at the presence of Jehovah, At the presence of the Lord of the whole earth.”

and (ii.) the implied repetition of a word or phrase from (a) in (b), e.g., Psalm xviii. 41,

“They cried, but there was none to save: Even unto Jehovah, but he answered them not.”

Two common forms of the relation of the two members (a), (b) of a couplet in antithetic parallelism may be illustrated mathematically.

We may have—

(a) \( A = B \).
(b) \( A \neq -B \), e.g., Proverbs xvi. 10,

“A divine sentence is in the lips of the king:
His mouth shall not transgress in judgment.”

Or again—

(a) \( A = B \).
(b) \( -A = -B \), e.g., Proverbs xv. 18,

“A wrathful man stirreth up contention:
But he that is slow to anger appeaseth strife.”
Correspondence of form naturally arose out of that of sense, and sometimes, as we have seen, was accepted as a substitute for it, though, as a rule, there is a relation of sense between the two members of such couplets, which produces the feeling of balance or parallelism. The connection of form and sense is best illustrated by Psalm xix. 7–9, where there is a correspondence of "noun to noun, verb to verb, adjective to adjective."

"The law of Jehovah is perfect, restoring the soul; The testimony of Jehovah is sure, making wise the simple; The precepts of Jehovah are right, rejoicing the heart; The commandment of Jehovah is pure, enlightening the eyes; The fear of Jehovah is clean, enduring for ever; The judgments of Jehovah are true, righteous altogether."

In triplets and larger groups of lines the different kinds of parallelism are variously combined in much the same way as the rhymes in the various stanzas of English poetry. In the same psalm the parallelisms may be of different kinds, but there is a tendency either to use lines of about the same length throughout a psalm or strophe, or else to arrange the lengths on some regular principle. The conclusion of strophes is often indicated by a refrain, e.g., Psalm xlvi. 7, 11,

"Jehovah Sabaoth is with us; The God of Jacob is our refuge."

The psalmists occasionally composed alphabetic acrostics; the most striking is cxix., which consists of twenty-two six-lined strophes. In each strophe each of the six lines begins with the same letter: in the first strophe with Aleph, in the second with Beth, etc. Hence in the English versions each strophe is headed with the name or symbol of its Hebrew letter. Other more or less perfect alphabetic acrostics are ix. + x., xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxi., cxii., cxix., cxlv. Psalm cx. has been read as an acrostic on Simon the Maccabee.¹

¹ Cf. (a).
and especially accents. No theory has yet been generally accepted.


Many poems occur in the Historical and Poetical Books.¹

3. Proverbs.

(a) Composition, Date, and Authorship.—Proverbs in many ways resembles the Psalter. It is a collection of collections of short poems, assigned by headings to different authors; the tendency has been to give the titles Solomon and David to the complete books, because these two kings were typical representatives of the wisdom and psalmody of Israel. Just as the Psalter contains two earlier collections with the title "David," separated by psalms with other titles; so here there are two earlier collections with the title "Solomon," separated by proverbs ascribed to "the Wise." These facts suggest that Proverbs and the Psalter had similar histories.

Thus Proverbs, as the national storehouse of proverbial wisdom, would be likely to receive additions as long as Hebrew was a living language, or at any rate till some edition of it had been current long enough to receive a canonical status. The production of a new collection of proverbs in Ecclesiasticus instead of an enlarged edition of our book shows that the latter was completed some time before B.C. 200.

According to the analogy of the titles in the Psalter and elsewhere, the headings may have been added by late editors. The prologue, "Proverbs of Solomon, etc.," i. 1-6, was probably prefixed by the compiler of the last edition²; neither here nor in x. i, xxv. i, need the title imply that all the proverbs were composed by Solomon.

So far, we may place the final editing of Proverbs at some date between the formation of the last collection and c. B.C. 250. We have therefore to see within what limits we can fix

¹ Cf. Lamentations, pp. 212 f., and Prov., pp. 152, 156.
² But xxx. f., may have been added later still.
the dates of these collections. The degree of certainty attainable is lessened not only by the presence of proverbs much older than the collections in which they stand, but also by the probability that some proverbs were inserted and others brought up to date even after a collection had been formed and a title prefixed to it.

The following table states a form of the prevalent view as to Proverbs; titles in inverted commas:—

A, i. i–6, Prologue by final editor referring to the book as "Proverbs of Solomon."

B, i. 7–ix., Late addition, placed at the beginning as suitable introduction.


D and E, xxii. r7–xxiv. 22, "the Wise"; and xxiv. 23–34, "the Wise," two appendices to C, combined with it before the other parts of the book were added.

F, xxv.–xxix., "Solomon, copied out" by the "Men of Hezekiah," second main collection, added to CDE as supplement.

G, H, and I, xxx., "Agur"; xxxi. i–9, "Lemuel" xxxi.; 10–31, three appendices, the two former post-exilic, the last perhaps pre-exilic.

Thus C is commonly regarded as the oldest collection, though some¹ would assign the priority to F.

C is often² assigned to the early monarchy, to which period it must, of course, belong if it is older than F, and if the title which assigns F to the time of Hezekiah is correct. Very many of the proverbs in C imply the historical situation of the period; the king is spoken of with respect and appreciation,³ the general situation seems one of settled order and moderate prosperity, such as prevailed in the Israelite states before the social evils denounced by Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah came to a head. A contentious woman is one of the most serious troubles of life.

¹ e.g., A. B. Davidson, Encycl. Brit.
² Davidson, Encycl. Brit.; Cheyne, Job, etc., p. 133.
³ xvi. 10–15, xix. 12, xx. 8, 26, 28, xxi. 1.
On the other hand there are features which seem to belong to a later period. It is strange that we find no traces of the fierce polemic of the prophets against Baal-worship and idolatry. Even if the collection was formed before these controversies arose, would it have passed through them unaltered? Again, advanced ethics need not be a sign of a late date, benevolence and pity, within limited circles, have always been popular; but such sayings as

"Jehovah hath made everything for its own end:
Yea, even the wicked for the day of evil" (xvi. 4),
and

"The spirit of man is the lamp of Jehovah,"
"Searching all the innermost parts of the belly" (xx. 27),
point to a period when long reflection had been devoted to the problems of theology and the spiritual life. They may, however, have been added after the collection was formed.

The almost uniform use in C of couplets in antithetic parallelism is not necessarily due to the compiler, but may be due to a traditional convention. The repetition of the same or part of a proverb in different places indicates that C was compiled from earlier smaller collections.

If the heading xxv. 1 is accepted, the appendices D, E to C might naturally, but not necessarily, be placed between C and the time of Hezekiah. These appendices would very well reflect the vice, extravagance, and oppression of the eighth century. Repetitions occur in D, E, which also repeat parts of proverbs from C. The introduction to D, xxii. 17-21, resembles i. 1-6, and may also have been added by the final editor.

The heading of F, "These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah ... copied out," would be a most satisfactory pivot for the criticism of Proverbs, if it could be certainly relied on. It gives us a

1 Cornill, post-exilic.
2 e.g., xiv. 12=xvi. 25, Cheyne, Job, etc., 133, enumerates nineteen instances.
3 F may have existed long before its combination with CDE.
4 e.g., xxiii. 17a=xxiv. 1a.
5 e.g., xxiv. 20b=xxiii. 9b.
date for F, and as the “also” implies another collection, which can scarcely be other than C, it shows that C is still older. If F is the older collection, the heading will still be later than C, and therefore not contemporary, but the work of the editor who combined CDE and F, who may be the final editor. The Chronicler mentions no such literary activity on the part of Hezekiah, though we might expect that he would have done so, if this heading lay before him.\(^1\) The proverbs in F imply less settled and prosperous times than those in C, and the king or ruler is sometimes spoken of as an oppressor.\(^2\) The collection may reflect the troubled days when Samaria was tottering to its fall, and Jerusalem was expecting to share its fate. Yet the evils dwelt on are rather those of a society under an iniquitous government, which uses part of the people as instruments of its oppression; and the contentious woman is still prominent. We do not seem to be on the verge of great catastrophes. The antithesis between the righteous and the wicked, and the qualities assigned to them remind us of post-exilic psalms, and the references to the law suggest a post-exilic date.\(^3\) Cheyne, however, regards F as of the age of Hezekiah, or, at any rate, pre-exilic,\(^4\) and Driver\(^5\) writes: “The title (xxv. 1), the accuracy of which there is no reason to question.”

F also repeats proverbs or parts of proverbs from C.\(^6\)

The three concluding appendices, Agur, Lemuel, and the Capable Woman, are generally regarded as post-exilic.\(^7\) Agur’s meditation on the Divine Transcendence belongs to a very late period of Jewish theology.\(^8\) His quaternions

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1 Cornill, 2 e.g., xxix. 2.
3 xxviii. 4–9, xxix. 18, the passages do not seem to be additions, and to render ūdāth “instruction” or “revelation” is hardly in accordance with the concrete, practical nature of the proverbs in this section.
6 Cheyne, Job, etc., p. 143, enumerates 11 cases.
7 Driver, p. 382, “doubtless.”
8 xxx. 5–9 almost reads like a marginal gloss, the protest of a pious reader, who prayed that he might be kept from such dangerous speculations as those of Agur.
remind one of similar groups in the rabbinical sayings in *Pirqê Abôth*. The few verses addressed to Lemuel contain striking Aramaisms.

A post-exilic date is suggested for "the Capable Woman" by its being an acrostic—the other O.T. acrostics are, as far as we know, post-exilic—and by its position in the book. Otherwise the quiet, prosperous circumstances implied in this picture of a strenuous housewife might be those of the early monarchy. The language of the poem would be consistent with such a date.

The date of A and B, which are probably by the final editor, is another crucial point of the criticism of Proverbs. Their similarity to Deuteronomy has led many to place them in the closing period of the Jewish monarchy. But other considerations point to a post-exilic date; the personification of Wisdom is a great advance on Job xxviii., and is closely akin to Ecclesiasticus xxiv. and the Wisdom of Solomon; the account of the divine working in Creation and Providence is an advance on Genesis i. The elaborate structure of some of the sentences, especially in ii., suggests the influence of a knowledge of Greek.

Thus the general conclusion indicated is that the complete work is post-exilic, not later than c. B.C. 250; and that probably C and perhaps F were compiled before the Exile, and A + B after the Exile.

When we come to the contents of these collections, we

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1 'Esheth hayil, for which there is no English equivalent. "Virtuous Woman" quite misleads the reader, to whom it suggests absence of vices, especially one particular vice, and not the active, successful well-doing denoted by the Hebrew. "Excellent Woman" has also been well suggested.


4 So CORNILL, etc.


6 Sometimes spoken of as a single sentence.

7 The dependence of i.–ix. on Job, and of Job on i.–ix., have been asserted with equal positiveness; cf. p. 132.

8 According to Wildeboer, the book was compiled at the beginning of the Greek period; the older collections at the close of the Persian period. So Toy; but xxx., xxxi., second century.
raise the question of the share of Solomon in the book. Solomonic proverbs and Davidic psalms present very similar problems. Both are supported by ancient tradition;¹ are very probable when all the evidence has been considered, and are naturally to be looked for in the oldest collections bearing the names of David and Solomon. But in neither case is it likely that even the oldest collection is wholly or substantially David's or Solomon's, and definite criteria for Solomonic proverbs are more entirely absent than for Davidic Psalms. The contents of C suggest that the compiler was rather a man in moderate circumstances moving in middle-class society than a magnificent and luxurious king surrounded by a splendid court. Sayings of Solomon would reach such an editor, but are not now distinguishable from his other material. Where the evidence is so vague, critical opinion naturally varies widely. Professor A. B. Davidson writes of Proverbs: "Much" in the book "may be referred to the age of Solomon, particularly the sayings in chapters x.–xxii., though much even in this division may be later"; on the other hand, a distinguished critic denies Solomon any share in Proverbs.²

(b) **Text.**—The LXX. differs very widely from the Hebrew; it makes numerous additions, some of which are also found in the Vulgate or Syriac. For instance, after vi. 6–8, which commend the ant as an example, the LXX. adds a similar passage on the bee. The order of some sections is different, the most important change being the insertion of xxx. 1–14 (part of Agur) between xxiv. 22 and 23; and xxx. 15–xxxii. 9 (rest of Agur, and Lemuel), between xxiv. 34, and xxv. 1. This arrangement indicates that the three appendices G, H, I were combined with the rest of the book in different ways by different editors.

The headings, x. 1, "Proverbs of Solomon," xxiv. 23, "These

¹ *Kings* iv. 32.
² *Job*, C.B.S., p. lx.; Strack speaks of C as substantially *inhaltlich* Solomonic.
also are of the Wise,"¹ xxx. 1, "Words of Agur," etc., xxxi. 1, "Words of Lemuel," etc., are omitted, in order that the "Proverbs of Solomon" in i. 1, may be understood to extend to the whole book.

(c) Contents.—I. 1–6, General Heading.
"The Proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel," and statement of purpose of book.

I. 7–IX., In Praise of Wisdom.
Chiefly in couplets and synonymous parallelism.

i. 7–vii., A series of didactic poems, mostly beginning "My son," exhorting the reader to practise virtues and avoid vice, and thus follow wisdom.

viii., ix., Wisdom invites men to her banquet; warns them against folly. Wisdom as God's agent in creation and providence.

X. 1–XXII. 16, "The Proverbs of Solomon."²
A collection of miscellaneous aphorisms on life and conduct, for the most part secular rather than distinctly religious; almost entirely in couplets, and chiefly in antithetic parallelism.

XXII. 17–XXIV. 22, "The Words of the Wise."³

xxii. 17–21, Purpose of collection, stated in first person by compiler.

xxii. 22–xxiv. 22, A similar collection to x.–xxii. 16. The grouping of the lines is very varied, from couplets to a set of eight clauses, but quatrains are most frequent. The parallelism is chiefly synonymous.

xxiv. 23–34. "These also are the sayings of the Wise."⁴ Appendix to above, including "the Parable of the Sluggard." Grouping of lines varied, parallelism synthetic or synonymous.

XXV.–XXIX., "Proverbs of Solomon."
"These also are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." Another similar

¹ Replaced by an exhortation similar to xxii. 17.
² This heading is omitted by LXX. and Syr.
³ xxii. 17.
⁴ LXX. omits and replaces by a hortatory clause like xxii. 17.
collection; couplets preponderate, but both grouping of lines and parallelism are varied.

XXX. "The Words of Agur, the Son of Jakeh, the Oracle."¹

Nothing is known of Agur, the name may be symbolic, "hireling" or "collector of wisdom."²

A series of epigrams, from two to ten lines each, on the Divine Transcendence, four wicked generations, four insatiable things, four wonderful things, four intolerable things, four things that are little but wise, four stately things, etc.

XXXI. 1-9, "The Words of King Lemuel."³

"The oracle which his mother taught him."

Nothing is known of Lemuel, possibly a symbolic name, "belonging to God." Unless it is thought necessary to claim every verse of the book for Solomon, there is no ground for identifying either Agur or Lemuel with the Wise King.

Warnings against debauchery and injustice.


An alphabetic acrostic, chiefly in couplets and synonymous parallelism; in praise of the capable woman.

(d) Teaching.—The general theme of Proverbs is the practical advantage of industry and prudence, honesty and godliness. The problems of Job are ignored, as they mostly are in Ecclesiasticus, probably not because they were still unknown, but because they were not urgent at the times and under the circumstances when the collections were compiled. The Proverbs state practical truths of average life, and comfortable, prosperous men of a practical turn of mind have a gift for ignoring both speculative difficulties and exceptional suffering. Proverbs also ignores polygamy,⁴ and, so far, may be said to praise monogamy. The great passage on Wisdom ⁵

¹ So R.V. Text, R.V. Mg., "burden"; others propose "of Massa," understanding Massa as a proper name, possibly a district of Arabia. LXX. omits xxx. 1.

² "Ithiel" and "Ucal" should not be taken as proper names, but translated as R.V. Mg.

³ R.V., or, as R.V. Mg., Lemuel, king of Massa. LXX. omits.

⁴ Sometimes regarded as evidence of post-exilic origin.

⁵ viii. f.
is the basis of the doctrine of the Divine Wisdom, as an almost personal manifestation of God in His working; it is also one of the most striking O.T. statements of God’s creative and providential activity.

(e) **Use in N.T.**—The “Whom the Lord loveth, He chasteneth,” of Hebrews xii. 5 f., is from iii. 11 f.; the “cheerful giver,”\(^1\) of ii. Corinthians ix. 7, is a reminiscence of xxii. 8, LXX.\(^2\) The description of Christ as “the Wisdom of God”\(^3\) prepared the way for the later identification of Christ with “Wisdom,” which made the statement that God *created* Wisdom\(^4\) a proof text of Arian polemics.

4. **Ecclesiastes.**

(a) **Title.**—The Hebrew title *Qoheleth* has been variously interpreted. It is a derivative of *qāḥāl*, an assembly, and is in form an active feminine participle, “one who calls or addresses an assembly.” It has been taken (i.) as agreeing with Wisdom understood, but i. 12, “I, Qoheleth, was king,” shows that it refers to Solomon; therefore we should adopt (ii.) that the feminine form is used, as in Arabic,\(^5\) for a representative character, so LXX. and Vulg. “Ecclesiastes,” Luth. “Prediger,” A. R. “preacher,” R. Mg. “great orator.”\(^6\) Less probable explanations are “collector (of wise sayings),” “caller of assemblies,” “debater.”\(^7\) Unsuccessful attempts have been made to show that Qoheleth is a cryptogram for Solomon.

(b) **Date and Authorship.**—The language belongs to the latest stage of biblical Hebrew; Aramaic words are used.\(^8\) The vocabulary and idioms have much in common with the

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\(^1\) ἔλαφος ὅμηρος.
\(^2\) Cf. also iii. 34, Jas. iv. 6, i. Pet. v. 5; xi. 31, i. Pet. iv. 18; xxv. 21, Rom. xii. 20; xxvi. 11, ii. Pet. ii. 22.
\(^3\) i. Cor. i. 24.
\(^6\) Cf. the masc. names *Sophereth* = scribe (fem.), *Mokhereth* = seller (fem.), Ezra ii. 55 ff.
\(^7\) PLUMPTRE.
\(^8\) e.g., *z’mān*, “time,” only elsewhere in O.T., in Neh., Esther, and the Aramaic section of Daniel.
post-biblical Hebrew of the Mishna, etc.\textsuperscript{1}; some idioms in constant use in biblical Hebrew are rarely or never used.\textsuperscript{2} A more or less considerable influence of Greek upon the language of Qoheleth has been maintained by some scholars,\textsuperscript{3} but denied by Cheyne. The language points to a date in the Greek period, or, at the earliest, at the end of the Persian period.

The historical situation is not clearly defined, but we gather that the Jews are oppressed by the officers of an alien government.\textsuperscript{4} Such a state of affairs points either to the close of the Persian period, or to the times when the Ptolemies and Seleucids in turn ill-used the Jews, before the revolt of the Maccabees.

On the other hand, neither the situation implied nor the depressed tone of the book suit the stirring period of the Maccabees.

It has been maintained\textsuperscript{5} that the version found in MSS. of the LXX. is that of Aquila; but, in any case, the history of the LXX. is too little known to afford much help in fixing the date of this book.

The theology of the book also points to a late post-exilic date. The temple worship is assiduously observed, but a time has come when men can regard it with a languid approval which affords them little comfort. The eager enthusiasm and fierce controversy of Ezra's time seem long since to have died away, and something of the well-bred indifference of the Sadducee has crept over men's souls. This again would suit the Greek period.

Qoheleth has parallels with Greek philosophy,\textsuperscript{6} which are

\textsuperscript{1} e.g., ḫḇḥr, "already" (seven times), nowhere else in O.T., but used in Mishna; and the use of she and shel, alone or with prepositions, for the Heb. āśer.

\textsuperscript{2} With three exceptions, the Perf. with Simple Waw is used for the Imperf. with Waw Consec.

\textsuperscript{3} GRÄTZ, etc., ap. CHEYNE, Job, etc., p. 260; TYLER, WILDEBOER. An example is the alleged use of yār̄eh, "fair," in the ethical sense of קָלָד, especially in the phrase Thái āśer yār̄eh, v. 17, "good which is fair," said to equal the קָלָד קָדָאָתָה.\textsuperscript{4} V. 8 f.

\textsuperscript{4} GRÄTZ, rejected by DILLMANN; ap. WILDEBOER.

\textsuperscript{5} PLUMPTRE, Eccl. etc.; TYLER.
sometimes supposed to indicate dependence, either on Epicurus, as is suggested by the numerous statements that the only attainable happiness lies in the reasonable enjoyment of the good things of this life; or on the Stoics, whose doctrine of recurring cycles is parallel to i. 2–11, and of Determinism to iii. ; or on Heraclitus in such passages as iii. 1–8. Certainly the book has much of the Stoic temper, and less than the Stoic faith, and the many parallels are most easily explained by some influence, direct or indirect, of Greek thought, but it might not be impossible to explain the book as an independent development of Hebrew thought.

While, therefore, the possibility of a date at the close of the Persian period cannot be positively excluded, the weight of the evidence is in favour of about B.C. 200.

It follows that the ascription to Solomon, like that of the book of Daniel to Daniel, is a mere literary form, which the author is not very careful to maintain. But although, with few exceptions, the Solomonic authorship was universally accepted till towards the end of last century, even in 1881 Dean Plumptre wrote, "No one now dreams of ascribing it to Solomon." There are still, however, some works in circulation which maintain the traditional view.

1 Pfleiderer, ap. Wildeboer.
2 Cheyne, Job, etc., p. 271, "I do not see that we must admit even a vague Greek influence." Dillon, Sceptics of O.T., sees Buddhist influence in xii. 7, the reabsorption of the spirit into the Divine.
5 Solomon is not named, but the wise, wealthy son of David, king over Israel in Jerusalem, can be no one else.
6 e.g., the phrase "all," i.e., apparently, all the kings of Israel "that were before me in Jerusalem," i. 16, ii. 7, 9.
7 Luther, Grotius, etc., ap. Plumptre, p. 23.
8 Eccl. p. 21, cf. Oxford Helps, "The book was formerly supposed to have been written by Solomon." 9
9 Principal Douglas in notes inserted in his translation of Keil's Introd., 1871; Rev. W. T. Bullock, M.A., in the Speaker's Commentary.
As to place of composition, the data are indefinite; it is commonly placed in Judæa, but also at Alexandria.

(c) Composition.—Apart from the first two chapters, the book is, as Cheyne says, "rough" and "disjointed." "The thread of thought seems to break every few verses... the feelings and opinions embodied in the book are often mutually inconsistent." The theories framed to account for these facts may be grouped thus:

(i.) That the book was written as it stands, and that the lack of coherence and consistency either reflect the uncertainty and varying moods of the author, as in Tennyson's *Two Voices*, or that the book contains a kind of report of the discussions of a religious academy, or that the more sceptical passages are the sayings of an infidel objector, quoted to be refuted.

(ii.) That the lack of order is due either to an accident to the MS. by which leaves were transposed, or to the fact that iii.—xii. were compiled from loose notes of the author's after his death. This view would explain the presence of the collection of proverbs.

(iii.) That the confusion arises from omissions and interpolations made by editors to correct the sceptical tone of the book. This view is supported by the probable analogy of Job.

The epilogues, xii. 9–14, especially 13 f., are often regarded as additions. They certainly read like a subscription by a later hand, cf. John xxi. 24 f.; and 13 f. seems to contradict the teaching of many passages of the book. The rejection,

1 Nowack, p. 197, Cheyne, p. 258, Tyler, p. 63.
2 Plumptre, p. 39.
3 *Job*, etc., p. 204.
4 Nowack, Plumptre, Wildeboer.
5 Tyler.
6 Bickell, who also holds that there are important editorial additions, *e.g.* all the passages implying authorship by Solomon. Naturally additions would be made in the attempt to construct a coherent whole out of the jumbled leaves.
7 Cheyne, *Job*, etc., p. 204.
8 Bickell, Cheyne, *Job*, etc., p. 234, Nowack, Plumptre, p. 101. xii. 8–14 are accepted by Tyler and Wildeboer.
however, of this section carries with it that of the other "B" passages.\(^1\) The difficulty as to 13 f. is not that its teaching is necessarily incompatible with the rest of the book; in face of all appearances to the contrary, Qoheleth, like Job, may have clung to his faith in God's righteousness. But 13 f. is not "the sum of the matter" either as a summary of the book, or of Qoheleth's feelings as to the subject; nor is it easy to understand how the author of the A passages\(^1\) would have spoken with the assured certainty of the B passages as to God's judgments. Was he able to take, at one and the same time, Job's attitude and that of Job's friends, without having any suggestion to offer as to how they were to be reconciled. The simplest theory of the book seems to be the last (iii.).\(^2\)

An interesting variety of this theory supposes that the Epilogue was added at the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90, to adapt Ecclesiastes for reception into the Canon, and to formally close the Canon of the Hagiographa; 12a is translated: "As for more than these," i.e., the canonical books, "beware, my son; of making many books there is no end."

(d) Contents.—Ecclesiastes contains material of three kinds: (A) an exposition of the vanity of life and its practical consequences; (B) notes enforcing ordinary religious views; (C) proverbs of a purely general character, which might just as well have been included in the Book of Proverbs. There is no widely accepted view as to the principle on which the book has been arranged, and the various materials combined.

A1, i., ii., Vanity of human life in the ever-recurring cycles of existence. Vanity of all things, of wealth and luxury, wisdom and toil. Yet it is well to enjoy life as well as we may.

[B1, ii. 26a, God rewards whom He pleases, and punishes the sinner.

\(^1\) See (d).

\(^2\) Dr. Paul Haupt translates xii. 12a: "And it might be well to add: my son, be on your guard against these (sayings)."
Also understood as a statement of God's arbitrary choice of one man for good and another for ill-fortune; "sinner" meaning merely "man." If so the sentence belongs to A1.

A2, iii.–vi., All things have their season. Vanity of speculation, of life under oppression,

[B2, iii. 17, God shall judge all men.]
or in solitude. Vanity of superstitious worship, of avarice. It is well to enjoy life, such as it is.

A3, vii. 1–viii. 15, A commendation of a sedate life, as cheerful as may be, in face of the emptiness and weariness of all things.

[B3, vii. 26b, viii. 12 f., God shall reward the good and punish the wicked.]

A4, viii. 16–ix. 16, All that man's wisdom can see is that "All things come alike to all"; there is no moral discrimination or intelligible purpose manifest in the government of the world. It is well to enjoy life, as far as may be, for wisdom is a barren gift.

[C, ix. 17–x. 20, Collection of Proverbs.]

A5, xi. 1–xii. 8, We must labour in spite of uncertainty as to results. Let a man make the most of youth, before growing years deprive him of his faculties.

[B4, xi. 9b, xii. 1, God will judge life, therefore let the young man be mindful of his Creator.]

B5, xii. 7, Man's dust returns to dust, his spirit to God.

B6, xii. 9–14, Epilogue stating that the author's intentions were good, that undue speculation is dangerous, and that the sum of the matter is that the whole duty of man is to fear God, because He will judge all things.

WILDEBOER.

2 For "thy Creator," bōra'akhā, P. Haupt, etc. read bōr'khā, "thy well" understood as a figure for "wife." If so xii. 1 belongs to A5.

3 Referring to Genesis ii. 7. The "spirit" is not man's personality, but the divine breath, which God resumes. Similar statements are made of the beasts, Psalm civ. 29, Job xxxiv. 14 f. Even so this verse contradicts iii. 20.
(e) **Teaching.**—The importance of Ecclesiastes lies in its exposition of the vanity of life. Following up the assaults of Job, Ecclesiastes deals the last fatal blow to the popular doctrine of retribution. This doctrine traced the divine approval or condemnation in material prosperity and suffering. Job showed that this could only be maintained by a brutally cynical judgment upon all (apparently) good men overtaken by suffering. But Qoheleth shows that this material prosperity itself, wealth, power, luxury, wisdom, long life, is "vanity of vanities"; how then can it be the sign of God's approval? Further he scarcely seems to have gone, but to have brought the matter to this point, cleared the way for another question: "How can the absence of material prosperity be the token of God's disapproval?" Again, Qoheleth ignored, and therefore probably rejected, the doctrine of a resurrection, which we know was already current in his time. But this limitation of his faith enabled him to set forth, with unique emphasis, the truth that man's present life, considered by itself, is unworthy alike of God and man. Such an exposition is a conclusive argument for a future life.

The passages added to declare the certainty of divine judgment, present to us faith, whether author's or editor's, persisting in the face of overwhelming difficulties.

For us Ecclesiastes has two main lessons, both of which it shares with the Book of Job. First, that the frank utterance and discussion of objections to faith may be inspired by the Holy Spirit, even when the utterer can only show grounds for doubts, and cannot resolve them. Secondly, and more particularly, in the supposed interests of God's benevolence and justice, and in order to emphasise sin and responsibility, religious teachers are constantly tempted to ignore

"... the weight of care,
That crushes into dumb despair
One half the human race."

The presence of Qoheleth in the Canon of O.T. Revelation reminds us that God's sympathy with His suffering creation is
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wider and deeper than we are sometimes taught; its logical sequel is the sacrifice of Christ.

(f) Use in N.T.—There is no evidence that any N.T. writers were acquainted with Ecclesiastes, unless we accept Dr. Paul Haupt’s suggestion that “Luke xii. 22–34 . . . (like Psalm cxxvii.) is evidently directed against Ecclesiastes.”¹

(g) Canonicity.—The right of Ecclesiastes to a place in the Jewish canon was long contested, but was officially conceded by the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90. The church, as in many other matters, simply adopted the decision of the Rabbis.

5. Song of Songs.

(a) Date and Authorship.—The title, “The Song of Songs, which is Solomon’s,” may merely mean that it is about Solomon; if it is intended to assert authorship, it is merely a late conjecture suggested by the contents, like so many of the Psalm titles. Solomonic authorship is now very generally rejected. The language has some striking characteristics of the latest period of Hebrew,² which point to a date at the close of the Persian period, or even later.³

These linguistic peculiarities, however, are often explained by supposing that Canticles was written in the dialect of Northern Israel. The mention of Tirzah, the capital of that kingdom, before Omri built Samaria,⁴ has also been held to support a pre-exilic date. There is every probability that the language of Northern Israel had dialectic peculiarities, but there is not sufficient evidence to establish the unlikely theory that these peculiarities coincided with those of the latest stage of the Hebrew language. These are entirely absent from the one O.T. document, which certainly belongs to Northern

¹ Johns Hopkins Univ. Circ., No. 89.
² The use of the prefix sh for 'dsher, of Shel; the occurrence of the Persian pardes, park, iv. 13, cf. Neh. ii. 8, Eccl. ii. 5; and of 'affiryôn, perhaps = Greek phoreion.
³ BUDDE, 2nd or 3rd century B.C.; CHEYNE, Founders O.T. Crit., p. 351 f.; CORNILL, not earlier than Persian period; KAUTZSCH, B.C. 332?; KÖNIG, early post-exilic period; STRACK, Persian period.
⁴ vi. 4, cf. i. Kings xvi. 23 f., also mentioned in ii. Kings xv. 14, 16.
Israel, the Book of Hosea. The significance of Tirzah—pleasantness—would suggest its use as a type of beauty; Tirzah is used as a woman's name in the Priestly Code,\footnote{Num. xxxvi. ii, etc.} and, if Tirzah be the flourishing modern town of Tulluzah,\footnote{G. A. Smith, Hist. Geog., p. 355.} it may have been important enough in the post-exile period to be coupled with Jerusalem.

(b) Canonicity.—The status of Canticles was matter of controversy amongst the Jews until the Synod of Jamnia, A.D. 90, when it was definitely received into the Canon. Yet, even in the second century, parts of it were trolled out\footnote{Trällert, Budde, Cant. x., quoting Tosephta Sanhedrin xii.} in the wine-shops as drinking songs. The Church, as usual, endorsed the decision of the Rabbis. There is no doubt that it became canonical alike among Jews and Christians on the understanding that it was to be used as an allegory. The heading in the Peshitto Syriac, "Wisdom of Wisdoms," points to this view of the book. The defenders of the dramatic theory justify its inclusion in the Canon as a panegyric on virtuous love.

The book is not referred to in the N.T.

(c) Contents and Interpretation.—Canticles contains a collection of poems concerning the mutual affection of two lovers. It has been variously understood as:

(i.) An Allegory; among the Jews, of Jehovah's love for Israel, by Christians of Christ's love for His Church, as in the headings in A.V.\footnote{Keil, O.T. Introd., Eng. Trans., i. 503.} There is no reason to suppose that the original author intended the book for an allegory.

(ii.) A Drama; with a full equipment of dramatis personæ, lovers, ladies of the harem, first and second citizens, villagers, etc. This theory has been held in different forms, of which there are two chief varieties. (1) The drama depicts the loves of Solomon and one of his queens,\footnote{Delitzsch.} the Shulamite, Solomon assuming at times the character of a shepherd. Thus, i. i–iii. 5, Courtship; iii. 6–v. i, Marriage; v. 2–vi. 9,
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Domestic Difficulties; vi. 10–vii. 9, Mutual Satisfaction; vii. 10–end, the Shulamite takes Solomon to visit her home and family. (2) The drama has three main characters, the Shulamite, a shepherd, to whom she is betrothed, and Solomon, who attempts to win her affections.1 Thus, i. 1–vii. 9, the Shulamite, in the harem, combats the persuasions of Solomon and his womenfolk by the help of her reminiscences of her shepherd lover; vii. 10–viii. 4, Final Rejection of Solomon in favour of the Shepherd; viii. 5–14, Happy Reunion of the Shulamite and the Shepherd.

According to this view, the book is in praise of pure conjugal affection.

(iii.) An Epithalamium; the book is a collection of songs, connected with a Syrian custom, called the “King’s Week.” During the first week after marriage the bride and bridegroom play at being king and queen, and are addressed as such by a mock court, in a series of songs similar to those of Canticles. Thus Canticles would contain a specimen of the cycle of songs used at a seven days’ village feast in honour of a peasant bride and bridegroom, the latter being addressed as “Solomon,” the type of a splendid and powerful king.

Earlier critics had suggested that the book was a collection of songs, but this particular view originated in J. G. Wetzstein’s accounts of the custom sketched above. It was accepted and developed by Carl Budde in various articles, and in his commentary on Canticles in the Kurzer Hand Comm. zum A.T.; it has been adopted by Cornill, Kautzsch, etc.

One objection to (ii.) and (iii.)—the absence of headings is not serious. We might perhaps have expected headings to songs constituting a collection, and should certainly look for some equivalent of our list of dramatis personae, stage directions, etc., in the “Book of the Words” of a drama. Yet, in the present instance, their absence is not difficult to understand; they were probably removed when it was decided that

1 Adenev, Davidson, Driver, König, Smith, W.R., etc., following Ewald.
the book was to be regarded as an allegory. But in spite of the ingenuity devoted to the interpretation of the book as a drama, there is a conspicuous absence of what we should call dramatic—the story does not tell itself at all clearly. The dramatic theory moreover is not supported by any parallels in ancient Jewish literature. On the other hand, Budde's theory (iii.) affords an adequate explanation of the facts. Possibly, however, the cycles of songs used at village nuptials were supposed to tell some traditional story concerning Solomon. We need not suppose that actors assumed parts, the village chorus spoke in turn for different personages, bride, bridegroom, etc. Moreover, the compiler of Canticles may have been acquainted with and used different cycles of songs, so that our book may be a combination of two or more such cycles, or more probably one cycle has been amplified from others.
CHAPTER V.

ISAIAH-DANIEL

1. Our Book of Isaiah, with General Analysis.
2. Isaiah i.-xxxv.
3. Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix.
4. Introduction to Isaiah xl.-lxxvi.
5. Isaiah xl.-lv.
6. Isaiah lvi.-lxxvi.
7. Jeremiah.
8. Lamentations.
10. Daniel.

1. Our Book of Isaiah, with General Analysis.—Our present Book of Isaiah is quoted in N.T. times under the title "Isaiah," but it is not certain that this necessarily means that the whole book throughout was written by Isaiah. The earliest trace of the existence of our book in its present form is the statement in Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 23-25 that Isaiah "comforted them that mourned in Zion, etc." The book falls into five main sections: (a) i.-xii.; (b) xiii.-xxiii.; (c) xxiv.-xxxv.; (d) xxxvi.-xxxix.; (e) xl.-lxxvi. The present arrangement suggests that (a), (b), (c) are separate collections of Isaianic prophecies, based on earlier collections, with additions. As some of these additions, in each case, are post-exilic, (a), (b), (c), as they stand, are post-exilic; (d) is an appendix, added by an editor who combined (a), (b), (c), therefore also post-exilic. Chapters xl. ff. (e) "Second Isaiah" is a collection of exilic and post-exilic prophecies; apparently, in the time of the author of Ezra, i.e., the Chronicler, this collection was not attributed to Isaiah. Both collections, i.-xxxix. and xl.-lxxvi., were completed after the Exile, the exact date depends on the view taken of the date of the latest sections contained in each. It cannot be earlier than

1 Isaiah xl. 1.
c. 400. The final combination of i.–xxxix. and xl.–lxvi. was probably accidental. In some lists Isaiah stands after Jeremiah, Ezekiel. If Isaiah i.–xxxix. were immediately followed by the anonymous book xl.–lxvi., the combination of the two, under the title Isaiah, would be inevitable. Cf. Zechariah.

GENERAL ANALYSIS

(Arranged according to Authorship).

ISAIAH i.–xxxix.

"First Isaiah."

(Sections not by Isaiah in Italics.)

i.–xi. 9, Judah, Ephraim, Syria, and Assyria.

xi. 10–xiv. 23, First Group of Later Additions.

xiv. 24–xxiii., Oracles on the Nations (including, however, the older fragments in xv., xvi., and the post-exilic xxi. 1–10).

xxiv.–xxvii., Second Group of Later Additions.

xxviii.–xxxii., Chastisement by and Deliverance from Assyria.

xxxiii.–xxxv., Third Group of Later Additions.

xxxvi.–xxxix., Historical Appendix.

ISAIAH xl.–lxvi.

"Second Isaiah."

xl.–lv., "Deutero-Isaiah," Exilic, with Servant passages,

xlii. 1–4 (5–7), xlix. 1–6 (7–13), l. 4–9 (10, 11), lii. 13–liii. 12.


2. Isaiah i.–xxxv.

(a) Isaiah and His Teaching.—Isaiah ministered at Jerusalem, of which he was probably a native. He was married, and two sons were born to him during his ministry. He ministered for more than forty years, from his call in the year when King Uzziah died, c. 740, till after the retreat of Sennacherib in 701, so that he was born under Uzziah, began his ministry as a young man,
and continued it to old age. The story of his martyrdom under Manasseh cannot be traced beyond the first century A.D. Like Elisha and Jeremiah, he sought to control the home and foreign policy of the government; during part of Hezekiah's reign he was the chief power in the state, and probably Hezekiah's reformation was inspired by him. He protested steadily, but without effect, against foreign alliances, whether with Assyria against Syria and Israel, or with Egypt against Assyria. Like Amos, Hosea, and Micah, he denounced the faith in assiduous and often superstitious and even idolatrous worship as a substitute for a moral life and righteous government, and foretold the ruin of Israel and the chastisement of Judah, but a pious remnant of the latter should be saved. These doctrines were specially emphasised by the names of his sons, "Maher-shalal-hash-baz," "Hasten booty, speed spoil," and "Shear-jashub," "A remnant shall return." When it seemed that Jerusalem must be sacked, Isaiah assured Hezekiah that God would save His chosen city. Isaiah followed Amos in recognising God's control of foreign nations as well as His special interest in Israel, one application being that Assyria was the rod used by God to chastise His people, and that Assyria's delusion that it conquered by its own power would be severely chastised.

Isaiah goes far towards a formal statement of monotheism; he speaks of idols as 'elilim, "nonentities," and emphasises Jehovah's holiness, i.e., His unique deity, and His glory, i.e., His manifestation in Nature.

His practical teaching is largely summed up in his own words:

"In returning and rest shall ye be saved; In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." 8

Whether Isaiah's teaching included the glowing pictures of the Messianic King, the Messianic Era, and of universal

1 e.g., chapter i. He does not expressly attack the high places.
2 ii. 8, 20, vi., and the favourite phrase, "the Holy One of Israel."
3 xxx. 15, cf. vii. 4, 9.
devotion to Jehovah,¹ is a question on which critics are divided. At present there is no decisive proof that such ideas formed no part of Isaiah’s teaching.

An important feature of his ministry was his formation of a group of disciples, to whom he devoted himself, when further public testimony seemed useless.² Isaiah’s prophecies can be distributed with approximate certainty between four periods: the years before the Syro-Ephraimitic War; the Syro-Ephraimitic War; the last years of the northern kingdom; the revolt against Sennacherib and deliverance from him. To us this deliverance is so supremely important, that it seems the natural and necessary occasion for most of the prophecies referring to Assyria; but the scantiness of our data leaves it possible that other crises seemed equally important to those who lived through them. Subject to this doubt we may group the acknowledged sections thus³:

(1) Before the Syro-Ephraimitic Crisis, ii. 5–iv. 1, iv. 2–6, v. 1–24, vi., ix. 8–x. 4 (+ v. 25–30).
(2) In connection with that Crisis, vii. 1–ix. 7, xi. 1–9,⁴ xvii. 1–11.
(3) In connection with the Fall of Samaria, xxviii. 1–6.
(4) Sargon’s Invasion, 711, xx.
(6) Later, ii. 2–4,⁴ xxxii.⁴
(7) Uncertain, mostly 723–701, xv.,⁴ xvi.,⁴ xvii. 12–14, xix.,⁴ xxii. 13–17.⁴

(b) Historical Circumstances.—Isaiah’s earlier ministry probably coincided with the last years of Hosea, cf. Amos (b), Hosea (b). The position which Israel had attained under Jeroboam II. was already seriously impaired, but Judah still enjoyed great prosperity. This was threatened by the joint attack of Rezin and Pekah, against whom Ahaz secured the

¹ ii. 2–4, ix. 2–7, xi. 1–9, xix. 16–25, xxxii. f.
² viii. 16–18.
³ Cf. Contents.
⁴ If Isaiah’s.
help of Assyria. Israel was invaded in succession by Tiglath-Pileser III., Shalmaneser IV., and Sargon II.; the last named took Samaria in 722-1; in 720-19 he marched through Philistia and defeated the Egyptians at Raphia; later on he settled colonies from the East in Samaria, and in 711 he invaded Palestine and took Ashdod. Sargon, in his later years, and his successor Sennacherib had to suppress, by arduous wars, the attempts of Merodach-Baladan to establish an independent empire at Babylon. After Sennacherib's accession Judah joined in a confederacy, under the headship of Egypt, against Assyria; Sennacherib invaded Palestine, defeated the Egyptians at Eltekeh, and devastated Judah. When Jerusalem was at its last extremity, Sennacherib's army perished by divine judgment, and he retreated to Assyria. For a time Judah saw no more of the Assyrians, but Hezekiah's successor, Manasseh, became tributary to them.

(c) Contents.

I. i.-xi. 9, First Group of Isaiah's Prophecies, Judah, Ephraim, Syria, and Assyria.

1. General introduction.

1. The title to this collection.

Editorial, the words "concerning Judah and Jerusalem" show that the collection to which this title was prefixed did not include the Oracles on foreign nations, and was, substantially, our i.-xi.

2-31, Judah reduced to the last extremity by invasion, because of ingratitude to Jehovah. Forgiveness is not to be obtained by sacrifices, but by repentance and amendment. The doom of the impenitent. The purified city.

This invasion has been identified with the attack of Pekah and Rezin upon Ahaz, or with Sennacherib's invasion in 701. The chapter may be used as an introduction, because of its representative character. It is probably a compilation; 27, 28, may be a post-exilic summary of what precedes; 29-31 are a detached fragment of an early Isaianic utterance

ii.-v., Minor collection with title.

ii. i, Jerusalem, its judgment and final destiny.

ii. 2-4, Jerusalem, the centre of revelation for all nations in the Messianic Era of universal peace.
Occurs also as Micah iv. 1–3. Probably Isaiah did not borrow from Micah, nor Micah from Isaiah, but either both from an older prophet, or the section may be a post-exilic insertion in both Micah and Isaiah. Or an editor of one of the books may have inserted it from the other.

ii. 5–iv. 1, The doom of all that is “high and lifted up,” because of the oppressions of the rulers and the wanton luxury of their women.

As Judah enjoys great prosperity, this section is earlier than the Syro-Ephraimitic War, i.e., c. 736. iv. 2–6, The Remnant restored to a purified Jerusalem.

Parallels with post-exilic literature suggest that the section is wholly (Cheyne) or partly (Dillmann) post-exilic.

v. 1–7, The barren vineyard laid waste.

8–24, Woes against sinners.

1–24 parallel to previous section, and so c. 736.

25–30, Misplaced fragment.

Probably, on account of refrain 25b, conclusion of ix. 8–x. 4, where it seems required.


The chapter may have been committed to writing later on. The last clause, “so the holy seed is the stock thereof,” is rejected by some. If omitted, the ruin is complete and final, there is no remnant.

vii. 1–ix. 7, Narratives and utterances connected with the war with Syria and Ephraim, c. 734.

vii., Isaiah tries to dissuade Ahaz from alliance with Assyria, the birth of Immanuel a sign of the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, Assyria will become the scourge of Judah.

8b, “Ephraim shall be broken within 65 years, etc., is a later gloss.

viii. 1–4, Isaiah’s son, Maher-shalal-hash-baz, a sign of the ruin of Samaria and Damascus.

viii. 5–15, Jehovah punishes by an Assyrian invasion.


2 Cheyne, Isaiah, Polychrome Bible, p. 147.

3 So apparently Duhm, i.e., who thinks the passage composed by Isaiah in his old age.

4 Possible editorial additions are ii. 5, 6a, 20–22, iii. 10, 11, 19–23 (list of toilette articles), 25, 26.


6 In third person.

7 Cheyne and Duhm reject 21–25.

8 Ch. viii. in first person.
viii. 16–18, Isaiah is to await the fulfilment of his warnings.
viii. 19–ix. 7, In the last extremity deliverance comes through the "Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."
viii. 19–ix. 1, is obscure, and is probably a disconnected fragment with editorial additions. Cheyne\(^1\) concludes that Hackmann is probably right in regarding the Messianic passage ix. 2–7 as post-exilic.\(^2\)

ix. 8–x. 4 (+v. 25–30), a poem in five strophes, with refrains, on the doom of Ephraim, before 735.
ix. 15, 16, x. 3, may be glosses.\(^3\)
x. 5–34, On Assyria and Judah.
x. 5–27, Doom of Assyria, the axe with which Jehovah hewed, because it boasted itself against Him.
x. 28–34, Picture of the dismay caused by the advance of the Assyrians.

The former refers to Sennacherib's, 701, or some earlier Assyrian invasion; the latter to either, or to the fears inspired by the Fall of Samaria, 722.\(^4\)

xi. 1–9, The Righteous King, or Messiah, in whose time even the wild beasts will be at peace with man and his domestic animals.

May be referred to c. 734, like ix. 2–7, which it resembles, or, if regarded as the sequel to the preceding section, to the same period as x. According to Cheyne, post-exilic.\(^5\)

XI. 10–XIV. 23, First Group of Sections not by Isaiah.

xi. 10–16, The exiles of Israel and Judah will be again united into a single people, will return, and conquer the neighbouring tribes.

This passage, which implies that Judah as well as Israel has been carried away captive, is often placed during\(^6\) or after\(^7\) the Exile.

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1 *Introd.*, p. 45.
3 Duhm, Cheyne, Mitchell; Duhm and Cheyne read x. 42, "Beltis has sunk down, Osiris is broken, and under the slain they fall," which Cheyne regards as a gloss.
4 Cheyne, Duhm, and Mitchell reject 10–13, 16–27, 33, 34.
5 Polychrome Bible.
6 Kautzsch, *Bibel*.
The reference to "the Root of Jesse" suggests that it was written as an appendix to the preceding.

xii., Psalm of praise, appended as Epilogue to the First Collection of Isaiah's prophecies.

Very generally \(^1\) regarded as post-exilic on account of close resemblance to late Psalms and other post-exilic literature.

xiii. i–xiv. 23, Introduction to Isaiah's Oracles against the Nations; Fall of Babylon, Restoration of the Jews, Descent of the King of Babylon into Sheol.

The Israelites in exile, the captives of Babylon, are to be restored after the capture of Babylon by the Medes,\(^2\) a situation which implies composition during the Exile.\(^3\)

**XIV. 24–XXIII. 18, Second Group of Isaiah's Prophecies. Oracles against the Nations.**

xiv. 24–27, Assyria to be destroyed in Judah. Perhaps the conclusion of x. 5–15, if so, 722–701.

xiv. 28–32, Philistines to be destroyed by Assyria. The title, "In the year that King Ahaz died," is probably editorial, and the breaking of the rod, which raised the hopes of the Philistines, was the death of an Assyrian king, either Shalmaneser IV., 722, or Sargon, 705.

xv., xvi., Moab, a description, on the whole sympathetic, of the desolation of Moab and its cities by an invader. The Moabite fugitives are recommended to make their peace with Judah and take refuge there.

These chapters have numerous parallels with Jeremiah xlviii., and are similar in style to the Song in Numbers xxi. 27–30. As they are not in the style of Isaiah, it is commonly supposed that both Isaiah and Jeremiah adapted an earlier prophecy, possibly written when Moab was threatened by Jeroboam II. In xvi. 13, 14 Isaiah announces the fulfilment in the near future of the time of writing, *i.e.*, before one of the Assyrian invasions.

Cheyne, *Polychrome Bible*, regards the section in its present form as post-exilic, hesitates whether to ascribe the original to 722 or 589. Isaiah's share, his additions to an older poem, or fragments of his used by a later writer, are dated 711; xvi. 14 is the only part printed as Isaiah's.

**xvii. 1–11, Ruin of Damascus and Samaria.** Period of Syro-Ephraimitic War, c. 734. According to Cheyne and Duhm, 7 f., an addition; Skinner, an addition by Isaiah.

xvii. 12–14, The Assyrian invasion, a tempest which shall suddenly pass away.

Which invasion uncertain, Cheyne, 723.


\(^2\) xiii. 17, xiv. 2–4.

\(^3\) Driver, *Introduction*, 201 f.
xviii., The overthrow of the Assyrians announced to the Ethiopian ambassadors to Assyria, c. 701.

Cheyne and Duhm regard 7. "At that time Ethiopia shall be offered at Zion to Jehovah," as post-exilic.

xix., Egypt, 1-15, Jehovah stirs up civil war, makes the rulers mad, dries up the Nile, and delivers the land to a "hard lord."

The "hard lord" is commonly regarded as an Assyrian conqueror, and the passage has been connected with the defeat of the Egyptians by Sargon in 720; with Sargon's war against the Syrian allies of Egypt in 711; with Sennacherib's defeat of the Egyptians at Eltekeh, 701; with Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt, 672. There is nothing, however, in the passage itself to suggest Assyria or the imminence of a foreign invasion. Jehovah Himself turns the natural blessings of Egypt, its king, rulers, and the Nile, into curses, the "hard lord" is probably a native tyrant. Such might naturally be an utterance of Isaiah, after the retreat of Sennacherib seemed to have put an end to Assyrian invasions; Egypt might be safe from the Assyrians, and yet not escape chastisement.1

16-25, The Conversion of Egypt, Egypt humbled under the hand of Jehovah, will stand in awe of Judah. There shall be in Egypt five cities, one Ir-ha-heres, which shall speak the language of Canaan; also an altar and pillar (maqebba) to Jehovah. The Egyptians shall worship Him. Verses 23-25 rank Egypt and Assyria with Israel as the Chosen People: "Whom Jehovah Sabaoth shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."

Of this wonderful prophecy, Robertson Smith wrote: "Never had the faith of prophet soared so high, or approached so near to the conception of a universal religion, set free from every trammel of national individuality"; and, "The allusion to the consecrated maqebba is quite inconsistent with a date subsequent to the reformation of Josiah, and the acceptance of the Deuteronomic law of worship."2 His judgment in favour of Isaiah's authorship of this section is still strongly supported.3 But there are serious difficulties, in the style and language; in the contrast between the attitude towards Egypt and Assyria here and in the rest of Isaiah and pre-exilic prophecy generally; and in the apparent references to Jewish colonies in Egypt and to the temple of Onias. This temple was erected in the nome of Heliopolis (City of the Sun), and in the neighbourhood of a Temple of

1 Cheyne and Duhm regard the section as post-exilic.

2 Prophets, 1895, pp. 336, 436.

3 e.g., by Driver, 204, Dillmann, A.T. Theol., 501, Guthrie (Kautzsch, Bibel); and, ap. Cheyne, 109, Cornill, Kuenen, and Stade.
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xx. In the year 711, when Sargon’s general took Ashdod, Isaiah is commanded to go naked and barefoot three years as a sign of the captivity of Egypt and Ethiopia.

xxi. 1–10, Lament over the imminent sack of Babylon by the Medes and Elamites.

Sometimes connected with the captures of Babylon by the Assyrians from Merodach-Baladon in the time of Isaiah, but the section presupposes the situation towards the close of the Exile, and may be assigned to that period.3

xxi. 11, 12, Two obscure verses connected with Edom (Seir), possibly a sequel to the preceding; Edom, which prospered under the Chaldaeans, being anxious as to the consequences of the Fall of Babylon.


Often connected with one or other of the Assyrian invasions; Duhm connects with the rest of the chapter; Cheyne regards 16, 17 as Isaiah’s, 711, to which later passages, 604–561, have been prefixed.

xxii. 1–14, The Valley of Vision, Jerusalem is besieged after the defeat of the army, Jehovah calls to penitence, but men sought to drown care in debauchery: “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” Such sin must be punished with death.

Probably to be connected with Sennacherib’s siege in 701, and not with Sargon’s campaign in 711. It may have been purely predictive at the outset of the revolt against Sennacherib, or may have been uttered during the war, before Hezekiah had accepted Isaiah’s teaching, or may be a retrospect, a judgment after the danger was over on the conduct and temper of the people during the war.

xxii. 15–25, Shebna, the steward, probably a partisan of the Egyptian party, is to be replaced by Eliakim, whose subsequent fall is also predicted.

Connected with the crisis in 701; 24 f., and perhaps 19–23 may be later than 15–18.

1 So substantially Hitzig, followed by Geiger and Merx (Cheyne, Introd. p. 109 n.). Box, p. 92, subsequent to Alexander the Great.


3 Driver, 205.
xxiii., Tyre is to be overthrown, but restored after seventy years, to trade for the benefit of Jehovah and his people.

Verses 1–14 may be connected with the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV., 727–722, or with Sennacherib’s campaign in Phœnicia, 701. Verse 13, if read as in R.V., might refer to one of the captures of Babylon by the Assyrians, 710 and 703, but the text is probably corrupt. Cheyne regards it as a late section on an Isaianic basis, and Duhm connects it with the devastation of Phœnicia by Artaxerxes III., c. 349, the subject being originally Sidon, for which Tyre was substituted by an editor. Verses 15–18 are probably post-exilic.

XXIV.–XXVII., SECOND GROUP OF SECTIONS, NOT BY ISAIAH, ANONYMOUS; POST-EXILIC APOCALYPSE CONCERNING THE LAST THINGS.

xxiv., Earth and heaven are involved in one common shock of doom, the City of Confusion is singled out for special judgment, the praises of the righteous are heard from the ends of the earth.

xxv. 1–xxvi. 6, The thanksgiving of Israel for the overthrow of the City of Confusion and of Moab, and for the consequent salvation of God’s people.

xxvi. 7–19, Prayer of God’s people for protection and deliverance in evil times.

xxvi. 20–xxvii. 13, Out of the present trouble, and out of the distress which has befallen Israel on account of its sins, shall issue the ruin of Israel’s oppressors and the restoration of God’s people.

It is generally recognised¹ that, with the possible exception of Isaianic fragments borrowed by the author, these chapters are not the work of Isaiah. Here, as in Micah iv.–vii., compared with Micah i.–iii., the impression made is quite different from that produced by the admitted writings of the prophet. Isaiah’s utterances reflect at every turn the actual circumstances of his time; here we are in a different world from that of Palestine in the eighth century B.C. Isaiah was concerned with Judah and Israel, and their neighbours and enemies; here we have a judgment embracing earth and heaven. Assyria was not a city state, and certainly Isaiah never speaks of it as such; here the oppressor is a great city, possibly Babylon.² In spite of a number of resemblances,

¹ The chief exception is an able monograph by W. E. Barnes, "An examination of the objections brought against the genuineness of Isaiah xxiv.–xxvii.,” Cambridge, 1891. Cf. Driver, 207, Cheyne, Intro., 147 ff.

² xxv. 2, xxvi. 5, perhaps also xxiv. 10, the City of Confusion here is sometimes understood of Jerusalem, Skinner.
due to literary use of the actual writings of Isaiah, the general style is different from that of Isaiah.

It is probable that a poem consisting of xxiv., xxv. 6-8, xxvi. 20-xxvii. 1, xxvii. 12, 13, has been expanded by the insertion of the songs of thanksgiving, xxv. 1-5, 9-12, xxvi. 1-6, xxvii. 2-6; of the prayer and meditation, xxvi. 7-19; and of the obscure passage xxvii. 7-11.¹

These chapters presuppose the imminence of far-reaching political changes which might be expected to bring deliverance to Israel, possibly through much loss and suffering; and ruin to its enemies. Such a situation existed, in a measure, towards the close of the Exile; or, more exactly, in the time of Haggai and Zechariah²; or, probably during the earlier stages of Alexander’s attack on the Persian empire. This section has been referred to each of these periods. The Exile³ is suggested by the identification of the “city” with Babylon. But the vague, yet detailed apocalyptic picture points to a later date; Babylon was not destroyed by Cyrus, and the Jews still looked forward to its ruin in the time of Zechariah.⁴ If the “city” is not Babylon, but either Jerusalem or a symbolic city suggested by Babylon, we might follow Cheyne in assigning this section to the eve of Alexander’s conquest of Persia. Duhm connects it with the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, soon after the accession of John Hyrcanus, 129. The “city” is Samaria, destroyed by John Hyrcanus.

The apocalypse is remarkable as containing some of the most striking of the O.T. passages suggesting a resurrection of the dead and an eternal life. In xxv. 8,⁵ “He hath swallowed up death for ever,” implies that in the Messianic era, Israelites will never die, while xxvi. 19 points to a resurrection of dead Israelites. Universalism finds striking expression in the statement⁶ that Jehovah Sabaoth will prepare a feast for all nations in Zion, and there destroy the veil that is spread over them.

XXVIII.—XXXII., THIRD GROUP OF ISAIAH’S PROPHECIES.

xxviii., xxix., The Fall of Ephraim a warning to the priests, prophets, and rulers of Jerusalem of the disasters by which their sin will be punished. (The dependence of the former on inspiration.⁷) Ariel, i.e., Jerusalem, is besieged, but her foes vanish like chaff. The prophets are useless, the people only offer lip-service, and are slaves to tradition. Lack of faith will be put to shame by the glories of the Messianic era.⁸

These chapters are compilations; they are parallel to the other prophecies, to which they might almost serve as a summary. As a whole, they connect with the period when Judah was planning to revolt against

¹ So CHEYNE and DUHM, cf. SKINNER, Isaiah, p. 203.
² Hag. ii. 6-9, 20-23, Zech. i. 11-17.³ So KELLNER.
⁴ Zech. v. 5-11. The section is referred to this period by DILLMANN.
⁵ Quoted in i. Cor. xv. 54, and Rev. vii. 17.⁶ xxv. 6, 7.
⁷ xxviii. 23-29, if not a later addition, may imply that a fortiori statesmen need inspired guidance.
⁸ xxix. 15 34.
Sennacherib, relying on help from Egypt, *i.e.*, c. 702. xxviii. 1–6 may have been composed just before the Fall of Samaria, and afterwards utilised as an introduction. On the other hand, xxviii. 1–6, has been held to determine the date of the whole series of prophecies, which have been therefore assigned to c. 722. The Messianic picture xxix. 16–24 is often regarded as post-exilic.¹

xxx., xxxi., A collection of prophecies on the folly and sin of alliance with Egypt, with which have been combined an apocalyptic picture of the regeneration of Israel and the renewal of Nature in the Messianic era,² and two sections ³ on the deliverance of Israel from Assyria.

The interest in the Egyptian alliance connects with the eve of Sennacherib's invasion, 702. Duhm and Mitchell regard xxx. 18–26, and Cheyne and Kellner 18–33 as post-exilic. Cheyne also rejects xxxi. 5–9.

xxxii., A picture of the Righteous King, the spiritual regeneration and material prosperity of the Messianic age, into which is inserted a warning to the ladies of Jerusalem.⁴

Driver regards this chapter as a sequel to the preceding, *i.e.*, c. 702; Duhm regards it as mostly Isaiah's, and partly, at any rate, the work of his old age. Cheyne and Cornill treat it as post-exilic.

XXXIII.–XXXV., THIRD GROUP OF SECTIONS NOT BY ISAIAH.

xxxiii., An Apocalyptic Psalm, in which the Jews, in their distress, look forward to deliverance and the establishment of a Messianic King, who shall reign in peace at Jerusalem.

The style, the apocalyptic character, the description of Zion as righteous, and as the "city of sacred feast" or "feasts,"⁵ the parallels with late psalms, all point to a post-exilic date.⁶ Driver, however, still⁷ refers it to the point in Sennacherib's invasion, at which, having accepted tribute from Hezekiah, he made fresh demands on him, thus breaking a covenant.⁸

xxxiv., The Doom of Edom, when Jehovah chastises the nations.

The singling out of Edom as a special object of divine justice began with the hostility of Edom to the Jews at the Fall of Jerusalem. Hence this section is exilic or post-exilic.⁹

xxxv., The wilderness is turned into a fruitful, well-watered garden, through which, by a holy way, the exiles return to Zion.

Probably sequel to xxxiv. by same author. The parallels with Isaiah xl. ff. may point to a similar date or to dependence on exilic literature.

(d) Use in N.T.—The commission to harden the people’s hearts, vi. 9 f., was a favourite quotation of our Lord’s, Matt. xiii. 14 f., Mark iv. 12, Luke viii. 10, John xii. 40, Acts xxviii. 26 f. The LXX. of vii. 14 is quoted in Matt. i. 23, Luke i. 31, “A virgin shall conceive,” etc.; also i. 9 in Rom. ix. 29; viii. 12 f. in i. Peter iii. 14 f.; viii. 17 f. in Heb. ii. 13 f.; ix. 1 f. in Matt. iv. 15 f.; x. 22 f. in Rom. ix. 27 f.; xxii. 13 in i. Cor. xv. 32; xxviii. 11 in i. Cor. xiv. 21; xxviii. 16 in Rom. ix. 33, x. 11, i. Peter ii. 6; xxix. 10 in Rom. xi. 8; xxix. 13 in Matt. xv. 8 f., Mark vii. 6 f.; xxix. 14 in i. Cor. i. 19.

3. Isaiah xxxvi.-xxxix.

The Historical Appendix to the Collection, i.-xxxv.-An account of Sennacherib’s invasion, Hezekiah’s sickness and recovery, and Merodach-baladan’s embassy. It is chiefly taken from ii. Kings xviii. 13-xx. 19, q.v. The main differences are the omission of ii. Kings xviii. 14-16 (Hezekiah’s submission) and the insertion of Hezekiah’s prayer (xxxviii. 9-20).

The dependence on Kings is shown by the following facts: the collection to which the appendix is added contains sections much later than the final compilation of the Book of Kings; the peculiarities of the appendix are best explained by supposing it a secondary work based on Kings, which it partly abridges, partly distorts,¹ and partly follows in the form and with the additions due to the Deuteronomic editor of Kings.

Hezekiah’s prayer is the psalm of a sufferer who has recovered from dangerous illness. The heading, where we

¹ e.g., xxxviii. 21, 22=ii. Kings xx. 7, 8 is unintelligible as it stands in Isaiah, and has been misplaced through the insertion of Hezekiah’s prayer. The two “had said” of E.V. are harmonising mistranslations. The verbs are the same as in Kings.
should read "Miktam of Hezekiah," and the reference to stringed instruments,¹ show that the poem has been taken from a collection of psalms, to the editor of which the ascription to Hezekiah is probably due. The language and ideas are similar to those of Job and late psalms, and the poem is probably post-exilic.² Dillmann, however, defended the authorship by Hezekiah.

4. Introduction to xl.-lxvi.

(a) Composition of xl.-lxvi.—A variety of evidence shows that these chapters are not the work of Isaiah, and do not belong to his age, and that, with small and doubtful exceptions, no part of them is earlier than the close of the Exile. The Historical Appendix would be intended to close the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, as a similar appendix does that of Jeremiah. Hence the editor who added it did not know xl. ff. as Isaiah's. These chapters are anonymous, they have no heading ascribing them to Isaiah. Ezra i. i f.³ refer to Isaiah xlv. 28, but state that Cyrus acted according to a prophecy of Jeremiah, and do not mention Isaiah. So that the author of Ezra knew Isaiah xlv., but not as Isaiah's. Moreover Jeremiah and Ezekiel in dealing with the Exile and Restoration do not mention any prophecies of Isaiah on the same subject.

The historical situation presupposed in many sections, is clearly that of the Exile, and in others apparently still later.⁴ On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the author is living in Isaiah's time. Isaiah constantly betrays his interest in the people and circumstances of his own time, in Hezekiah, Pekah, and Rezin, in Judah, Ephraim, Syria, Assyria, and Egypt. In xl. ff. all these have disappeared, Assyria and Egypt are only referred to as matter of ancient history. It is not that the chapters predict the ruin of Jerusalem and the Exile and Return. They assume that Jerusalem is in ruins and the Jews in Exile, and describe

¹ Verses 9, 20. ² CHEYNE, DUHM, MITCHELL. ³ 300–250. ⁴ Cf. on xl.-xlviii., xlix.-lv., lv.-lxvi.
the Return as imminent. They would have been unintelligible to Isaiah and his contemporaries. Professor G. A. Smith writes\(^1\): "It will perhaps startle some to hear John Calvin quoted on behalf of the exilic date of these prophecies. But let us read and consider this statement of his: 'Some regard must be had to the time when this prophecy was uttered; for since the rank of the kingdom had been obliterated, and the name of the royal family had become mean and contemptible, during the captivity in Babylon, it might seem as if through the ruin of that family the truth of God had fallen into decay, and therefore he bids them contemplate by faith the throne of David, which had been cast down.'"\(^2\)

The theology of xl. ff. is different and more advanced than that of Isaiah. Isaiah's theology is subordinated to his practical message, but xl. ff. dwell on the transcendental attributes of God; they substitute the Servant of Jehovah for the Messianic King, and, in some sections, represent the Jews not, as in Isaiah, hopelessly lost in sin, but as charged with a spiritual mission to the Gentiles.

The evidence of style and language is also strongly against authorship by Isaiah, and in favour of exilic or post-exilic dates for the various sections. These chapters only resemble the actual prophecies of Isaiah, as a later work would necessarily resemble a well-known classic of earlier times on a similar subject. They are influenced in the same way by Jeremiah. On the other hand, most of the characteristic terms, phrases, and idioms used by Isaiah are either absent from or very rare in xl. ff., and vice versa these chapters introduce a new vocabulary and style of their own.\(^3\)

\(^1\) Isaiah, vol. ii., pp. 14 f.
\(^2\) CALVIN on Isaiah lv. 3.
\(^3\) Only two or three illustrations can be given, e.g., \(\text{ellim}, \) "nonentities," of idols, occurs seven times in i.–xxxii., and never in xl. ff., though it would have been most useful in the polemic against idols. On the other hand, \(\text{aph}, \) "also" occurs twenty-two times in xl.–xlviii., never in undisputed portions of Isaiah. Of course, the force of such items of evidence is cumulative, and can only be appreciated if carefully and exhaustively studied. See CHEYNE, Introduction to Isaiah; DRIVER, Introduction, pp. 225 ff., Isaiah ("Men of the Bible"); and SKINNER, Isaiah xl.–lxvi., pp. xxxix. ff.
The integrity of xl. ff. is still matter of controversy. Driver still\(^1\) states that “These chapters form a continuous prophecy,” and apparently maintains unity of authorship, but admits that “The literary unity of Isaiah xl.–lxvi. is undoubtedly imperfect, especially in its later chapters: naturally the whole will not have been delivered by the prophet continuously.” But the tendency of criticism is against the integrity, which, even apart from the possible insertion of earlier material, is often denied.\(^2\) Cornill ascribes xl.–lxii. to the same author, xl.–xlviii. before the Exile, xl ix.–lxii. after. He regards lxiii.–lxvi. as, at any rate, in their present form, by another author. Duhm regards xl.–lv.,\(^3\) “Deutero-Isaiah,” as a single work with which the Servant poem, an independent post-exilic work, c. 500, has been interwoven; lvi.–lxvi., “Trito-Isaiah,” is another single work, c. 444. Cheyne regards xl.–xlviii.\(^3\) as exilic, xlix.–lv.\(^8\) as a post-exilic appendix to it, the independent Servant poem being interwoven with the complete work; lvi.–lxvi. is a collection of prophecies, 450–350. According to Box, lvi.–lxvi. were written to supplement xl–lv., mainly by a single author. At present, evidence and discussion point to the conclusion that xl.–lv.\(^8\) are exilic, the Servant passages an independent exilic or post-exilic poem, and lvi.–lxvi., in spite of some serious difficulties, a collection of post-exilic passages by different authors. Such reasons for this view as space permits will be found in connection with the separate sections.

(b) Historical Circumstances of Isaiah xl.–lxvi.—These chapters in their different sections are referred to various dates between Manasseh, c. 695, and Alexander the Great, 333, but chiefly to c. 549–432. During 549–538 Jerusalem and the Temple were in ruins, and the bulk of the people exiles in Babylonia. After the overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, which was clearly threatened after 549, Judæa and the Jews became subjects of Persia; there was a

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\(^1\) Eighth Edition, pp. 230, 244.
\(^2\) G. A. Smith, Isaiah, xl. ff., p. 20.
\(^3\) Less Servant passages.
Jewish community in Judæa, 1 which rebuilt the Temple, but had to maintain a constant struggle with physical disadvantages and unfriendly neighbours. It seemed as if the Jews would be absorbed in the neighbouring tribes, and the worship of Jehovah be degraded to the level of and combined with that of "other gods." Nehemiah and Ezra secured the distinct existence of the community and its religion, by building the walls of Jerusalem, and separating the Congregation of Israel from the Samaritans and their Jewish allies. The Persian government was usually favourable to the Jewish worship of Jehovah, but local officials were sometimes hostile, and in 350–345, under Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews were disaffected, and the Persians oppressed them—probably also at other times. 2

5. Isaiah xl.—lv. Duhm's Deutero-Isaiah.

(a) Contents.

xl., xli., Promise of the Return of the Exiles, guaranteed by the unique deity of Jehovah, which is manifested in Nature and Providence, and especially in the victorious advance of Cyrus, because Jehovah raised him up and announced his coming beforehand.

xlii. 1–9, First Servant Passage.—The meek and gentle Teacher of the Law as the Restorer of Israel.

Duhm and Cheyne regard only 1–4 as part of the original poem. According to Cheyne, 5–7 is an editorial link connecting the Song on the Servant with the prophetic framework.

xlii. 10–xlviii., Further exposition of themes of xl. f., Deliverance for Israel, by the free grace of Jehovah, through His Messiah, Cyrus; Judgment on Babylon, Vindication of Jehovah's unique deity as above, Humiliation of the gods of Babylon.

Later insertions, according to Duhm and Cheyne, are two sections on idolatry, xlv. 9–20, xlvi. 6–8, and the series of passages in xlviii., which address Israel as treacherous, apostate, and unbelieving, viz., 1b, 2, 4, 5b, 7b, 8b–10, 11b, 16b–19, 22. The harsh and unqualified censure of these verses is very different from the sympathetic and encouraging attitude of the rest of xl.—xlviii.

1 Cf. on Ezra.

xlix. 1-6 (7-13), Second Servant Passage.—The Prophet not only to Israel, but also to the nations. (The agent at first despised, then honoured, of the glorious restoration of Israel.)

Verses 7-13 are sometimes regarded as part of the Servant poem; 7-12 form one of Cheyne's "links."

xlix. 14-1. 3, Jehovah dispels doubt and depression by assurances of His power and set purpose to deliver Israel.

1. 4-9 (10, 11), Third Servant Passage, The persecuted Prophet, who shall be vindicated and avenged. (The Servant's patience an example.)

Verses 10, 11 another "link," an application to later times, Cheyne; similarly Duhm and Skinner.

li. 1-lii. 12, Exultant lyrics on the imminent restoration of Jerusalem from its ruin and the departure of the captives from Babylon.

Duhm and Cheyne regard li. 15, 16; lii. 3-6 as insertions.

lii. 13-liii. 12, Fourth Servant Passage, The despised Martyr and His reward, Atonement for Israel.

liv., lv., The future glories of Zion contrasted with her ruin and humiliation, Appeals to the people to accept the certain deliverance.

(b) Date and Authorship of xl.-xlviii. (apart from Servant Passages).—This section is generally assigned to the close of the Exile. Those addressed are exiles in Babylonia,1 to whom a speedy return through the desert to Jerusalem is promised.2 Jehovah has raised up Cyrus, already a mighty conqueror, and about to overthrow Babylon, release the exiles and rebuild Zion and its Temple.3 The situation thus presupposed points to a date between the conquest of Media by Cyrus in 549 and his capture of Babylon in 538. The author probably wrote in Babylonia.4 His name is quite unknown; cf. § 4.

1 xliii. 22, xliii. 14.
2 xl. 1-11, xliii. 1-7, 19, xlviii. 20, 21.
3 xli. 25, xlv. 24-xlv. 3, xlii. 1-5, 10, 11, xlvi. i, xlvi. 14.
4 Ewald and Bunsen ascribed xl.-lxvi. to a Jew writing in Egypt, and others to a Jew in Judæa, Skinner, Isaiah xl.-lxvi., p. 1. Duhm, Jesaia, p. xviii., assigns xl.-lv. (apart from Servant Passages) to a Jew in Northern Phoenicia.
BIBLICAL INTRODUCTION

(c) Teaching of xl.-xlviii. (apart from Servant Passages).—Confronted with the magnificent worship of the Babylonian gods, who, it might be supposed, had given victory to their worshippers, the Jews needed to be reassured as to the power of Jehovah. Hence a formal assertion and proof of the unique deity of Jehovah as Creator and Governor of the world.¹ This proof rests partly on Jehovah’s announcement of the coming conquests of Cyrus, and is given as an assurance of the deliverance from Babylon. Cyrus is His Messiah,² and Israel His Servant.³ The result of the work of Cyrus will be the recognition of Jehovah as the one true God by all nations.⁴

(d) Use in N.T. of xl.-xlviii.—xl. 3 f. is applied to John the Baptist in Matthew iii. 3, Mark i. 3, John i. 23, Luke iii. 3–6; and xl. 8 is quoted in i. Peter i. 24 f.; xl. 13 f. in Romans xi. 34 f. and i. Corinthians ii. 16; and xlv. 23 in Romans xiv. 11.

(e) Date and Authorship, etc. of xlix.-lv. (apart from Servant Passages).—Prima facie these sections seem to imply the same historical situation as xl.-xlviii., to which they seem a natural sequel. Judah is still desolate,⁵ and a return of the exiles⁶ is promised.

Cornill⁷ explains the acknowledged break at the end of xlviii. by regarding xlix.-lxii. as a sequel written later on in Palestine by the same author; while Duhm treats xl.-lv. as a single work. Unless the Servant passages are a later insertion, after xlix.-lv. had been added to xl.-xlviii., xl.-lv. is obviously a single work; two different authors would scarcely have utilised the Servant poem so similarly and so harmoniously. Differences of subject, such as the absence from these chapters of express references to Cyrus, Babylon, and the contrast between Jehovah and idols, do not necessarily imply a distinct work. Nevertheless Cheyne in

¹ xl., xli. 21-29, xlviii., xlv. i-3, xlviii. 1-8.
² xlv. 1.
³ xlv. 4, etc.
⁴ xlv. 6, 14-17.
⁵ xlix. 19, li. 3, li. 17-lii. 2.
⁶ xlix. 22-26, li. 11 (gloss according to Cheyne), lii. 11 f. (understood of Babylon), lv. 12.
⁷ Page 157 f.
the Polychrome Isaiah follows Kosters in adopting a view similar to that of Kuenen's, which he expressly rejected in his *Introduction*, and regards xl ix.-lv. as post-exilic, and apparently the Servant passages as later insertions still. If such a view is adopted, the desolation of Zion is the mean estate of Judah after the Return, and the exiles are those who still remained in Babylon. Certainly Zion is addressed rather as a city in distress, but still actually existing, than as ruined and uninhabited. Cheyne excludes authorship by the author of xl.-xlviii. by suggesting, doubtfully, the date 432.

The teaching of these sections is substantially included in that of xl.-xlviii., the tendency is, however, to dwell on the secular dominion rather than the spiritual influence of Israel, and liv. 17 speaks of the "servants" instead of the "Servant of Jehovah."

In N.T. lii. 5 is quoted in Romans ii. 24; lii. 7 in Romans x. 15; lii. 11 in ii. Corinthians vi. 17; the promise made to the restored Jerusalem in liv. 1 is applied to the heavenly Jerusalem in Galatians iv. 27; liv. 13 is quoted in John vi. 45; lv. 3 in Acts xiii. 34.

(f) *The Servant of Jehovah*, xlii. 1-4 (5-9), xlix. 1-6 (7-13), l. 4-9 (10, 11), lii. 13-liii. 12.2

A certain connection can be shown between these sections and their contexts, as may be gathered from the difference of opinion as to whether the verses in brackets belong to the Servant passages, or to the main portion of xl.-lv., or are editorial links composed to connect the Servant passages with the context. Yet these passages stand out from the surrounding material; the connection would be improved, and the whole would be more homogeneous if they were removed. Elsewhere the Servant is clearly a title for the actual Israel, there is scarcely an approach to personification; here the Servant is either an ideal person, or, even if still Israel, Israel personified as a teacher and prophet of Revelation, and a

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1 1895.  2 The verses in brackets are perhaps secondary; cf. (a).
martyr (for the world). The ministry to all nations, and the vicarious atonement of the sufferings of the righteous are characteristic of these sections.

The contrast has been explained as follows: (i.) The author used an earlier poem, possibly composed by himself; (ii.) the sections were written in the ordinary way as part of xlviii.–lv., and the contrast is a literary device of the author to produce a dramatic effect; (iii.) the sections are parts of a separate poem, which were combined by an editor with the rest of xlviii.–lv.

The Servant in these passages has been explained as Israel personified, either actual, purified, or ideal, or the righteous kernel of the people, or the genius of the nation; as describing or based upon the experiences of Jeremiah, of some post-exilic scribe, or some other martyr; as personifying the prophetic order; or as a prediction of a future Prophet or Redeemer. In any case, the prophecy received its only adequate fulfilment in Christ; as Prof. G. A. Smith writes: "We . . . assert what none but prejudiced Jews have ever denied, that this great prophecy . . . was fulfilled in One Person, Jesus of Nazareth, and achieved in all its details by Him alone."²

If these sections are from an independent poem, the Servant would seem to be a person; the picture can scarcely be a mere description of past history, though some features may be borrowed from the experiences of a prophet, possibly Jeremiah or even the author himself. But if the sections were written at the same time and by the same author as their context, the Servant will rather be Israel, in some sense, as elsewhere in xl.–lv.³

In N.T., the Servant is constantly identified with Christ; cf. xlii. 1–4 with Matt. xii. 17–21; xlix. 6 with Acts xiii. 47; lii. 15 with Rom. xv. 21; liii. 1 with John xii. 38, Rom. x. 16;

¹ xlii. 1, 4, xlix. 9, liii. 5–12. ² Isaiah xl.–lxvi., p. 267.
³ ZIMMERN, Keilinschriften und das AT³, p. 384, suggests that some features are from Babylonian texts in which the king, suffering from disease or misfortune, is spoken of in mythological terms as the Servant of the Deity.
liii. 4 with Matt. viii. 17, i. Peter ii. 24 ff.; liii. 7 f. with Acts viii. 32 f.; liii. 12 with Luke xxii. 37, Heb. ix. 28. Cf. also xlix. 8 with ii. Cor. vi. 2.

6. Isaiah lvi.–lxvi. (Duhm’s Trito–Isaiah.)

lvi. 1–8, Proselytes and Eunuchs to be admitted to the privileges of Jehovah’s people, on condition that they observe the Sabbath; “for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples.” More exiles shall yet return.

The existence of the Temple and the implied return of some exiles point to a post-exilic date. The keen interest in the Sabbath has no parallel in xl.–lv., but may connect with Nehemiah’s enforcing of the observance of the Sabbath. If so, we may date c. 444.

lvi. 9–lvii., Denunciation of the Jewish rulers, and of the immoral superstitions of their neighbours, promise of ultimate forgiveness and deliverance to the humble and penitent.

The references to rulers and worship at high places point to composition in Palestine. The parallels in the earlier prophets to these pictures of government and religion have often led to the conclusion that lvi. 9–lvii. 11 or 13 is borrowed from a pre-exilic prophet. Cheyne, however, points out that the picture suits equally well the low material and spiritual state of the Jews before the reforms of Nehemiah, and his examination of the language and the literary parallels leads him to assign lvi. 9–lvii. 13a to that period, the idolaters being the Samaritans. He regards 13b–21 as a later work by a different author.

lviii., The True Fast and the True Sabbath.

The marks of time in this chapter are not decisive, but its position in the book, and the parallels to lvi. 1–8 and Zechariah vii. 1–14 point to a post-exilic date.

lix. 1–15a, Denunciation of the Jews, followed by their unreserved confession of sin.

Here again lix. 3–15 is often regarded as pre-exilic; the section implies at least autonomy in Judah, and cannot well be exilic. The social wrong-doing is similar to that denounced by Isaiah and Jeremiah. But the best parallel is to Nehemiah’s confession on behalf of Israel, and to the confession of the congregation under Ezra and Nehemiah, and points to a date in that period.

1 Mark xv. 28 is a misreading.
3 Neh. x. 31, xiii. 15–22.
4 So ChEyne.
5 Ryssel (Kautzsch), Cornill, p. 160, Driver, p. 244, “It is generally allowed . . . that they were written originally in the age of Jeremiah.”
6 So also Skinner.
7 So Duiim.
8 Driver, p. 231, “generally allowed.”
9 Ezra x. 2, 13; Neh. i., ix. 2, 33.
10 ChEyne, Duiim; Skinner, post-exilic. 3–8, are perhaps an addition.
lix. 15b–21, Jehovah puts on the Armour of Righteousness to deliver Israel. In verse 21, His Spirit and Revelation shall always abide in Israel.

Parallel to lxiii. 1–6; Cheyne, c. 432, verse 21 an addition. Verses 7 f. are quoted Romans iii. 15 ff.

lx.–lxii., The wealth and power, the splendour and glory of Zion, when Jehovah raises her from her low estate.

This section is like xl.–xlviii. in style and spirit, but resembles xlix.–lxv. still more closely. It might possibly be a detached portion of either poem. But, though the situation described may be explained as that of the Exile, it is more natural to understand that Zion and the Temple are actually in existence. The desolation refers to the poverty-stricken state of the meagre population before the coming of Nehemiah. Moreover, the tendency to revel in pictures of material wealth and power has developed beyond that of xlix.–lxv. Hence Cheyne regards lx.–lxii. as composed under the influence of xlix.–lxv.; lxii. 1–4 and lxii. 1 being imitations of the Servant passages, and lxii. 10 a separate prophecy to be placed at the end as "Zion's Response."

In N.T. lxii. 1 f., "The spirit of the Lord is upon me," etc., is applied to Christ in Luke iv. 18 f.

lxiii. 1–6, Vengeance on Edom.

Parallel to lx. 15 ff., and xxxiv.; probably connects with some catastrophe which befell Edom after the Exile.

lxiii. 7–lxiv., Israel, in deep distress, and acknowledging its sin, recalls Jehovah's former goodness, and appeals to Him to renew His mercy. He is their Father, their Redeemer, before Him they are as clay in the hands of the potter. It is He who has caused them to err, and hardened their hearts. None have called on His name, because He hid His face from them, and delivered them into the power of their guilt. City and Temple are in ruins, will He not relent?

The statement that the holy cities and Zion are a desolation, that the Temple has been burnt, seems to show that these chapters are exilic. The situation implied is similar to that in Lamentations, only there is no mention of a captivity, and the tone is less submissive. It might have been written in Judah towards the close of the Captivity. But lxiii. 18 states that God's people had only possessed the land, or, it may be, Zion, a little while, which would not apply to 586. We know of no later occasion within the possible dates, when the Temple was burnt; but our information is so scanty that such a catastrophe might have happened, and left no clear trace in history. Cheyne mentions as suggested occasions of these disasters, the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the period of distress before the coming of Nehemiah, but maintains that this burning must have taken place under Artaxerxes Ochus, c. 350. Duhm explains

1 lxii. 9, 10  2 Cheyne, 432?  3 lxiii. 16 f.  4 lxiv. 10.
the desolation of city and temple as the abiding result of the sack in 586, the new city and temple being ignored as beneath notice. Box hesitates between Cheyne's view and that of Marti, who assigns the section to Trito-Isaiah, but regards lxiv. 6-11 as a later addition.

lxv., Jehovah inaugurates new heavens and a new earth, and a new dispensation in Jerusalem, from which superstitious idolaters (? the Samaritans) shall be excluded, while His servants shall prosper.

Often, but improbably, held to be the answer to lxiii. 7-lxiv. The chapter seems to belong to a time when the opposition of parties within the community passed finally into formal division into distinct bodies. It may very well connect with the final severance under Ezra and Nehemiah of the congregation from the Samaritans and their adherents.1

In N.T. lxv. 1 is quoted Romans x. 20 f.

lxvi. 1-5,2 Another contrast of the true worship with superstition, introduced by the declaration that Jehovah needs no earthly Temple.3

Either a warning to the Jews not to attach too much importance to the restored Temple; or a protest against the building of any temple, perhaps a polemic against Haggai and Zechariah; or, much more probably, a protest against an early unrecorded proposal to build a schismatic Samaritan temple, connecting, as 3-5 shows, with the same crisis as lxv., perhaps at a later stage.4

In Acts vii. 49 f., lxvi. 1, "What house would ye build," etc., is used by Stephen, defending himself against a charge of saying that Jesus would destroy the temple, to show that the Most High dwelleth not in temples laid with hands. His indignant audience seem to have at once cut short his speech.

lxvi. 6-24, Jerusalem exalted, the nations chastised, those still in exile brought home, and in 23 f., the regular observance of new moons and sabbaths by all mankind, the carcases of sinners burning publicly for ever.

The climax of lxv.-lxvi. 5 and of the same period; 21 f. may be an addition.5 Verse 24, the germ of the doctrine of Gehenna, the place of the lost, is referred to in Mark ix. 43 f., "If thy hand offend thee," etc.

7. Jeremiah.

(a) The Prophet.—There is no doubt of the genuine connection of the bulk of the book with Jeremiah.6 He belonged

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1 Cheyne.
2 To which Cheyne adds 17, 18a.
4 Cheyne, 432?; Duhrm; Meyer, Entstehung des Judenthums, p. 89.
5 Duhrm, Cheyne, Skinner.
6 For critical questions see (c) Composition and (e) Contents under the several sections. See also Appendix D.
to a priestly family at Anathoth, three miles north of Jerusalem, but he exercised his ministry in the capital. He remained unmarried, at the command of Jehovah. In the thirteenth year of Josiah, 626, while still young, he was called to be a prophet.\(^1\) Hence he was born under Manasseh, and grew up under the reaction against Isaiah’s teaching. Apparently this reactionary worship had established its claim to represent the ancient faith of Israel, and was generally upheld by the authorities in church and state, for Jeremiah is usually hostile to all authorities, princes, prophets, and priests. His earlier ministry and that of Zephaniah were doubtless among the influences which led to the reforms of Josiah and the establishment of Deuteronomy. From 621 to 608, Jeremiah, most exceptionally, may have been in sympathy with the ruling powers. But Josiah’s defeat and death at Megiddo must have seemed the divine repudiation of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah. The Egyptian party, also that of religious reaction, regained its supremacy at the appointment of Jehoiakim by Necho, and, with brief exceptions, retained it to the close of the monarchy. Throughout this period Jeremiah defied princes, priests, and prophets alike. He did his best to baffle the pro-Egyptian policy of the government, to purify social life and the administration of justice, and to reform religious faith and worship, but with little external success. As his hopes of winning the people dwindled, his threats of punishment hardened into the unqualified prediction of the ruin alike of Temple and city. He was universally unpopular; the people, misapplying Isaiah’s teaching, clung to the Temple, as the infallible palladium of the city. When Jeremiah foretold its ruin, he barely escaped with his life. At another time, his opponents replied to his threats by beating him and putting him in the stocks. In Jehoiakim himself, the prophet found an able and determined opponent, but Zedekiah was a helpless tool in the hands of the stronger party. Jeremiah, on the one hand, and the princes of the Egyptian party with their hireling priests and prophets, on the other, struggled

\(^1\) i., xvi. 2.
fiercely for the control of the king. His conscience inclined him to Jeremiah, but his cowardice decided in favour of the princes. As Judah became committed to the hopeless contest with Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah proclaimed the success of the enemy, urged the king to submit, and declared that safety could only be found in deserting to the besiegers. He was imprisoned as a traitor, and was only saved by the tardy interference of the king from being starved to death. Released by the Chaldeans, after the sack of the city, he threw in his lot with the Jews left in Judah, but was carried down by them to Egypt. When we last read of him, he is still engaged in his life-long task of rebuking and threatening his fellow-countrymen. There are conflicting traditions as to his death; Tertullian¹ states that the Jews in Egypt stoned him to death, which seems very probable. According to the Jews he escaped to Babylon and died there.²

(b) **Historical Circumstances.**—Under Manasseh, Judah was subject to Assyria. But, about the time when Jeremiah began his ministry, 628, western Asia was overrun by Scythian hordes. These served the prophet in his early utterances, as the original of the invader from the north, who should be the instrument of Jehovah's chastisement of his people. Assurbanipal, the last great Assyrian king, died in 626. From that date the power of Assyria dwindled rapidly; the Syrian states and Israel had been crushed; so that Judah was for a time the strongest power in Palestine, and Josiah extended his authority over part of Ephraim. Meanwhile Babylon was aggrandising itself at the expense of Assyria, but its claim to supremacy was challenged by Pharaoh-Necho, who marched through Palestine on his way to the Euphrates. Josiah opposed him, and was defeated and slain at Megiddo, 609. Later on Necho deposed Jehoahaz, and made Jehoiakim king. Thus for a time Judah was entirely controlled by the

² The ascription to Jeremiah of Deuteronomy, Kings, certain Psalms, etc., rests on no good evidence. Jeremiah has often been held to be the original of the picture of the suffering Servant of Jehovah, Isaiah lii.
Egyptian anti-prophetic party. It was probably after Nineveh had been captured, and the Assyrian empire overthrown by the Medes and Babylonians, c. 606, that Necho was defeated by Nebuchadnezzar at Carchemish in 605, and thenceforward western Asia lay at the disposal of the conqueror, who soon established his authority in Palestine. Yet the tact of Jehoiakim enabled him to retain his throne and persist in a pro-Egyptian policy, even while professing loyalty to Babylon. He died just in time to escape the vengeance of Nebuchadnezzar, but his son and successor, Jehoiachin, and the best of the population were carried away captive. Although his successor, Zedekiah, Jehoiakim's brother, was the nominee of Nebuchadnezzar, he either could not or would not control the party of revolt against Babylon. The disloyalty of Judah provoked a fresh Chaldean invasion and siege of Jerusalem; Pharaoh Hophra advanced to its relief, but retreated; the siege, which had been raised for a time, was resumed, the city taken and sacked, the king with his court and most of the people carried away captive. The attempt to form a new community was frustrated by the murder of Gedaliah, a Jewish prince acting as governor for the Chaldeans; and most of the remaining Jews fled to Egypt. There is evidence that Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt, c. 568, at the beginning of the reign of Amasis.

(c) Composition.—In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Jeremiah dictated to Baruch all his prophecies against Israel, Judah, and the nations. The roll on which Baruch wrote this record was burnt by the king next year, but Jeremiah dictated its contents afresh to Baruch, who wrote them on a second roll, “and there were added besides unto them many like words.” These rolls were the first two editions of our book, which no doubt includes the bulk of their contents. We have thus the testimony of the book itself that the earliest document which can have been used in its composition was written from the prophet's recollection of his utterances, which were largely supplemented at the time of

1 xxxvi.
writing. Utterances of an earlier date are thus extant in the form they assumed in the fifth year of Jehoiakim. The book referred to in xxx. 1 may have been written as an appendix to Baruch's roll, possibly also by Baruch.¹ We can only determine the contents of Baruch's roll by ascertaining the dates of the several prophecies, which cannot always be done with confidence. Portions, of course, may have been omitted in process of editing.

But our book is not a collection of Jeremiah's prophecies, but a rough equivalent of what we should call "The Life, Times, and Works of Jeremiah." It is nowhere stated that the narratives it contains were written by Jeremiah, nor, for the most part, is there anything to suggest that they were. On the other hand, they are evidently, in the main, the work of a well-informed contemporary, very probably the prophet's secretary, Baruch. In adding these narratives to his roll, he probably also added Jeremiah's later prophecies, partly from the prophet's notes, partly from his own reminiscences. The dependence on the Book of Kings in its final form, and the probable presence of post-exilic material, show that our book did not take its present shape till after the Exile. The imperfect chronological arrangement shows that the editors did not allow the contents of Baruch's roll to remain together in their original form. Cf. Appendix D.

(d) Hebrew and Greek Editions.—The LXX. differs very widely from the Hebrew Text. There are numerous variations, transpositions, omissions, and additions. It is commonly stated that there are about 2700 words contained in the Hebrew and not in the LXX. The most important omissions are: x. 6–8, Unique Supremacy of Jehovah; xxxiii. 14–26, The Branch, and the Covenant with the Levites and David; xxxix. 4–13, Fall of Jerusalem; xlvi. 45 f., On Heshbon, in Oracle on Moab; lii. 28–30, Statistics as to captives.

The Utterances on the Nations are inserted in the middle, after xxv. 13, as in Isaiah and Ezekiel, instead of almost at

¹ This verse is rejected by Giesebrecht, but accepted by Rothstein (Kautzsch) and Cornill.
the end, chh. 46–49. They are also arranged in the order, Elam, Egypt, Babylon, Philistines, Edom, Ammon, Kedar, Damascus, Moab; instead of the order of the Hebrew Text, Egypt, Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Babylon. In minor variations the correct text is to be found sometimes in the one edition, sometimes in the other; but the longer passages absent from the LXX. are probably editorial additions in the Hebrew Text. They do not show that such editorial expansion continued after the LXX. was translated, but only that when that translation was made, at least two very different editions of the book were still current.

(e) Contents.


i., Thirteenth Year of Josiah, 628. Jeremiah's Call to the prophetic office, to which God appointed him before his birth. His mission "to pluck up, break down, destroy, and overthrow; to build and plant." Visions of Almond Tree, suggesting by paronomasia God's watchfulness; and of Seething Caldron symbolising a Northern Invader. The prophet will be in opposition to kings, princes, and priests, and will not be crushed by them.

ii., Jerusalem and Israel, once devoted to Jehovah, have ungratefully deserted Him, being less faithful than the Gentiles to their false gods. They have intrigued with Egypt and Assyria. All classes, kings, princes, priests, prophets, and people, are guilty.

iii. 1–5, Idolatry and foreign intrigues punished by drought; will not the people repent? Cf. iii. 19 ff.

iii. 6–18, Time of Josiah. Judah did not take warning by the fate of Israel, but surpassed her in wickedness. Invitation to Israel to repent. Lost ark not to be replaced, verse 16. Promise of reconciliation of Judah and Israel at Jerusalem, whither all nations will gather to worship Jehovah, 17 f.

Interrupts the connection between verses 5 and 19. Giesebrecht connects 6–13 with 19–iv. 2; 14–18 being a later insertion, 14–16 from
some other prophecy of Jeremiah. Verses 17 f. late gloss, Cornill, Giesebrecht, Cheyne; Smend rejects 16–18, and understands iii. as predicting the final ruin of Judah, and the restoration of Israel.

iii. 19–iv. 2, Penitent Israel shall be accepted by Jehovah.

iv. 3–vi. 30, Description, interspersed with appeals to the Jews to repent, of a terrible invasion by a northern people, as a punishment of the guilt of all classes, in spite of their assiduous sacrifices to Jehovah.

Referring originally to the Scythian inroads c. 628, but perhaps adapted to the Babylonians when the earlier prophecies were rewritten in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, xxxvi. 32.


No danger seems imminent; which suits the situation after the submission to Pharaoh Necho, and before his defeat at Carchemish by Nebuchadnezzar. Cf. also vii. and xxvi.

vii. 1–28, Jeremiah is commanded to stand at the gate of the Temple, and appeal to the people to repent. Unless they reform social wrongs and forsake the superstitious worship of the Queen of Heaven and “other gods,” neither the sanctity of the Temple nor their many sacrifices to Jehovah will protect them. The Temple at Jerusalem will perish as did that at Shiloh. “But they will not hearken unto thee.”

vii. 29–viii. 3, Because the Jews have sacrificed children in the Valley of the son of Hinnom, the land shall be laid waste, the valley choked with corpses on which the birds and beasts shall feed; the bones of the dead shall be exposed before the sun, moon, and stars, which they worshipped, and the living shall long for death. Cf. xix. 3–19.

viii. 4–ix. 22, Lamentation over Judah, its obstinate sin and sure punishment, by failure of crops, by invasion, the ruin of the cities, the death or captivity of the people.

ix. 23–26; 23 f. is a proverbial maxim; man should glory not in strength or riches, but in God’s goodness and righteousness. 25 f. threaten Egypt, Judah, and their neighbours with punishment, because they are uncircumcised in heart.

1 Introduction to Isaiah, p. 11. 2 A. T. Theol., 237. 3 Heb. 21.
4 viii. 13, 16, ix. 11, 16, 21, 22. 5 Heb. 22–25.
23–26 interrupt the connection between 22 and x. 17, and were rejected by Kuenen,¹ but are probably genuine, but misplaced.²

x. 1–16, The contrast between Jehovah, the one true God, Creator and Ruler of the Universe, and the idols of the Gentiles.

Interrupts the connection between 22 and x. 17; parallel to and probably dependent on Isaiah xi. 19–22, etc., often regarded as exilic or post-exilic.³ Verse 11 is in Aramaic, and is probably a later gloss.

x. 17–25, Conclusion of viii. 4–ix. 22.

Verse 25, which implies that Judah is already desolate, may have been added by Jeremiah later.⁴

XI.–XX., ORIGINALLY COMPOSED IN JEHIOIAKIM'S REIGN.⁵

xi. 1–17, The prophet recalls his zeal for God's covenant with Israel—probably Deuteronomy⁶—denounces the failure of the people to observe it, and threatens them with punishment.

xi. 18–xii. 6, Jeremiah's priestly kinsmen at Anathoth to be punished because they persecuted him.

xii. 7–17, Judah raided by her neighbours (7–13), who will be punished with exile, but restored if they adopt the religion of Israel (14–17).

Often connected with the raids of the "bands" of Chaldeans, Syrians, Ammonites, and Moabites, about the ninth year of Jehoiakim, c. 600.⁷ Jeremiah's authorship of 14–17 has been challenged.⁸ For the restoration of Moab and Ammon, cf. xlvi. 47, xlix. 6; also xlii. 39 (Elam).

xiii. 1–11, The ruin of Judah symbolised by a girdle spoilt by being buried near the Euphrates.

xiii. 12–17, All classes of the people shall be filled with the wrath of God, like a bottle with wine.

xiii. 18, 19, Lament over the king, the queen-mother, and the desolate land.

Probably referring to the captivity of Jehoiachin, a youth of eighteen, whose mother, Nehushta, is mentioned ii. Kings xxiv. 8, 12.

xiii. 20–27, The ingrained sin of Jerusalem—"Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"—punished by shame and ruin.

¹ Ap. GieseBrecht, i. 1. ² GieseBrecht, Cornill.
³ GieseBrecht, Cornill, Rothstein, (Kautzsch), who also regard II as a still later addition. ⁴ Cornill, gloss. ⁵ For the most part. ⁶ ii. Kings xxiii. 3.
xiv. i–xvii. 18, On the occasion of a drought, Jeremiah announces that the people will be consumed by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence; the rest will go into captivity. Appeals for mercy are repeated and rejected, "Though Moses and Samuel stood before Me, yet My mind could not be towards this people." Prophets who contradict Jeremiah shall be punished. Jeremiah complains of his unwelcome message and the ill-will it excites, and is repeatedly encouraged. He must not marry or take part in any festivity.

Verses xv. ii–xvii., interrupt the context, xv. 13 f. being borrowed from xvii. 3 f., and xvi. 14 f. from xxi. 7 f. Similarly xvi. 18–21 is wholly or partly a misplaced fragment, and xvii. 11–13, at any rate, out of place. 1

xvii. 19–27, The observance of the Sabbath, the condition of national salvation.

The parallels to Nehemiah xiii. 15 ff., the interest in the Sabbath, and in sacrifices are unusual in Jeremiah. 2 The style, however, is either Jeremiah's or modelled on xxi. 1 ff., 3 cf. too Ezekiel xx. 21, 24.

xviii.–xx., The Potter a type of the Divine Sovereignty. God's threats or promises conditional on perseverance in sin or righteousness. The doom of Israel. Plots against Jeremiah. He prays for the punishment of his persecutors. The breaking of a potter's earthen vessel, which cannot be mended, a symbol of the irrevocable ruin of Judah. 4 Jeremiah addresses the people at the Temple, and is beaten and put in the stocks by Pashhur, whose punishment will be, that he and all the Jews who survive the sack of Jerusalem will be carried to Babylon. Jeremiah again prays for the punishment of his persecutors, and curses the day of his birth.

Cf. Job iii. 1–10 with which xx. 14–18 will have some literary connection, probably Job is dependent on Jeremiah. Stade and Dillmann 5 regard xx. 14 ff. as a later addition. Davidson, however, seems to consider xx. 14 ff. independent of Job, and therefore the original.

1 Giesebrecht.
2 Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, Giesebrecht, Kayser-Marti, p. 157, Cheyne, Introd. to Isaiah, p. 312, "post-exilic."
3 Giesebrecht, "Gut jeremianisch ist, doch ist es möglich, dies mit Kuenen aus absichtlicher Imitation zu erklären"; Driver, p. 242, "The style is thoroughly that of Jeremiah."
4 xix. 3–9, 11b–13, which are largely based on vii. 32–viii. 4, ii. Kings xxi. 16, xxii. 10–13, are held by Giesebrecht to be a later insertion.
XXI.–XXIX., Passages of Various Dates.

xxi. i–i0, During the last siege, 588, Zedekiah sends to ask concerning the fate of the city, Jeremiah replies that the city will be taken, sacked, and burnt, and that the only way of escape is desertion to the Chaldeans.

xxi. ii–xxii. 9, Appeal to the court, "the house of the king of Judah" to rule justly as the condition of national salvation. This passage and the sections to xxiii. 8 are commonly considered a collection of prophecies uttered originally at different times, and combined soon after the captivity of Jehoiachin, c. 597.

xxii. i0–30, Judgments on Shallum (Jehoaaz), Jehoiakim, and Coniah (Jehoiachin), c. 597.

xxiii., Denunciation of shepherds, i.e., princes, priests, and especially prophets, including a promise of good shepherds, 4, and of the righteous Branch (çemah) of David, under whom Judah and Israel shall be restored 5–8, cf. xxxiii. 14–16.

xxiv., Jeconiah (Jehoiachin) and his fellow captives symbolised by a basket of good figs, but the Jews left in Judah by a basket of bad figs.

Early in Zedekiah's reign.

xxv., Fourth year of Jehoiakim, First of Nebuchadrezzar, 605. The Jews are to be subdued, and their land laid waste by "my Servant Nebuchadrezzar" and the Chaldeans, because they refused to listen to the appeals of the prophets. They shall serve Babylon seventy years, then shall Babylon be punished, 11–14. All nations shall drink the cup of God's wrath. Last of all Sheshach (i.e., Babylon) shall drink, 26b.

26b is probably a later gloss. Giesebrecht, also, considers 11–14, 30–38 later additions, verse 13b is clearly a gloss.

xxvi., "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim," Jeremiah threatens that the Temple, like that at Shiloh, will be destroyed, is accused of blasphemy, but rescued by his friends among the princes. Cf. vii.–x.

xxvii.–xxix., Jeremiah's Controversy with the Prophets. The prophets, especially Hananiah, encouraged rebellion against Babylon, and contradicted Jeremiah's threats. Death

1 Cf. xvii. 19 ff. 2 ROTHSTEIN (Kautzsch), CORNILL, etc.
of Hananiah. Jeremiah and the prophets in exile, who supported Hananiah, denounce each other by letter.

xxvii. 3, 4, xxviii. 1 show that this controversy took place in the earlier years of Zedekiah’s reign, and that Zedekiah should be read for Jehoiakim in xxvii. 1.

XXX-XXXIII, Prophecies of Restoration.

These are combined with a narrative referring to events “in the tenth year of Zedekiah,” 588, during the last siege; xxxiii. is expressly dated in this period, to which xxx., xxxi. may also be assigned. The narrative and the compilation of the section will be the work of the editor. The Jeremianic origin of the prophecies in these chapters has been contested. According to Snied, xxx. f. presuppose the post-exilic historical situation, and are dependent on II. Isaiah, e.g., “Jacob, my servant.” Giesebrecht ascribes comparatively little to Jeremiah. Doubtless editorial additions have given a post-exilic or exilic colouring to these chapters, otherwise they are substantially Jeremiah’s.

xxx., When calamity has shown that foreign alliances and all human help are useless, Jehovah Himself will deliver His people, bring them back to their own land, and set over them “David, their king,” i.e., a prince of the House of David.

Verses 10 f., apparently dependent on II. Isaiah, or vice versa, are rejected by Cornill, also 22-24. Verses 23 f., at least, are out of place.

xxxı., Ephraim and Judah shall be reconciled at Zion, and share the renewed mercy of Jehovah. God will make a new covenant with them, whereby each will be directly taught of Him, and there will be no need of human teachers.

Two passages are often held to be later additions; 35-37, Israel shall abide while sun and moon endure, in which 35 is in the style of II. Isaiah, cf. Isaiah li. 15; and 38-40, the future dimensions of Jerusalem, which is certainly out of place here.

xxxıı. (narrative, 6-25 in first person), During the last siege, Jeremiah buys a field at Anathoth, as a sign that the Jews will return from exile to occupy their old inheritance.

1 xxxıı. 1. 2 A. T. Theol., pp. 239 ff. 3 xxx. 10.
4 Only xxxıı. 6-17a, 24-44 are actually Jeremiah’s, while xxxı. 2-6, 15-20, 27-34, xxxııı. 1, 4-13 are the reminiscences of Baruch; the rest is due to later editors.
5 See below.
6 Driver (apparently), Cornill, König, Kayser-Marti, 115, Rothstein (Kautzsch).
7 Cf. Isaiah xli. 13, xliii. 5, xliiv. 2.
8 Cornill, Giesebrecht.
9 Rothstein (Kautzsch), Giesebrecht.
Verses 17-23, the somewhat abstract introduction to Jeremiah’s prayer, may be a later addition.¹

xxxiii. 1-16, Renewed promises of restoration, and of the Branch (צמahi) of David.

The form of this section seems affected by the actual experiences of the Captivity, especially in 11-14. Verses 14-16 are chiefly a repetition of xxiii. 5 f., but here it is Jerusalem and not the Branch which is named “Jehovah our Righteousness.”

xxxiii., 17-26, The House of David and the Levites shall remain and flourish, as long as day and night endure.

This section is not in the LXX., and the keen interest in the Levites has no parallel elsewhere in the book; hence the verses are probably an addition.²

XXXIV., XXXV., Utterances on Specified Occasions.

xxxiv., During the Last Siege, Zedekiah, after the Fall of the City, will be taken to Babylon, but his life will be spared, 1-7. The nobles to be punished, because when the siege was raised for a time, they re-enslaved the Jews whom they had emancipated.

xxxv., “In the days of Jehoiakim.” The Jews put to shame by the loyalty of the Rechabites to their tribal customs.

About 597, the Rechabites being probably driven into the city by the troubles at the end of Jehoiakim’s reign.

XXXVI.-XLV., A History of Jeremiah.

xxxvi., Fourth Year of Jehoiakim, 605. One roll of Jeremiah’s prophecies burnt by the king, and another written.

xxxvii.-xxxix., Jeremiah, arrested as a deserter, during the temporary raising of the last siege, is beaten and imprisoned. He persists in urging the king to submit, and the people to desert, is thrown into a muddyoubliette, but released by Ebed-melech, repeats his prophecies to the king, and is kept in prison till the sack of the city, when he is released by the express orders of Nebuchadrezzar. Ebed-melech is promised his life.

Verses xxxix. 1, 2 are taken from ii. Kings xxv. 1-4 (Jeremiah lii. 4-7); and 4-13 from ii. Kings xxv. 4-12 (Jeremiah lii. 7-16); 4-13 are not in the LXX., and are probably a later addition.

¹ Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, Giesebrecht.
² Rothstein (Kautzsch), Cornill, Giesebrecht; and, Driver, p. 247, “the majority of recent critics.”
xl.-xliv., Jeremiah is released from among the captives, and joins Gedaliah, the new governor of Judah. Gedaliah is murdered by Ishmael. Jeremiah is rescued from Ishmael by Johanan, and carried, against his will, into Egypt, where he denounces the worship of the Queen of Heaven by the exiles, and foretells the ruin of Egypt and the refugees.

xlv., “Fourth Year of Jehoiakim,” Baruch is promised that his life shall be spared.

XLVI.-LI., Prophecies Against Foreign Nations.

The prospect of a Chaldaean invasion after the Battle of Carchemish, 605, probably furnished Jeremiah with an occasion for dealing with foreign nations.

Smend¹ and Kayser-Marti² deny the Jeremianic authorship of this section. Smend considers that the prophet who was so preoccupied with the sin and doom of Judah could not have exulted in a national Judaistic spirit over the ruin of foreign nations. Some use, however, may have been made of Jeremianic material. Giesebricht, however, holds that Jeremiah delivered a series of utterances on foreign nations; assigns xlvii., xlx. 7-11 to Baruch’s reminiscences; and thinks that xlvi. 2-12, Egypt, rests on a Jeremianic basis; elsewhere anything of Jeremiah’s is editorially disguised beyond recognition.

xlvi., Egypt, On the eve of the Battle of Carchemish, 605, Pharaoh Necho’s defeat is foretold, 1-12; and, after the defeat, the conquest of Egypt, and its ultimate restoration, 13-26.

Verses 27 f. =xxx. 10 f. are an insertion.

xlvii., The Philistines spoiled by the Chaldaeans.

According to 1 “before Pharaoh smote Gaza,” which, however, LXX. omits. Probably 605.

xlviii., Moab and its cities are doomed.

Parallel to Isaiah xv., xvi., q.v.

xl. 1-6, Ammon, its captivity and restoration.

xl. 7-22, Edom, its mountain strongholds to be sacked by the nations.

xl. 23-27, Fall of Damascus.

A mosaic, 23b = Isaiah lii. 20; 24b = Isaiah xiii. 8; 25 = Isaiah xxii. 1 f.; 26 = 1. 30; 27 = Amos i. 14. We know nothing that suggests that Damascus was within the range of Jeremiah’s political interests. The section is, however, accepted by Cornill.

xl. 28-33, Kedar and Hazor, Nomad tribes of Arabia.

¹ A. T. Theol., pp. 238 f. ² Ibid., p. 115.
xl ix. 34-39, Elam, its doom and restoration.

Verse 34, not in LXX., assigns this passage to the beginning of Zedekiah's reign.

1, li., Babylon, A prophecy or series of prophecies, exulting over the miserable ruin of Babylon, as a punishment for her ill-treatment of the Jews. The Jewish exiles are urged to flee from the doomed city. A note, li. 59-64, is added, stating that Jeremiah wrote the doom of Babylon in a book, and gave it to Seraiah, Zedekiah's chamberlain, to take to Babylon, read it there, tie a stone to it, and throw it into the Euphrates. This book is probably intended to be identified with l., li. Chapter li. ends: "Thus far are the words of Jeremiah."

These chapters are generally regarded as exilic, with post-exilic additions. The historical situation is that of the Exile. The Jews are in Chaldea,1 the Temple and Jerusalem in ruins.2 Babylon is menaced by a confederation of nations, led by the Medes.3 The religious situation, too, is not that of Jeremiah. He is overwhelmed with the sense of Judah's sin and its punishment by Nebuchadrezzar, the Servant of Jehovah. Here, the situation is that of II. Isaiah; Judah's sin is forgotten, Judah's suffering, and the sin and chastisement of Babylon for destroying Jerusalem occupy the writer's mind.4 Much of the section is borrowed from the rest of the book and from other literature, after the manner of other secondary passages in Jeremiah.5 Except for such borrowing, the style is not that of Jeremiah.

LII. HISTORICAL APPENDIX.

An account of the Fall of Jerusalem, and the release of Jehoiachin from prison.

Verses 1-27, 31-34 = ii. Kings xxiv. 18-xxv. 21, xxv. 27-30, from which they are taken. Verses 28-30 are absent from the LXX.

(f) Teaching.—Jeremiah repeats the protests of his predecessors against social wrong,6 superstitious and idolatrous7 worship, at the high places8 and elsewhere, and the combination of external devotion to Jehovah with a selfish, immoral life;9 and, like them, he announces the ruin and restoration of Judah and Israel, and the ultimate universalism

1 l. 8, 33, li. 6, 45.
2 l. 28, li. 11, 50 f.
3 l. 9, 41-43, li. 11, 27 f.
4 l. 20, li. 10, 33-44.
5 l. 40-46 = xlix. 18, vi. 22-24, xl ix. 19-21; li. 15-19 = x. 12-16;
6 xxii. 3, vii. 5-7.
7 cf. l. 39 with Isaiah xiii. 21 f.
8 xx. 3, vii. 21 ff.
9 vi. 20, vii. 13.
of true religion. The exact relation of Jeremiah to Deuteronomy v.-xxvi. is a difficult problem. Its ordinances seek to realise Jeremiah's ideals, and his teaching must have favoured its acceptance and subsequent observance; indeed, in xi. he appears as its champion. The release of Jewish slaves brought about by Jeremiah during the last siege was in accordance with a law borrowed by Deuteronomy from the older codes. But Jeremiah's later teaching goes beyond Deuteronomy. Indeed the prestige which Josiah's reforms gave to the Temple as the only legitimate sanctuary of Jehovah helped the people to harden their hearts against the prophet's teaching. The people appealed against him to a written law, "We are wise, and the law of Jehovah is with us," but he replied, "The false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely." We need not suppose that Jeremiah refers to Deuteronomy; but it is clear that the written law had assumed a form against which the prophet was compelled to protest, and that editors were already busy expanding and interpreting its contents. His experience of the uselessness of any written law as the basis of the covenant between Jehovah and Israel led him to the great utterance, xxxi. 31–37, which is one of those in which O.T. Revelation most nearly anticipates the Gospel of Christ, and according to which God's covenant with His people does not rest on written law, on a prophetic order or a priesthood, but on the spiritual fellowship of the believer with God. The same truth is illustrated by Jeremiah's isolation. In him the antagonism of the inspired prophets to the prophetic order and the priesthood reached its climax. He is, after Christ Himself, the great example that Divine Revelation often comes as a protest against the traditional teaching of constituted authorities.

In dealing with eclecticism, too, Jeremiah follows in the footsteps of his predecessors, but the issue is more clearly

1. iii. 17 ff. 2. Cf. Contents i. 1.
4. viii. 8.
5. WELLAUSN, History of Israel, 403 n.
stated. The people worshipped the heavenly bodies, and other deities, yet they could say "I am not defiled, I have not gone after the Baalim," and saw no reason why they should not appeal to Jehovah for help in time of trouble. By his demonstration of the folly and sin of associating "other gods" with Jehovah, Jeremiah prepared the way for the explicit statement of monotheism.

Moreover, Jeremiah stands out as a great example of personal religion, in his unflinching proclamation of an unpopular message, in his sympathy and intercessions for his people, in his earnest pleading with God, and in his submission to the Divine will.

(g) Use in N.T.—Our Lord's phrase, "den of thieves," Matthew xxii. 13, etc., is from vii. 11; "Rachel weeping for her children," Matthew ii. 18, from xxxi. 15; the great passage on the New Covenant, xxxi. 31-37, is applied to Christianity in Hebrews viii. 8-12, x. 16 f., Romans xi. 27, and probably suggested the phrase "new covenant" in the words of institution of the Lord's Supper. Cf. also ix. 24 and i. Corinthians i. 31, ii. Corinthians x. 17. There are also numerous parallels in the Apocalypse.

8. Lamentations.

(a) Title, Date, and Authorship.—In the Hebrew text, the heading is simply 'Ekkâ, the opening word of the book; in the LXX., Threenoi or Threenoi Hieremiou, and in the Vulg. Threni, hence our Lamentations. The LXX. and Vulg. represent the Hebrew Qinôth="Lamentations," by which name the book is referred to in the Talmud, etc.

In ii. Chronicles xxxv. 25 we read that "Jeremiah composed a lamentation for Josiah, which was uttered by all the male and female singers in their lamentations (qinôth) over Josiah unto this day, and it became a custom in Israel, and behold they (i.e., the lamentations of the singers, including that of Jeremiah) are written in (the Book of) Lamentations" (al haq-qinôth). This passage evidently refers to Lamenta-

1 ii. 23, 27.  
2 Substantially as KAUTZSCH; cf. R.V.
tions; it has been held to claim the whole book for Jeremiah, but, if the rendering given above is correct, it merely states that the book includes a lamentation by Jeremiah.

In the Hebrew Canon, Lamentations is one of the Five Rolls, Megillôth, and is included in the Hagiographa, but the LXX. places it after Jeremiah, and prefixes a statement that "After Israel was carried away captive, and Jerusalem laid waste, Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented this lamentation over Jerusalem." The Old Latin, Vulgate, and Syriac versions, the Targum and the Talmud follow Chronicles and the LXX. in ascribing the book to Jeremiah. The contents show clearly that Chronicles is wrong in describing the book as a lamentation over Josiah; it is, as the LXX. perceives, a lamentation over the Fall of Jerusalem in 586. Yet we have the joint testimony of Chronicles and the LXX. to the authorship of the whole or part of the book by Jeremiah.

But, though there are parallels to the style and teaching of Jeremiah, and various passages seem to have been written by an eye-witness, a comparison of the book with Jeremiah's prophecies suggests that the tradition of his authorship is an unsound conjecture. He was a prisoner during the sack of the city, and after his release he actively co-operated in the attempt to reorganise the Jewish community. Jeremiah, who had a very poor opinion of Zedekiah, would hardly have spoken of him as "The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of Jehovah . . . of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the nations."1 We miss, too, any adequate parallel to Jeremiah's emphatic and repeated assertion that the ruin of Judah was the punishment of the sin of all classes of the community. Jeremiah included priests and prophets in his denunciation, but he would scarcely have laid the whole responsibility upon them.2

But as each of the five chapters is a separate poem, it is still possible that one or more of them may be the work of

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1 iv. 20.
2 "It is because of the sins of her prophets, and the iniquities of her priests," iv. 13.
Jeremiah. The vivid descriptions of the sack of Jerusalem in ii. and iv. show that these chapters were written soon after the event by an eye-witness. Similar characteristics suggest a like origin for v.; but the fact that v. is the only one of the four poems, not an acrostic, points to a different author; unless, indeed, the author had collected twenty-two suitable sentiments, but never found opportunity to shape them into an acrostic. The different character of the acrostics in i. and iii. may point to a different authorship. Moreover i. and iii. are said to be dependent on ii. and iv., and other exilic literature, and therefore to be later. Though they seem to imply an exilic date, they are often regarded as post-exilic.

(b) Qinah Metre.—This book furnishes the most striking example of the Hebrew elegiac or Qinah metre, according to which each of the two or more parallel members is divided into two unequal parts, the former being the longer. This arrangement gives the lines a sort of "dying fall" suited to a melancholy subject, e.g.:

I. 4b  
   \begin{align*}
   &\text{All her gates are desolate, 7} \\
   &\text{her priests sigh; 6} \\
   &\text{Her virgins are afflicted, 6} \\
   &\text{bitter is she. 3}\end{align*}

Chapters i.–iv. of this book are written in this metre. The English translation can only partially represent this peculiarity, and it is not strictly adhered to in the Hebrew, possibly in some measure through later modifications of the text. A good illustration of the metre may be seen in Dr. Skinner's translation \(^2\) of Ezekiel xix. 2–9.

(c) Contents.—i., The miserable condition of Jerusalem.
An alphabetic acrostic, following the usual order of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. A single verse is given to each letter, and each verse contains three lines of Qinah metre, the first of which begins with the characteristic letter.

ii., The ruin and sack of Jerusalem.
An acrostic, exactly resembling i., except that it has the order Pr, 'Ayin, instead of the usual order 'Ayin, Pe.

iii., The community, speaking mostly in the first person

\(^1\) See Contents.  \(^2\) Ezekiel, p. 109.
singular “I,” meditates on its sin and suffering, and on its hopes of deliverance from God.

An acrostic, exactly resembling ii., except that each of the three Qinah lines allotted to each letter begins with that letter, and each line is reckoned as a separate verse; cf. Psalm cxix.

iv., The sack of Jerusalem, concluding with the doom of Edom, and the assurance that Zion’s punishment is ended.

An alphabetic acrostic, resembling ii. and iii. in having the unusual order Pe, ‘Ayin. A single verse is given to each letter, and each verse contains two lines of Qinah metre, the first of which begins with the characteristic letter.

v., The miserable condition of Jerusalem and the Jews.
The poem contains 22 verses, the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet; but it is not an acrostic. Neither is it in the Qinah metre; but consists of couplets in synonymous parallelism. 1

The book is not used in the N.T.


(a) Date and Authorship.—The ascription of this book to Ezekiel is generally accepted,2 and there is no serious doubt as to the authorship of any considerable passage.3 The ministry of Ezekiel falls between 592 and 570, and the book must have been compiled towards its close. Our knowledge of Ezekiel is derived from the book itself; he is not mentioned elsewhere in O.T.

Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, was a priest who was carried captive with Jehoiachin,4 597; five years later he was called to be a prophet. This fact, together with the authority with which he speaks and the deference shown him, suggests that he was no longer in his first youth, and this view is confirmed by his familiarity with priestly ritual, probably acquired as an officiating priest at the Temple. During his last ten years at Jerusalem, Jehoiakim was supporting the reaction from the Deuteronomic legislation, and the revival of earlier customs, in the teeth of strenuous and persistent opposition from

1 See Psalms.
2 The attempts of Geiger, Seinecke, Zunz, etc. to assign the book to the post-exilic period have met with no success, and need not be considered.
3 The most important later addition is xxvii. 9b-25a. See Contents.
4 i. 1-3.
Jeremiah. Our book shows a large acquaintance and sympathy with the teaching of Jeremiah; probably in these last years at Jerusalem, Ezekiel was a disciple of the older prophet.

In Babylonia he was settled in a colony of exiles at Tel Abib, by the river Chebar.\(^1\) Both place and river are unknown. His ministry began in 592; in his account of it, it is often difficult to distinguish narratives of real events from descriptions of symbolic figures; but the following facts seem fairly certain. The Jewish exiles at Tel Abib formed a community by themselves, enjoying a kind of municipal self-government, with elders of their own. The prophet, with his wife, lived in his own house; his prophetic status was recognised, and the elders used to come to his house to consult him.\(^2\) Like Jeremiah, he had a more favourable opinion of the Jews in captivity than of those left in Judah.\(^3\) Yet he also resembled Jeremiah in his opposition to the general social and religious feeling of the community amongst whom he ministered, so that he occupied a position of isolation and antagonism towards his hearers similar to that of the older prophet at Jerusalem. So, too, the message of Ezekiel's earlier ministry, 592-586, was the same as Jeremiah's, the punishment of the sin of Judah by the overthrow of the state and the captivity of the people. Towards the close of this period Ezekiel's wife died.\(^4\) There is no mention of any children. The prophet's bereavement happened about the beginning of the last siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and marked the close of his earlier public ministry. During this period, prophecies are dated in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth years of the captivity of Jehoiachin. But he seems\(^5\) not to have spoken in public from the commencement of the siege in the ninth year, till the news of the fall of Jerusalem reached him at the close of the eleventh year.\(^6\) Prophecies concerning Egypt were written during the interval.\(^7\)

\(^1\) iii. 15.  \(^2\) viii. i, xiv. i, xx. i.  \(^3\) xxxiii. 23-29.
\(^4\) xxiv. 16-18.  \(^5\) Cf. xxiv. 27 and xxxiii. 22.
\(^6\) Cf. Contents for date.  \(^7\) xxix. i, xxx. 20, xxxi. 1.
The fall of Jerusalem fulfilled the earlier predictions of Ezekiel, and, no doubt, as in the case of Jeremiah, led to a fuller recognition of his prophetic authority. He resumed his ministry with a new and happier message—the coming restoration of the Jews. According to the dates given, this period of his work was short, and was succeeded by a long interval of silence; there is no date between the twelfth and the twenty-fifth year. During this interval his faith in the coming restoration had grown so strong, that, at its close, for the benefit of the Jews after they should have returned to the Holy Land, he composed specifications for a new Temple, directions for its services, and a constitution for the state.

Probably he himself collected and arranged his prophecies in their present form not long afterwards.

We gather from xxxiii. 30–33 that Ezekiel's preaching was popular, but ineffective; thus, verse 32, "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice . . . for they hear thy words, but do them not." Yet they grew tired of his elaborate symbols, "Ah, Lord Jehovah! they say of me, Is he not a speaker of parables?"

The references to the prophet's lying on his side for 390 days have led to the suggestion that he was subject to some form of catalepsy, as a divinely appointed means of inspiration, but this and most of the other symbolic actions are purely figurative descriptions.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—See Jeremiah, with whom Ezekiel was contemporary. No change in the general political situation took place in the interval between the Fall of Jerusalem and the close of Ezekiel's ministry.

(c) Contents.


I.–iii. 21 (Fifth Year, fourth month, July 592), The prophet's call. Theophany, a living chariot, a confusion of.

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1 xxxii. 17 and xl. 1.  
2 xx. 49.  
3 The theory of catalepsy was suggested by Klostermann; against it see Skinner's Ezekiel, p. 55.  
4 From Jehoiachin's captivity.
living creatures, wheels, hands, wings, faces, and eyes; above them a firmament, above that a vision of a great sapphire, that seemed like a throne, and upon the throne there seemed to be the vision of a man. Ezekiel is sent to rebellious Israel, swallows the roll of a book, is to be a watchman to warn each individual.

iii. 22-27, Second appearance of the Glory of Jehovah, renewed commission.

iv. 1-3, Siege of Jerusalem symbolised by a drawing on a tile, and by an iron pan.

iv. 4-17, Length and distress of siege symbolised by time spent (figuratively) by the prophet without moving, and by repulsive food eaten (figuratively) by him.

v., Burning of Jerusalem, massacre of part of population, and grievous captivity of the rest symbolised by burning, smiting with a sword, and blowing away of hairs.

vi., vii., Ruin of the people and the land, especially of the mountains, which were the scenes of idolatry.

viii. (Sixth year, sixth month, September, 591), Vision of idolatrous worship in the Temple, the "Image of Jealousy," Animal Worship, Weeping for Tammuz, Sun Worship.

ix.-xii., Destruction of Jerusalem. A man clothed in linen, with a writer's inkhorn, sets a mark on the forehead of the saints, and sends destroying angels to slay the rest. The glory of Jehovah, with its chariot of Cherubim, as in i., appears in the Temple; fire from it is scattered over the city. The glory of Jehovah departs from the Temple and the city by the eastern gate.

Punishment of unjust rulers.

Restoration and purification of the Jews already in exile.

The captivity symbolised by the prophet's removal with his goods, by his taking food with quaking.

Assurance that these threats will be speedily fulfilled.

xiii., Denunciation of prophets and prophetesses, who, uncommissioned by Jehovah, claim to speak in His name, saying "Peace, where there is no peace," contradicting Ezekiel's

1 LXX. (followed by many), 5th, August.
threats, and supporting the people with false hopes, as they might daub a wall with untempered mortar.

xiv. 1–11, Rebut of those who consult the prophet, while they "take idols unto their heart."

xiv. 12–23, A guilty land should not be saved because Noah, Daniel, and Job dwelt within it; much less Jerusalem, where only the dregs of the people are left.

xv., Jerusalem, always a worthless vine, now half burnt, is to be burnt altogether.

xvi., Jerusalem's persistent sin and certain doom described under the figure of a foundling, taken to wife by Jehovah; she proved faithless and was punished.

xvii., Zedekiah, the vine grown from a shoot of a cedar, the Davidic dynasty, planted by an eagle, Nebuchadnezzar, is to be carried captive, because he broke his oath of allegiance to Babylon, and revolted to another eagle, the king of Egypt. But Jehovah will plant another shoot of the cedar, which will itself become a great cedar.

xviii., The Doctrine of Retribution. No one will suffer for the sins of his father, but will be punished for his own sins. The penitent sinner shall live, the backsliding saint shall die.

xix., Dirge for Judah and her princes, Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin, under of the figures of a lioness and her whelps, and a vine and its branches.

xx. 1–44 (Seventh year, fifth month, tenth day, August, 590), In Egypt, in the Wilderness, in the Holy Land, Jehovah spared Israel in spite of its utter wickedness, "for His Name's sake, that It should not be profaned in the sight of the nations." For the same reason, though the Jews are still given over to sin, He will chasten, purify, and restore them.

xx. 45–xxi. 17, Ruin of Jerusalem and the Holy Land under the figures of a conflagration and a sword.

xxi. 18–27, Symbolic narrative setting forth imminent ruin of Jerusalem; the king of Babylon, marching towards Palestine, casts lots as to whether he shall attack Jerusalem or Rabbath Ammon; the lot falls on Jerusalem.
xxi. 28-32, The doom of Ammon.

Probably a later passage, placed here, and not amongst the Oracles on the Nations because of the previous reference to Ammon. The "sword" here is sometimes understood as that of Jehovah and sometimes as that of Ammon.

xxii., The total depravity of the people, especially the princes, prophets, and priests.

xxiii., The alliances of Samaria and Jerusalem with foreign powers, and the consequent idolatry, corruption, and ruin described under the figure of the career of two sisters, Oholah and Oholibah, whom Jehovah married, but they were faithless to him, with many lovers.

Oholah and Oholibah are both based on 'Ohol, tent; but their exact sense is doubtful. They are sometimes explained as contrasted; Oholah = her tent, having a (sacred) tent of her own, i.e., self-chosen and illegitimate worship; Oholibah = My (Jehovah's) tent is in her, i.e., the Temple, as the one divinely appointed sanctuary. But the chapter suggests no contrast, and it is better to take the names as synonymous; Oholah = tent; Oholibah = tent-in-her; both referring to the high places and their corrupt worship.

xxiv. 1-14 (Ninth year, tenth month, tenth day; beginning of final siege of Jerusalem, January, 587), Jerusalem besieged, figured as a rusted caldron, full of meat, boiling on the fire.

xxiv. 15-27, Ezekiel's wife dies; he is forbidden to mourn aloud, as a sign that the Jews will be dumb with anguish when they learn the fate of Jerusalem.

XXV.-XXXII., ORACLES AGAINST FOREIGN NATIONS.

xxv., Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines.

xxvi.-xxviii., 19, Tyre. Tyre destroyed by Nebuchadrezzar; the princes of the sea, with whom she has traded, lament over her; her wealth and ruin figured by the wreck of a great merchant ship; the pride of the Prince of Tyre in wisdom and commerce; he was "wiser than Daniel," "the anointed cherub ... in Eden, the garden of God ... and upon the holy mountain of God"; yet he perishes miserably.

xxvii. 9b-25a is apparently an interpolation; it interrupts the context; the rest of the chapter describes a ship. These verses describe the trading city and its customers; so Bertholet.

xxvii. 20-23, Zidon.

1 Bertholet.  2 Davidson, Skinner, etc.

3 The 1 being an old construct ending.
xxviii. 24-26, Israel, restored and delivered from neighbours, who are "pricking briers" and "grieving thorns," shall dwell securely.

These verses would naturally conclude the section on foreign nations; they may have stood originally after xxxii.; or xxv.-xxviii. dealing with more immediate neighbours formed a separate section.

xxix.-xxxii., Egypt.

xxix. 1-16 (Tenth year, tenth month, twelfth day, January, 586), Pharaoh, the proud river dragon, destroyed; Egypt, desolate forty years, is afterwards restored as "the basest of the kingdoms."

xxix. 17-20 (Seven-and-twentieth year, first month, first day, April, 570), Note to the previous prophecy, added by Ezekiel, Nebuchadrezzar is to be compensated for his unsuccessful thirteen years' siege of Tyre by the conquest of Egypt.

xxix. 21, The revival of Israel.

This verse may be the conclusion of xxix. 1-16, or of 17-20; in the latter case it gives the last words of the prophet.

xxx. 1-19, and 20-26 (Eleventh year, first month, seventh day, April, 586), Egypt to be conquered, its cities sacked, its king overthrown, and the people carried captive by Nebuchadrezzar.

xxxi. (Eleventh year, third month, first day, June, 586), The overthrow of Pharaoh under the figure of the cutting down of a great cedar.

Instead of "the Assyrian was a cedar" in verse 3, Asshur 'erez, read "Te'asshur," a rare name for a species of cedar; 'erez, cedar, is a gloss.¹

xxxii. 1-16 (Twelfth ² year, twelfth month, first day, March, 584). The nations lament over the ruin of Egypt.

17-32 (Twelfth year, twelfth month,³ fifteenth day, March, 584), Dirge over Pharaoh and his army, who descend into Sheol to join Asshur and the other oppressors of Israel.

Chapters xxix.-xxxii. were uttered either during or soon after the siege of Jerusalem, 588-586, when the party opposed to Jeremiah and Ezekiel hoped that the intervention of Egypt would avert the doom which those prophets had pronounced against Judah.

¹ Cf. Davidson, and Skinner.
² Syr., LXX. Δ, eleventh, March, 585.
³ The month is not given in the Hebrew Text, perhaps because this prophecy was given in the same month as the preceding. LXX. adds "in the first month," in which case the chronological order requires us to accept the reading "eleventh year" in verse 1.
XXXIII.–XXXIX., Prophecies of Restoration.

(After the Fall of Jerusalem.)

xxxiii. 1–9, The prophet as watchman.
Parallel to iii. 16–21.

xxxiii. 10–20, The penitent sinner shall be saved, and the backsliding saint shall perish.
Parallel to xviii.

xxxiii. 21–33 (Eleventh \(^1\) year, tenth month, fifth day, January, 585), Ezekiel hears of the Fall of Jerusalem. The remnant in Judah denounced for immorality, the exiles because they enjoy hearing Ezekiel, but do not act according to his message.

xxxiv., Former rulers have been evil shepherds, now Jehovah will shepherd His people, and give them for a shepherd His servant David, \(i.e.,\) a prince of the Davidic dynasty.

xxxv., xxxvi., Edom and other intruders into the Holy Land shall be driven out; and, for His name’s sake, Jehovah will restore His people, and make the land populous and fertile. The people shall receive a new heart and a new spirit.

xxxvii. 1–14, The revival of the people under the figure of the resurrection of an army of dry bones.

xxxvii. 15–28, The reunion of Judah and Ephraim under “David my servant.”

xxxviii. 1–xxxix. 24, The prince of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal, namely, Gog of the land of Magog, is moved, in the distant future, to lead the far-off nations against restored Israel. He and his hordes are annihilated, and the name of Jehovah finally vindicated before all nations.

Gog, Magog, Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal are alike unknown; \(cf.\) Gen. x. 2.

xxxix. 25–29, Brief summary of the promises of restoration, by way of conclusion to this group of prophecies, ending, “Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord Jehovah.”

\(^1\) So Syr. and some Hebrew MSS., leaving six months for the news to reach Babylonia; the ordinary Hebrew Text has “twelfth,” leaving eighteen months, which is too long.

xl.-xliii. 12 (xl. 1, Five-and-twentieth year, beginning of the year, tenth day, April, 572), The Temple. The glory of God, described in chapter i., re-enters by the east gate, by which it departed.¹


xliv., The ministers of the Temple. The Levites who had been priests of the high places are degraded to the inferior position of temple-servants, and the priesthood is confined to the sons of Zadok, the Levites of the Temple.


xlv. 9-xlvi. 24, The sacrifices, for which the Prince provides out of his revenue.

xlvii. 1-12, A river from the Temple makes all the land fertile, except the marshes left to provide salt.

xlvii. 13-xlviii. 35, The extent of the Holy Land—Palestine, west of Jordan—and its division between the twelve tribes, the Priests, the Levites, and the Prince. The twelve gates of the city named after the twelve tribes.

(d) Significance of the Book of Ezekiel.—Ezekiel represents a transition and a compromise; the transition from the ancient Israel of the Monarchy to Judaism; and the compromise between the ethical teaching of the prophets and the popular need for ritual. When Ezekiel left his native land, he was old enough to carry with him the memory of the old order and its traditions; he was young enough to adapt himself to the conditions of the new order, which was to be so powerfully influenced by his ministry. He also marks the transition from the prophet to the scribe or theologian; he not only announces the Divine Revelation, but also discusses the relations of its various truths. Moreover in this book we see prophetic utterance passing into literary composition. The older prophets were first of all preachers, their books are merely records of their preaching, often collected and arranged by others. But, although Ezekiel also was a preacher, and his book represents his utterances, yet it is

¹ x. 18-22.
a careful piece of literary work, and much of it, especially xl.—xlviii., was originally composed in writing.

Chapters xliii. 18—xlv. 8 are a connecting link between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code. Deuteronomy speaks of "the priests, the Levites," and Deuteronomy xviii. provides that, since the high places are to be suppressed, the Levites who had been priests of the high places may come to Jerusalem and share the functions and revenues of the Temple priesthood. Ezekiel directs that the Levites of the high places shall be degraded into an inferior order subordinate to the priesthood, which is confined to the Levites of the house of Zadok, i.e., the Jerusalem priesthood, afterwards styled "Sons of Aaron." This is the basis of the sharp distinction in the Priestly Code between the priests, or "sons of Aaron," and the Levites.

The period of transition lent itself to compromise. The earlier prophets laid almost exclusive stress on the moral and spiritual life, and emphatically condemned formal and superstitious worship, virtually disparaging all ritual. Yet fixed religious observances were still necessary for the people. In Deuteronomy the teaching of the prophets is combined with reforms in ritual. But this initial compromise was inadequate and indefinite, and the combination of the moral and spiritual teaching of i.—xxxix. with the ritual system of xl.—xlviii. was the formal recognition that Judaism was to be based on the ritual tradition as well as on the revelation made to the pre-exilic prophets.

(e) The Teaching of Ezekiel.—In matters of doctrine, Ezekiel chiefly expresses more clearly and formally the teaching of his predecessors. "While the substance of these chapters [i.—xxxix.] presents no single element which may not be traced in the writings of earlier prophets, there is none which does not receive a more distinct intellectual expression in the hands of Ezekiel." The denunciation of foreign alliances, the doom of Israel and Judah on

1 Perhaps including others besides Zadokites.
2 SKINNER, art. "Ezekiel," Dr. HASTINGS' Bible Dictionary.
account of the vice and cruelty of the governing classes, the future restoration, and the Messiah as a Davidic prince, are all part of the message of earlier prophets.

But Ezekiel is chiefly dependent on Jeremiah. Both were able to look forward from the punishment inflicted upon the Jews by the Fall of Jerusalem to the new life of the Restoration, of which they write more fully and definitely than their predecessors. Ezekiel endorses Jeremiah’s wholesale condemnation of the prophets, priests, and princes of their time. Ezekiel, too, utters no condemnation of Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon. Moreover the younger prophet further develops Jeremiah’s teaching on individual religion; his prophetic ministry is partly pastoral, he is a watchman for every single soul.¹ In the famous eighteenth chapter he traverses the primitive theological application of heredity, and declares that a man is not punished for his father’s sin; that each is judged, not only according to his own doings, but according to his moral condition at the time of judgment. His teaching as to a new heart and a new spirit ² is an echo of Jeremiah’s New Covenant.

The more characteristic features of Ezekiel’s teaching are:

(i.) The Divine Transcendence; Jehovah touches Jeremiah’s mouth, but Ezekiel multiplies elaborate symbols to suggest his vision not of Jehovah, but of the glory of God.

(ii.) Jehovah restores the Jews “for His name’s sake,” because His reputation is bound up in the eyes of the world with their prosperity. Israel has no claim but the divine election; the people has been evil from the beginning.³

(iii.) Chapters xxxviii., xxxix., with their picture of the heathen armies under Gog gathered together to perish in an attack on Jerusalem, probably suggested the similar apocalyptic visions in Joel and the Appendix to Zechariah.⁴

(iv.) The ordinances of xl.-xlviii. involve the principle of graduated sanctity of religious persons, places, things, and

¹ iii. 16-21, xxxiii. 1-9. ² xi. 19. ³ xxiii. ⁴ The germ of the idea is perhaps found in Zeph. iii. 8.
times, afterwards developed and systematised in the Priestly Code.

(f) *The Relation of xl.-xlviii. to the Law of Holiness*, see chapter ii. § 19.

(g) *Canonicity.*—It is stated that, on account of the marked differences between many ordinances in Ezekiel and the corresponding laws in the Pentateuch, there was some question of excluding Ezekiel from the Jewish Scriptures; but, at the beginning of the Christian Era, Hananiah ben Hezekiah shut himself up with 300 measures of lamp-oil, and reconciled them.

(h) *Use in the New Testament.*—Much of the imagery of the Apocalypse is derived from this book; also, possibly, the description of Christ as the Good Shepherd\(^1\); otherwise the traces of this book in N.T. are very few and slight.

10. Daniel.

(a) *Date and Authorship*—It is not clear that the author intended this book to be received as the work of Daniel himself. The narratives are in the third person, and each of the two halves of the apocalyptic section is introduced by a verse in the third person.\(^2\) Nor does the constant use of "I, Daniel," in this section, necessarily involve a claim that the rest of chapters vii.–xii. was actually written by Daniel. The literary method which secures dramatic effect by speaking in the name of some well-known character, has always been familiar. It is used in Ecclesiastes, where the author speaks in the character of Solomon, "I, the Preacher, was king over Israel in Jerusalem"\(^3\); and it is the conventional form of apocalyptic literature. We have no clear evidence as to whether the convention was generally understood by the author's contemporaries.

The general character of an apocalypse is that the author places in the mouth of some ancient worthy a history of events up to the author's own time, followed by a description of God's judgment on the wicked and deliverance of His

\(^1\) Cf. xxxiv. with John x. 16, Hebrews xiii. 20, i. Peter ii. 25.
\(^2\) vii. 1, x. 1
\(^3\) i. 13.
people. In Daniel vii.—xii. we have four historical sketches, each of which ends with the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes. His ruin and death, which are announced in general terms, seem to be still future. The last and fullest sketch of the history is followed by an account of the resurrection and judgment. Similarly, but with less details, Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of the Great Image announces the establishment of the Kingdom of God as the immediate sequel to the Greek dominion in Egypt and Syria.

In view of these facts, the book is commonly dated between the desecration of the Temple, 168, and the death of Antiochus, 164. If we deduce from viii. 14, “The sanctuary shall be cleansed,” that the reconsecration of the Temple in 165 had already taken place, we are shut up to the close of 165 or the beginning of 164.

This conclusion is confirmed by a wealth of evidence, external and internal. While there is no trace of the existence of the book before 168, its influence from that time onward is very marked. Thus there is no mention of Daniel in the great list of Jewish worthies, Ecclesiasticus xlv.—l., c. 200, which, moreover, says “Neither was there a man born like unto Joseph”; though as a Jew in high office at a foreign court, and as an interpreter of dreams, Daniel was very like Joseph. On the other hand a section of the Sibylline verses, dated about B.C. 140, refers to the “ten horns,” and i. Maccabees, c. B.C. 100, refers to the Fiery Furnace and the Den of Lions.

In the Hebrew Canon, Daniel is not placed among the Prophets, but in the Hagiographa, the latest section of the Canon; although Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who were later than the time at which Daniel is described as living, are placed among the prophets. Either the Jews did not regard

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1 x.—xii.  
2 ii. 44.  
3 Wenidad qūlhash, R.V. Mg., justified. Bevan thinks that the vagueness of this prediction shows that the event had not yet taken place.  
4 Cornill, Kautzsch, König, Strack, after 168; Driver, 168 or 167, probably.  
5 xlix. 15.  
the book as prophetical, or it was considerably later than Malachi, c. 444.

The language also points to a late date. For the most part the Hebrew is fairly correct; the author, doubtless, was a scholar, who wrote in a classical style. But here and there he betrays himself by using the vocabulary of Chronicles, or of post-biblical Hebrew.\(^1\) The appearance of Greek words, especially the late Greek συµφωνία,\(^2\) E.V. dulcimer, points to the Greek period rather than to the Exile. The recently-discovered fragments of the original Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus show that a very fair imitation of classical Hebrew was written in the Greek period.

The author shows an intimate acquaintance with the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, but makes serious mistakes about Nebuchadnezzar and the Fall of Babylon, and the early Persian Empire. Belshazzar was neither the son, nor of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. "He had disappeared from history when Cyrus entered Babylonia . . . Cyrus entered Babylon in peace . . . and the Babylonian king was not slain." "'Darius the Mede' is a reflection into the past of Darius, the son of Hystaspes," \(i.e.,\) history not only tells us nothing of any "Darius the Mede," but his existence in the position assigned to him by our book is entirely inconsistent with what history does tell us of that period. On these and other grounds Professor Sayce concludes that "The story of Belshazzar's Fall is not historical in the modern sense of the word history," and that "The name of Darius and the story of the slaughter of the Chaldaean king go together."\(^3\)

The statement of Josephus\(^4\) that the High Priest Jaddua presented the Book of Daniel to Alexander the Great is from the narrative of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, which is generally regarded as untrustworthy.

The date of the LXX. is too uncertain to be used as an argument for the early existence of our book.

\(^1\) BEVAN, 28 ff.
\(^2\) iii. 4 súmpònyâ, R.V. Mg. bagpipe.
\(^3\) *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, 1894, pp. 524–531.
\(^4\) Antt. xii, 8, 5.
(b) Historical Circumstances.—At the close of the Greek period, Judæa was a province of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria. Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, 175–164, tried to hellenise the Jews, and met with some success. In 175 he deposed the High Priest Onias III., and replaced him by his hellenising brother Jason. In 168 Antiochus set on foot a fierce persecution to induce the Jews to relinquish circumcision and the observance of the Sabbath. He attempted to destroy all copies of the Law. In this persecution many Jews suffered martyrdom, with great heroism. At his command there was set up on the altar of burnt offering at the Temple, “the abomination of desolation”—a heathen altar or idol. In 167 began the revolt of the Maccabees, in 166 Judas Maccabæus occupied Jerusalem, and in 165 reconsecrated the Temple about three years after its pollution. In 164, Antiochus Epiphanes died, leaving Judas still in possession of Jerusalem.

(c) Daniel.—Probably the narratives in i.–vi. are based on some older work or on popular tradition, no trace of which, however, is found except in Ezekiel xiv. 14, 20, where Daniel is coupled with Noah and Job, and in Ezekiel xxviii. 3, where he is referred to as a typical wise man; “Behold,” says Ezekiel to the prince of Tyre, “thou art wiser than Daniel.” Apparently the prophet is referring to some ancient Israelite sage. As he wrote these verses shortly before the Fall of Jerusalem, 586, and Daniel did not begin his public career till the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, c. 603, the story of Daniel as known to Ezekiel must have been entirely different from that told in our book. According to i. 4 Daniel was a youth at the time; he is also represented as surviving the Fall of Babylon, 536, so that in 586 he can scarcely have been more than thirty-six.

1 xi. 32. 2 ix. 26. 3 Cf. vii. 25, ix. 26, 27, xi. 28–32. 4 i. Macc. i. 54, Daniel xi. 31, xii. 11. 5 vii. 25, etc. 6 The notes of time in chapters i. and ii. are difficult to reconcile with each other, but the events in chapter ii. must be understood as happening not more than a year after those of chapter i.

7 Rev. J. E. H. Thomson, author of the Pulpit Commentary Daniel, has furnished me with a curious parallel to the supposed mention by
(d) Language.—The section ii. 4–vii. 28 is in Aramaic. The comparison of this section with the rest of the book does not suggest any satisfactory reason why part should have been written in Hebrew and part in Aramaic. Why, for instance, should the Chaldæan king speak to the Chaldæans in Hebrew in ii. 3, be answered by them in Aramaic in ii. 4b, and the rest of the narratives, conversations included, be given in Aramaic? Why, again, should the vision in vii., in the first year of Belshazzar, be in Aramaic, and the very similar vision in viii., in the same king’s third year, be in Hebrew? The variety of language certainly does not distinguish parts intended for the learned from those addressed to the common people, nor is it arranged according to the nationality of speakers or hearers. The least difficult explanation is that of Lenormant, adopted by Bevan. It is suggested that part of the Hebrew of Daniel was lost, and the gap was filled up from an Aramaic translation or Targum. That the Aramaic section concludes with the end of a division of the book, raises no difficulty; but it cannot be a mere accident that the Aramaic section begins immediately after the statement, “Then spake the Chaldæans to the king in Aramaic.” Perhaps the editor who used an Aramaic document to supply the gap in the Hebrew did not simply fill in just what was wanting in the Hebrew, but sacrificed a portion of the Hebrew to avoid an abrupt and unexplained transition from Hebrew to Aramaic; ii. 4a was the latest point in the Hebrew at which Aramaic could be introduced for the first time with any apparent fitness.

The book must have assumed its bi-lingual form at a very Ezekiel of a contemporary in the same breath with ancient worthies. At family worship, the night after the Disruption, Dr. Hamilton, of London, read Hebrews xi., and, in concluding, added to the list of the Scriptural heroes the names of the leading Disruption worthies. At the utmost, however, such parallels only show that it is possible that Ezekiel was speaking of a young contemporary, not that it is probable.

Persons of the name Daniel are also mentioned in i. Chron. iii. 1, a son of David, by the wise woman Abigail, Ezra viii. 2, Neh. x. 6, they can have nothing to do either with Ezekiel’s Daniel, or the subject of our book.

1 Page 27.
early date, since the LXX. was clearly translated from a MS. in which ii. 4–vii. 28 was in Aramaic and the rest in Hebrew.1

(c) The Greek Daniel.—Both in the LXX. and in Theodotion, c. A.D. 180, the book is expanded by the insertion of the Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Children, and by the addition of the narratives of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon, of which Daniel is the hero.2

In the Greek Bible of the Christian Church,3 Theodotion’s translation displaced that of the Seventy.

(f) Contents.

I.–VI., Narratives in the Third Person.


VII.–XII., Visions in the First Person.4

vi.,5 The Four Beasts, i.e., the Babylonian, Median, Persian, and Greek Empires. The fourth beast has ten horns, i.e., ten successive kings. A little horn, i.e., Antiochus Epiphanes, comes up, before which three of the ten horns, i.e., three of his predecessors or rivals, are plucked up. The little horn persecutes the saints, i.e., the persecutions of the Maccabæan period. The “Ancient of Days” destroys the Fourth Beast and takes away the power of the other three, and gives dominion over the earth to a Man, i.e., Israel.

“One like unto a Son of Man,” i.e., human in contrast to the beasts which symbolise the Gentile Empires. Cf. the use of “Servant of Jehovah” for Israel in Isaiah xliv. 21, etc. The “One like unto a Son of Man,” to whom dominion is given in 14, must equal “the people of the saints of the Most High,” to whom dominion is given in 27, in the explanation of the vision. This view is quite consistent with the use of “Son of Man” in N.T. for Christ; N.T. regularly applies to Christ what is said of Israel in O.T., e.g., Matt. ii. 15 and Hosea xi. 1. The view, however, that our phrase refers to a personal Messiah, has been accepted by Ewald.6

1 BEVAN, 28. 2 Cf. chap. vii., § 5. 3 e.g., in A B. 4 In vii. 1, x. 1, introductory verses, Daniel is spoken of in the third person. 5 Cf. the Dream in ii. 6 Ap. Bevan, 118.
viii., The Ram and the He-Goat. A Ram with two horns, the Medo-Persian Empire is overthrown by the Greeks under Alexander. The horn of the He-Goat is replaced by four horns, the kingdoms of Alexander's successors. From one of the four horns, i.e., Syria, arises a little horn, i.e., Antiochus Epiphanes, who sacks the Temple and stops the Daily Sacrifice. The desolation of the Temple to last 2300 mornings and evenings, i.e., 1150 days, three years, and a fraction. The explanation is given by the Angel Gabriel.

ix., After confession and prayer by Daniel, Gabriel appears and tells him that "From the going forth of the promise to people and to build Jerusalem," i.e., the promise to Jeremiah at the time of the Fall of Jerusalem, "until an Anointed One, a Prince," i.e., either until Cyrus, or until there is again a High Priest actually officiating "(there are) seven weeks," i.e., 49 years, about the time of the captivity, "and for sixty and two weeks it shall be peopled and built," and after the sixty-two weeks "the Anointed One shall be cut off . . . and the city and the sanctuary shall go to ruin," i.e., 434 years after the Return, the High Priest will be slain or removed—the reference is perhaps to Onias III. deposed early in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes—and the city and Temple sacked. "The covenant shall be annulled for the many during one week," i.e., seven years, perhaps referring to the unsettlement and laxity preceding the persecutions, "and during half a week," i.e., three years and a half, "sacrifice and oblation shall cease, and instead thereof (there shall be) abominations set up." Afterwards the desolator, Antiochus, is to be destroyed.

1 20. 2 21. 3 22.

4 The translation quoted here is BEVAN's, p. 161.
5 Jer. xxx. 18-22. 6 Māshāhāh Nāqūdh.
7 Isaiah xliv. 1.
8 BLEEK, etc., ap. DRIVER, BEVAN.
9 R.V., "He shall make a firm covenant with many for one week," perhaps referring to Antiochus and the Hellenising party among the Jews.
10 Cf. the three years and a fraction, viii. 14, and the "time, times, and half a time," xii. 7.
The explanation just given would not be borne out by an exact chronology, from the destruction of Jerusalem, 586, to the reconsecration of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus, 165, is only about 421 years. But such absence of mathematical accuracy is unimportant in an apocalypse, where numbers are not determined merely by arithmetic, but also by symbolism and theology. Moreover, an exact knowledge of chronology was rare and difficult for the ordinary Jew, and there is no reason to suppose that the author of this book was an expert in the subject. All attempts to find in these figures a prediction of the precise date of the crucifixion are shipwrecked on similar difficulties. An inaccuracy which is natural and harmless in a symbolic apocalypse, would be fatal to a prediction supposed to guarantee Christianity by foretelling the exact time of the death of Christ.

Cf. BEVAN and J. E. H. THOMSON, Daniel, Pulpit Commentary.

x.-xii., An abstract of the history of the East from the time of "Darius the Mede," narrated to Daniel by "One like the similitude of the sons of men," in the interval between the narrator's conflicts with the prince, or guardian angel of Persia, in which the narrator was aided by Michael, the guardian angel of the Jews. No names of persons are given, and with some exceptions, places are described and not named. In spite of the obscurity of this method, and the scantiness of information as to the East in this period, we are able to recognise in xi. a tolerably accurate sketch of the history of the Persian and Greek empires in Egypt and Syria, between c. 536 and the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The latter half of the chapter, or more, is taken up with a more detailed account of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, specially dwelling on his intrigues with Hellenising Jews, and his profaning the sanctuary, stopping the regular burnt-offering, and setting up the abomination "that maketh desolate." The account of his doings concludes "Tidings from the East and North shall trouble him: and he shall go forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many. He shall plant his pavilions between the sea and the glorious holy mountain"—definite details, followed by the vague, general statement—"yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him."

1 The 490 years are probably 7 times Jeremiah's 70 years.
2 xi. 30 f.
3 xi. 45.
The lapse from details to generalities seems to show that, at the time of writing, the death of Antiochus had not yet taken place.

As we know no events towards the close of Antiochus' reign corresponding to xi. 40-45a, Bevan thinks they are a prediction of what the author expected to happen. But, "at the time of the end" in 40, is scarcely sufficient indication of the transition from narrative to prediction. The tenor and tone of 40 ff. is just the same as that of the preceding sections. It is also difficult to regard it as a résumé of Antiochus' reign, or as a recurrence to the events of 168, already referred to in 29 ff. The difficulty may arise from our imperfect knowledge of the history, or from some corruption of the text, e.g., 40-45 may have been originally independent, parallel to and not a sequel of the preceding. In 45, Theodotion has, "He shall come as far as his portion,"¹ instead of "he shall come to his end."

The last chapter tells how Michael, the prince, or guardian angel of Israel, delivers the people. There is a resurrection of the dead to rewards and punishments. The tribulation lasts for "a time, times, and half a time," i.e., three years and a half, or 1290 days, also about three years and a half from the stopping of the daily sacrifice. And "Blessed is he that waiteth," forty-five days longer, "and cometh to the 1335 days."²

(g) Teaching.—The characteristic function of the apocalypse is to state the divine judgment on history, to trace the course of events as the working out of God's purposes for His people, and to announce the vindication of God's moral government of the world in a day of reward and retribution. The narratives must have served to steel the Jews to endure torture and death for their faith. The part played by angels is similar to that in Zechariah, but here two angels, Gabriel and Michael, are named,³ and there are "princes" or guardian angels of different nations.⁴ Daniel also contains the most explicit passage⁵ in O.T. as to a resurrection; just and unjust alike are to be raised from the dead, the one to be rewarded, the other to be punished. The resurrection is partial,

¹ ἐως μέρος αὐτοῦ.
² Cf. also the 1150 days of viii. 14; the reason and significance of the slight differences in the number of days cannot now be explained.
³ viii. 16, x. 13, 21, xii. 1.
⁴ Persia, x. 13; Greece, x. 20; the Jews, x. 21.
⁵ xii. 2.
“many . . . shall awake”; perhaps the silence as to Gentiles shows that the author is only thinking of the Jews; the resurrection is to an eternal life in the kingdom of God on earth. Yet these limitations are more apparent than real. There are points in O.T. Revelation where Israel almost becomes a term for regenerate mankind, and, in the Messianic pictures of the future earth, is transformed to heaven.

(h) *Use in the New Testament.*—Much of the imagery of the Apocalypse is borrowed from Daniel. Perhaps the N.T. phrase, “Son of Man,” was first suggested by vii. 13, though, on the one hand, the phrase, in a less special use, is common in Ezekiel; and, on the other, it may have reached the N.T. through the Book of Enoch. This verse is alluded to Mark xiii. 26, etc., and in Mark xiii. 14 the phrase “abomination of desolation” 1 is applied to something in connection with the last siege of Jerusalem. The description of the Man of Sin, ii. Thessalonians ii. 4, may be partly suggested by xi. 36. In Hebrews xi. 33 f. Daniel is alluded to in the clause, “stopped the mouths of lions,” and the Three Children in “quenched the power of fire.”

1 ix. 27
CHAPTER VI.

THE BOOK OF THE TWELVE PROPHETS

1. Introductory. 8. Nahum.

1. Introductory.—These books are usually known as the “Minor Prophets,” because they are shorter than the preceding; but Ecclesiasticus, Josephus, and some of the Rabbis and Fathers, who reckon them as a single book, speak of them as “the Twelve” or “the Twelve Prophets,” or “the Book of the Twelve Prophets,”1 and the use of the latter title has been revived by Professor G. A. Smith. The Jewish custom of reckoning the number of O.T. books as twenty-two or twenty-four implies that “the Twelve” were reckoned as a single work. Probably it was formed independently as a separate collection, completed not later than B.C. 2002; and passed through one or more earlier editions, Zech. ix.–xiv. and Malachi being added after the rest of the books had been collected.

The LXX. places the first six in the order: Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, Jonah; the last six in the same order as the Hebrew. Probably the order represents the chronological theories of different editors.

2. Hosea.
(a) Date and Authorship.—Our only source of information

1 Το Δωδεκάπροφητων.
2 On account of Ecclesiasticus xlix. 10

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is the book itself. According to i. 1, Hosea the son of Beeri ministered in the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah of Judah, and Jeroboam II. of Israel, i.e., between c. 778 and c. 695, and between c. 783 and c. 743. Internal evidence approximately confirms this statement. Moreover, the prosperity of Israel is no longer at its height, as in Amos; but the series of disasters which culminated in the Fall of Samaria have begun. Hence Hosea is somewhat later than Amos, i.e., c. 745-735; his ministry probably began about the close of the reign of Jeroboam II., continued under his successors, and ended before the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz, and the carrying captive of Galilee and Gilead by Tiglath-Pileser, to which events there is no reference.

Hosea was doubtless a citizen of the northern kingdom; notice “our king”¹ of the king of Israel. Hosea’s call to the prophetic office perhaps came through his family troubles. His wife, who had borne him two sons and a daughter, left him for another man. This experience may have brought home to him the corrupt state of the people.² Eventually the prophet bought his wife back again, and received her into his house.

Critical questions are confined to the interpretation of i.–iii. and the authenticity of certain passages, especially xiv.; see Contents. The lack of orderly sequence shows that the book cannot have been compiled by the prophet himself, unless it has since suffered much at the hands of editors.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—Hosea’s ministry seems to have been the immediate sequel of that of Amos.³ The Assyrians, under Tiglath-Pileser III., began to harass Syria towards the close of Jeroboam’s reign. Jeroboam’s son, Zachariah, after a reign of six months, was murdered by Shallum; Shallum, a month later, by Menahem. Menahem is mentioned in an Assyrian inscription as tributary to Assyria. He reigned ten years; his son, Pekahiah, after a reign of two years, was murdered by Pekah. Even this meagre statement

¹ vii. 5. ² See on i.–iii. ³ See Amos, (b).
confirms the pictures of anarchy and confusion drawn by Hosea. The corruption of the prosperous days of Jeroboam II. blossomed into open vice and crime in the disastrous reigns of his successors.

(c) Contents.—i.–iii., By divine command Hosea marries an immoral woman, Gomer, who bears him two sons, Jezreel, Lo-ammi (not my people), and a daughter, Lo-ruhamah (not pitied). She left him to live an immoral life; he bought her back, and took her home, where he kept her in seclusion. Gomer and her children are types of Israel, its infidelity to Jehovah, whom it forsook for the Baalim, and its punishment, and ultimate forgiveness.

iii. 3b is obscure, and its text uncertain; it probably means that Hosea would not associate with Gomer, so that she would be deprived of all conjugal privileges, with a view to her reformation, just as (see following verses) Israel was to be deprived of all the privileges of national life, for the same purpose. These chapters have been interpreted as being (i.) a literal account of Hosea’s actual experiences; (ii.) purely allegorical, as if Jehovah had said to Hosea: Imagine such dealings between yourself and an unfaithful wife as symbolising my dealings with Israel; (iii.) founded on fact, e.g., Hosea’s wife having proved unfaithful, he is led to testify against the vice of his times, and feels that he was as divinely led to his unhappy marriage for this purpose, as if he had received an actual divine command.

Passages contrasting Judah with Israel, e.g., i. 7, iv. 15, xi. 12b, and, less frequently, other references to Judah, e.g., vi. 11, viii. 14, are supposed to be additions by later Jewish editors. Probably Israel should be read for Judah in v. 10, 12, 13, 14.1

Similar views are held by some2 as to the passages promising restoration to Israel, e.g., i. 10, 11, ii. 6, 7, 14, 16, 18–23, iii. 5, v. 15–vi. 3, xi. 8b, 9a, 10, 11, xiv. Stade regards many verses as additions.3

iv.–xiii., The vice and immorality of Israel, especially of the priests and rulers, combined with the immoral and superstitious worship of Jehovah at the high places,4 will bring Israel to irrevocable ruin, in spite of attempts to conclude alliances with Egypt and Assyria.5 Israel shall be carried captive to Egypt and Assyria.6 Jehovah’s love is shown in His yearning

1 Nowack, Minor Prophets.
2 e.g., Cheyne regards i. 10, 11, iii. 5, v. 15–vi. 4, xiv. as additions.
3 Bibl. Theol. des A. T., p. 222; see also on xiv.
4 iv. 12 ff., viii. 5 f., ix. 15, x. 5, 15, xii. 11.
5 vii. 1, viii. 9, xii. 1.
6 ix. 3, 6, x. 6, xi. 5.
over Israel, His reluctance to chastise His people, and by His repeated appeals to them through His prophets.\(^1\) For suspected passages, see on i.-iii. and xiv.

xiv., Appeal for repentance, and promise of forgiveness and restoration.

Cheyne\(^2\) rejects this chapter, chiefly because it "is akin both in language and imagery, and in ideas to writings of the age which begins with Jeremiah." But G. A. Smith unhesitatingly accepts xiv. as by Hosea, though probably not of his utterances preserved in our book. The list given in connection with i.-iii., and the fact that the last we hear of Gomer is that she is still under the protection of Hosea, show that the idea of restoration runs through the whole book. It is more probable that it was a favourite idea of Hosea, than that editors have so systematically and successfully interwoven it with his utterances. The parallels with Jeremiah and later writings may be due to their dependence on Hosea; Jeremiah especially makes large use of Hosea.

(d) **Significance of Hosea.**—Hosca endorses Amos' protest against the divorce of external devotion from morality, and sums up such teaching in our Lord's favourite quotation\(^3\): "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" — a verse which also includes another characteristic doctrine of Hosea, the necessity of the knowledge of God, *i.e.*, intelligent religion and spiritual experience. Hosea first, as Isaiah and Jeremiah later on, denounces foreign alliances. Like Amos, he attacks the high places, and further specifically denounces idols.\(^4\) The emphasis laid on Jehovah's love for Israel, illustrates the prophet's intense love for his country, and his deep distress at her coming ruin.

Other quotations in N.T.: i. 10, ii. 23, Romans ix. 25, 26; x. 8, Luke xxiii. 30; xi. 1, "I called my son (Israel) out of Egypt," applied to Christ, Matthew ii. 15; xiii. 4, i. Corinthians xv. 55 f., "O death, where is thy sting? etc."

3. **Joel.**

(a) **Date and Authorship.**—Nothing is known of the author beyond his name "Joel, the son of Pethuel," or as the LXX.,

\(^1\) v. 15–vi. 6, vii. i, xi. 1–11, xii. 6.

\(^2\) Introduction to 1895 edition of W. R. Smith's *Prophets of Israel*, p. xix. Stade only accepts the opening paragraph as possibly Hosea's.

\(^3\) vi. 6 cf. Matt. ix. 13, xii. 7.

\(^4\) iv. 17, viii. 4, xiii. 2, xiv. 8.
Syr., and some other versions have it "Bethuel"; and, what may be gathered from the book itself, that he was a Jew, probably of Jerusalem, and possibly a priest.

As in the case of Zechariah ix.--xiv., the notes of time have been very differently interpreted. Some regard Joel as the earliest of the prophetical books, and assign it to the early part of the reign of Joash of Judah, c. 830; but the general opinion inclines more and more to a post-exilic date. The main points, capable of opposite interpretations, are as follows: (i.) Joel makes no reference whatever to the Syrians, Assyrians, or Chaldaeans. These nations figure constantly in history and prophecy from the time of Ahaz and Amos till the Exile. Even later Zechariah is still interested in Babylon. This silence points to a date before Ahaz or after Zechariah. (ii.) Joel mentions neither king nor princes, but, in their stead, elders and priests are prominent. This has been explained of the minority of Joash, when Jehoiada the priest controlled the government of Judah, but agrees better with the post-exilic period when there was no king, and the high priest was the chief Jewish authority. (iii.) Egypt and Edom are denounced for shedding "innocent blood" in Judah. This has been connected with Shishak's invasion in the reign of Rehoboam, and the revolt of Edom under Jehoram, the grandfather of Joash. But these events were remote in the time of Joash; hatred of Edom is a constant note of post-exilic literature; the mention of Egypt may be a literary reminiscence of the condemnation of Egypt by the older prophets; or may refer to the Ptolemies. (iv.) Joel presents a remarkable number of parallels with other O.T. literature. Either Joel is a very early and popular book, constantly used by writers from Amos to Malachi; or he is a very late author, who made large use of his predecessors. Each of the two views has been strongly held, but the latter is the more probable. The easy and classical style of Joel is best understood as that of an accomplished student of earlier literature.
Thus the less decisive notes of time point, on the whole, to the period after the Exile; and this date is conclusively confirmed by the following considerations; the mention of the Greeks, the entire silence as to the northern kingdom, and the use of the term "Israel" in the post-exilic sense of Judah as representing the chosen people; the description of God's people as "scattered among the nations," who have "parted my land" between them; silence as to idolatry, and anxiety for the regular maintenance of the Temple services, which priests and people do their best to maintain.

This last point suggests a date subsequent to the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah; otherwise the evidence is not definite enough to enable us to assign the book to any precise date. Driver inclines to a date shortly after Haggai and Zechariah i.–viii. (b) *Historical Circumstances.*—The plague of locusts, which was the occasion of this book, occurred at some time in the Persian period when the Temple services were carefully observed, and when the Jews had suffered from border raids of their neighbours.

(c) *Contents.*—i. 1–ii. 11, The prophet describes a plague of locusts, which afflicted Judah in his time, which he regards partly as a "Day of Jehovah," or special divine judgment; partly as a warning of a "day" yet to come, which he depicts under the figure of a yet more terrible visitation of locusts.

Some regard the section as altogether a figurative description of a great invasion, either actual or predicted; others, as altogether a prediction either of an actual plague of locusts, or of a future judgment.

| ii. 12–17, Exhortation to repentance. |
| ii. 18–27, Fertile seasons to be restored to penitent Israel. |
| ii. 28–32, Universal outpouring of the Spirit. |

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1 Cf. ii. 23, with ii. 27; iii. 1 with iii. 2; and iii. 16b with iii. 16a, 17.
2 iii. 2. 4 i. 9, 13; ii. 14.
3 König assigns Joel to the end of Josiah's reign, when Judah suffered at the hands of the Egyptian king, Pharaoh Necho. Rothstein assigns i., ii. to the minority of Joash, iii., iv. to the period after the exile.

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Cf. §§ 11–14.
iii., The nations gathered in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (‘Jehovah judges’) to be judged. Special punishment of Tyre, Zidon, Philistia, Egypt, and Edom for wrongs done to Judah. Judah and Jerusalem delivered and purified, and established in permanent prosperity.

(d) Significance of Joel, and use in N.T.—The apocalyptic vision of the last section is dependent on Ezekiel xxxviii., xxxix., and may underlie Zechariah xii.–xiv. and Isaiah xxiv.–xxvii. Note also the absence of any Davidic Messiah; Jehovah Himself intervenes.

Most striking is the passage which furnished Peter with his text on the Day of Pentecost,1 “Afterwards will I pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; your sons and daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: even upon the slaves, both men and women, will I pour out my Spirit in those days.” This passage is akin to Jeremiah’s New Covenant written in every heart.2

4. Amos.

(a) Date and Authorship.—Nothing is known except what may be learnt from the book itself. According to i. 1, Amos3 was a herdsman of Tekoa in the reigns of Uzziah of Judah and Jeroboam II. of Israel, i.e., between c. 778 and c. 736, and between c. 783 and c. 743, and prophesied concerning Israel, “two years before the earthquake.” In vii. 14 Amos repudiates any connection with the guilds of professional prophets, and styles himself “a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees.” The contents of the book quite agree with these statements. We further learn4 that Amos appeared at the temple at Bethel, probably at a festival, denounced Jeroboam, and was driven away by the priest Amaziah.

Amos’ ministry to Israel, and the mention of sycamores,

1 ii. 28; Acts ii. 17–21, cf. Romans x. 13.
3 i.e., ‘Amōs; the father of Isaiah was ‘Amōq.
4 vii. 10–17.
not found at the Judæan Tekoa, have led to the suggestion that he belonged to some Tekoa in the northern kingdom; but Tekoa here is Tekoa in Judah,\footnote{Cf. i. 2, vii. 12.} six miles south of Bethlehem. "Herdsman\footnote{Nōqēd.} denotes keeper of a peculiar breed of sheep. His second occupation and the lack of sycamores at Tekoa show that he led his flocks some distance from home. Nothing more is known about the earthquake;\footnote{ii. Kings xiv. 23-29.} but the power of Jeroboam seems at its height, so that the book may be dated c. 750, some little time before the close of the reign.

Critical questions merely concern sections of the book; see below on ii. 4, 5.

The book may have been compiled by the prophet himself, or by one of his disciples.

(b) \textit{Historical Circumstances.}—Under Uzziah and Jeroboam, Judah and still more Israel enjoyed a great revival of power and prosperity,\footnote{4 ii. Kings xiv. 23-29.} which, however, as we learn from the prophetical books, was accompanied by social corruption and the oppression of the poor and helpless. The formation of great estates resulted in the growth of a landless, pauper class. Yet the worship of Jehovah was carried on with great splendour and assiduous devotion at many sanctuaries, and Jeroboam had been encouraged in his successful wars by Jonah ben Amittai, whom Kings recognises as a true prophet.

The revival of Israel was due to two causes: the power of Damascus had been broken by the Assyrian kings, Ramman-nirari III. and Shalmaneser III., etc., 811-767; and the Assyrians did not push their advantages further, but, for the time, allowed Jeroboam to reap the fruits of their victories. Amos' ministry, however, immediately preceded the accession of Tiglath-Pîleser III., 745, who resumed the forward movement of Assyria in South Western Asia.

(c) \textit{Contents.}—i. i-ii. 3, Oracles against Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab. They will be
punished for their sins against Israel and against each other; i. 11, 12 (Edom) may be an interpolation.

ii. 4–5, The Doom of Judah.

This section with the other references to Judah, i. 2, “from Zion,” vi. 1, ix. 11, 12 are sometimes held to be interpolations, partly because the prophet elsewhere seems exclusively interested in Israel.

ii. 6–16, The Doom of Israel for vice, oppression of the poor, and the silencing of true prophets.

iii.–vi. enlarge upon the theme of the previous section. Prophecy has its adequate cause, Jehovah’s communications to His servants.\(^1\) The high places, Bethel, Gilgal, Beersheba,\(^2\) and their splendid worship is rejected by Jehovah, because combined with cruelty and vice.\(^3\) Jehovah will not deliver them in His “Day,” but chastise them by a cruel invader who will carry them captive beyond Damascus.\(^4\)

The doxologies to God as Creator and Ruler, iv. 13, v. 8, 9, ix. 5, 6, may be interpolations; they are parallel in style and ideas to H. Isaiah, and interrupt the context. Marti treats them as interpolations.

vii. 1–9, Visions of locusts, fire, Jehovah with a plumb-line symbolise the ruin of Israel.

vii. 10–17, Amos at Bethel.

viii., Vision of a basket of summer fruit, symbolising the speedy decay of Israel.

ix. 1–7, Vision of Jehovah at the altar, inflicting chastisement, from which there is no escape.\(^5\)

ix. 8–15, The Restoration of Israel after its purification.

These verses are often regarded as a later addition, because they contrast with the unqualified predictions of ruin in the rest of the book; because “the fallen tabernacle of David” implies the fall of the dynasty, 586; because of the hostile reference to the remnant of Edom, and other points of contact with exilic and post-exilic literature. Dr. Driver, however, still assigns them to Amos, with some hesitation.\(^6\) Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Rel.*, p. 136, treats them as an addition.

(d) *Significance of Amos, and Use in N.T.*—Apart from fragments in later works, Amos is the earliest prophet whose words are extant in writing. He also first indicates the

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\(^\text{1}\) iii. 1–8.  
\(^\text{2}\) iv. 4, v. 5.  
\(^\text{3}\) v. 18–27.  
\(^\text{4}\) v. 18, 27, vi. 14.  
\(^\text{5}\) On ix. 5, 6 see on iii.–vi.  
\(^\text{6}\) C.B.S., Joel and Amos, 119 ff.; the section is rejected by Cheyne and G. A. Smith. Amongst other suspected passages are i. 9, 10, iii. 14 b, v. 13–15, 26, vi. 2, 9, 10, viii. 6, 8, 11, 12, 13.
OBADIAH

severance between true prophecy and the prophetic order which is conspicuous in Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But his most important characteristic is that he strikes the keynote of eighth century prophecy. Popular faith dwelt on the privileges of the Chosen People, and trusted that Jehovah, if honoured by adequate external rites, would always be the Champion of Israel. Amos insists on the responsibility of being God's people: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." To a cruel and selfish people, however externally devout, "The Day of Jehovah is darkness and not light." God is a moral being, and requires above all else personal and social morality in His people. Acts vii. 42 f. appeals to v. 25 f. as a proof of the ingrained depravity of Israel, and Acts xv. 16 f. quotes LXX. of ix. 11 f. as a prediction of the universality of the gospel.

5. Obadiah.

(a) Date and Authorship.—Nothing is known of Obadiah. As to the book, three things are clear; the utterance on Edom in Jeremiah makes use either of verses 1-9 or of the original upon which they are based; 10-14 refer to the Fall of Jerusalem, 586; 1-9 and 15-21 refer to two quite different situations, and are probably of different origin.

It is not clear whether 10-14 is to be connected with 1-9 or with 15-21; nor is the Jeremianic authorship of Jeremiah xlix. 7-22 universally accepted.

The most probable account of the composition of the book is as follows:—

Verses 1-9 contain an ancient pre-exilic oracle on Edom, the occasion of which cannot be determined; verses 10-21 are exilic. There may also be later additions.

1 iii. 2, v. 18.
2 Reading 'adam, "Man," for Edom.
3 1b-4 = Jeremiah xlix. 14-16; 5 = Jeremiah 9; cf. also 6 with Jeremiah 10a, and 8 with Jeremiah 7.
4 e.g., not by Giesebrecht.
So substantially G. A. Smith, The Twelve, ii. 172. Orelli, etc., regard the book as a single pre-exilic work. Wellhausen, on the other hand, regards both sections as post-exilic. Sepharad, v. 20, has been identified with Saparda in Babylonia (Schrader), a view consistent with an exilic date; and with Saparda in Bithynia or Galatia (Cheyne, Sayce, Higher Criticism, etc., 483), a view requiring a post-exilic date, as these countries were not held by Assyria or Babylon, but formed part of the Persian Empire; LXX. has Ερφάθα for Sepharad, and the text of 19, 20 is much corrupted. Volck dates in reign of Joram of Judah.

(b) Contents.—1-6, 8, 9, Proud Edom to be destroyed by the nations.

7, Edom is driven out of her territory by treacherous allies. Probably a later addition referring to the occupation of Edom by Nabatean Arabs in the post-exilic period.

10-14, Edom exults over the Fall of Jerusalem, and assists the invaders.

15-21, In the day of Jehovah, when He deals with all the nations, Edom is utterly destroyed by Israel, which re-occupies all its former territory, including Edom.

Obadiah is not quoted in N.T.


(a) Date and Authorship.—The book of Jonah is anonymous, and makes no statement as to its date. It is a narrative about Jonah, and does not profess to have been written by him. Jonah ben Amittai, the subject of the narrative, is only mentioned elsewhere in O.T. in ii. Kings xiv. 25, “He [Jero- boam II., c. 783-743] restored the border of Israel from the entering in of Hamath unto the sea of the Arabah, according to the word of Jehovah, the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant, Jonah ben Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher” [a border town of Zebulun; Joshua xix. 13].

The story is vivid and detailed, and if it were a simple narrative of facts, we might suppose that it was written, at any rate, on Jonah’s authority, and while the experience was still fresh in his memory. Accordingly the editors of the Book of the Twelve Prophets place the book fifth.

But the internal evidence shows that the book is much later,
certainly post-exilic. It has been assigned to various dates in the Persian and Greek periods, *i.e.*, between B.C. 536 and B.C. 150. Driver, fifth century; Marti, after fifth century.

The idiom and vocabulary of the book are those of the latest period of O.T. Hebrew; and it has a marked affinity with Ecclesiastes, c. B.C. 250, and contains many Aramaic words.

The book has many parallels with post-exilic literature. The statement that God made the sea and the dry land, i. 9, is probably a reminiscence of Genesis i. 9, where the same word *yabbâšâ* is used. The prayer or psalm, ii. 2–10, is mainly a cento of phrases from the Psalms, and partly from post-exilic psalms, such as cxlii.

Compare also

Verse 2 = Psalms xviii. 5, 6, cxx. 1.
Verse 3b = Psalm xliii. 7b.
Verse 4a = Psalm xxxi. 22a, Lamentations iii. 54b.
Verse 5a = Psalms xviii. 4, lxix. 1, cxvi. 3.
Verse 7a = Psalm cxliii. 3a.
Verse 9 = Psalms iii. 8, l. 14.

And iii. 9, "Who knoweth if God will turn and repent," with Joel ii. 14, "Who knoweth if he will turn and repent." In iv. 2, "A gracious God, merciful, slow to anger, and of great kindness, and repentest thee of the evil," is probably based on Exodus xxxiv. 6; cf. Joel ii. 13, Psalms lxxxvi. 15, ciii. 8, which are based on the same passage.

Although there are many vivid details, they are such as might be suggested by ordinary experiences, a storm at sea, or exposure to the sun; there are none of those casual allusions to time, place or person, which we expect in a man's account of his own experiences; we are not told the name of the king of Nineveh, nor anything about the route from the great fish to that city.

Moreover the phrase "king of Nineveh" was never used of the Assyrian kings, and its use, together with iii. 3, "Nineveh was an exceeding great city," implies that the Assyrian empire had long since passed away.

Budde has suggested that the book is an excerpt from the *Midrash* or free expansion of the Book of Kings, which is commonly assumed as the main source of Chronicles.
(b) Contents.—Jonah attempting to escape from the mission to Nineveh is swallowed by a great fish. He is released, preaches at Nineveh, the people repent and are forgiven, at which he is angry, and is rebuked by Jehovah.

The Psalm ii. 2-10 is sometimes supposed to be a later addition.

(c) Significance of the Book of Jonah, and use in N.T.—The book is commonly regarded as an allegory or parable. Prof. G. A. Smith writes ¹: "Nor does this book . . . claim to be real history. On the contrary, it offers us all the marks of the parable or allegory . . . we really sin against the intention of the author, and the purposes of the spirit which inspired him, when we wilfully interpret the book as real history."

Our Lord's casual references ² neither state nor imply that the book is history. Again, Prof. G. A. Smith writes ³: "We do not believe that our Lord had any thought of confirming or not confirming the historic character of the story. His purpose was purely one of exhortation, and we feel the grounds of that exhortation to be just as strong when we have proven the Book of Jonah to be a parable. Christ is using an illustration: it surely matters not whether that illustration be drawn from the realms of fact or of poetry."

The book represents the broader spirit of post-exilic Judaism, it protests against the narrow exclusiveness which culminated in Pharisaism, by teaching that the Gentiles might repent and be forgiven; it prepared the way for the doctrine of universal salvation by faith, and connects the great prophets with Christ.

The book also furnishes a most conspicuous example of the conditional character of prophetic prediction; promises might be forfeited by backsliding, threats might be averted by repentance. Jonah states most categorically, ⁴ "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown"; but the people repent, and God does not overthrow the city.

¹ The Twelve, ii. 498-500.
² Matthew xii. 39 ff., xvi. 4, Luke xi. 29 ff.
³ The Twelve, ii. 508, and cf. context.
⁴ iii. 4.
7. Micah.

(a) Date and Authorship.—According to i. 1 Micah prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, c. 740 to c. 695; and Jeremiah xxvi. 18 f. quotes iii. 12 as having been uttered in the reign of Hezekiah, and as having led the king to repentance. Chapters i.–iii. clearly belong to the period of the Fall of Samaria; iv.–vii. are the subject of much controversy. Cheyne\(^1\) writes: "It is becoming more and more doubtful whether more than two or three fragments of the heterogeneous collection of fragments in chapters iv.–vii. can have come from" Micah. G. A. Smith, however, challenges this statement,\(^2\) and calls attention to recent monographs\(^3\) which defend the substantial integrity of the book. It is difficult to resist the impression that there is a marked contrast in style and thought between i.–iii. and iv.–vii., which suggests a different age and author for the latter section; but it is equally difficult to estimate the evidential value of such an impression. See further Contents on the several sections.

Micah is styled "the Morasthite,"\(^4\) probably as belonging to the "Moresheth-gath" of i. 14, which Jerome identifies with a "Morasthi" existing in his time to the east of Eleutheropolis, \textit{i.e.}, in the Shephelah, or low hills on the western outskirts of Judah.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—The beginning of Micah's ministry has been placed as early as the reign of Ahaz, c. 736, and its close as late as that of Manasseh, \textit{i.e.}, after c. 695. His ministry may have been either an immediate sequel to that of Hosea, covering the reigns of the last kings of Israel, or it may have partly coincided with and partly extended beyond the last half of Isaiah's ministry, thus covering the reign of Hezekiah and the accession of Manasseh. For these periods see Hosea, (b), and Isaiah.

\(^1\) Introd. to W. R. Smith's Prophets, xxiii.
\(^2\) The Twelve, I. xxiv.
\(^3\) By Wildeboer, Von Ryssel, and Elhorst.
\(^4\) Both in i. 1 and Jer. xxvi. 18, "Micaiah the M." in some texts.
(c) **Contents.**—i.–iii., Doom of Samaria and Jerusalem for the sins of the nation, especially social wrongs committed by the rulers, whose bribes are accepted by priests and prophets, and the idolatrous worship of the high places.

The prophecy of restoration, ii. 12 f., interrupts the connection, and is generally held to be out of place,¹ and by many to be a post-exilic addition,² parallel to sections of II. Isaiah.

The threats against Samaria³ seem to fix the date of i. before its capture, 722; but, as a document, at any rate, it may have been written about that date. An Assyrian inscription affords some slight ground for doubting whether Samaria was destroyed after this capture,⁴ if not the chapter may be later.

Chapters ii., iii. show no consciousness of imminent danger, and belong to some period after 722, when the fear of an immediate Assyrian advance had died away, and there seemed no prospect of any speedy renewal of the Assyrian invasion.

iv. 1–5, Jerusalem the centre of Revelation for all nations in the Messianic Era of universal peace.

*Cf.* on Isaiah ii. 2–4 with which 1–3 is nearly identical.

iv. 6–v. 15, Deliverance of the nation, after the capture of Jerusalem and the carrying captive to Babylon, by a Righteous Ruler from Bethlehem, who shall lay waste Assyria. God will deliver the land from superstition, and enable it to dispense with horses, chariots, and fortresses.

This section is a compilation of separate fragments, some of which are not Micah's. The references to the Assyrians may well be Micah's, written perhaps at the time of Sennacherib's invasion. The "Babylon" clause in iv. 10 is generally held to be a later addition. Nowack accepts only iv. 9 f. (except the Babylon clause), 14, v. 9–13 as Micah's.

vi. 1–vii. 6, Jehovah's controversy with Israel; His demand for "mercy and not sacrifice" illustrated by Balaam's answer to Balak. Fraud in business to be punished by bad seasons. Persecution of the righteous, and utter social depravity.

The picture in vii. 1–6 seems too dark for the reign of Hezekiah, and these verses are often referred to the reign of Manasseh, with which vi. 1–8 may be connected by the reference to child sacrifice.⁵ Even if written under Manasseh, the author may still be Micah; but the difference of style and thought rather points to a different author.

¹ Driver, G. A. Smith, Steiner, etc.
² Cheyne, Wellhausen, Nowack.
³ i. 1, 6.
⁴ Samsimuruna in Sennacherib's inscription, Taylor Prism, Kellner's Isaiah, 34, is sometimes identified with Samaria.
⁵ vi. 7, vii. 2, cf. ii. Kings xxi. 6, 16; but Ahaz also practised child sacrifice, ii. Kings xvi. 3.
vii. 7–20, Zion is suffering for sin; yet confidently expects from God pardon and deliverance, victory and universal dominion.

According to G. A. Smith, "a Psalm composed of little pieces from various dates," from before the Fall of Samaria, 722, to soon after the Exile. Others also think that the references to Assyria, Gilead, and Bashan best suit a date not long before Nehemiah. Driver, on the other hand, inclines to assign the passage to Micah in the time of Manasseh.

(d) Significance of the Book of Micah, and Use in N.T.—
The book, both in i.–iii. and elsewhere, insists on the leading themes of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, the protests against the high places and their corrupt rites, against social wrong, sanctioned by the ministers of religion. Even if vi. 1–9 be a later passage, in which these doctrines are more thoroughly thought out and carefully formulated, it, at any rate, furnishes an eloquent and explicit statement of the demand of eighth century prophecy for a moral life and spiritual religion rather than external ritual. "Wherewith shall I come before Jehovah, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will Jehovah be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth Jehovah require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

The wrongful accumulation of great estates is specially mentioned as a flagrant social evil. Micah, like most of the canonical prophets, is in antagonism to the prophetic order. If iv. and v. are Micah's, or even of the reign of Manasseh, we have an early suggestion of the apocalyptic visions of the last things,
connected in v. 2 with the personal deliverer, the Messiah. In v. 10-14, with its condemnation of horses and chariots, images and Asherim, we have a parallel to Deuteronomic passages. Again, vii. 8-20, with its confession of sin, and confidence in the pardoning love of God to the penitent, its tender passion of prayer, is one of the passages in which O.T. Revelation culminates, and most nearly anticipates the evangelical teaching of the gospel.

Micah v. 2 is appealed to in Matthew ii. 6 as an authority for the statement that the Messiah is to be born at Bethlehem.


(a) Date and Authorship.—In i. 1 Nahum is styled "the Elkoshite," which probably means "man of Elkosh." Elkosh is unknown, but there are various conjectures. Jerome mentions "Helkesei" in Galilee, and Capernaum (= village of Nahum) seems to connect Nahum with Galilee. If so, he was a northern refugee in Jerusalem. Epiphanius, c. A.D. 360, locates Elkosh in the south of Judah. Some moderns find Elkosh in the modern Alkush, two days' journey to the north of the site of Nineveh, thus making Nahum an Israelite captive in Assyria.

The book was written between the sack of No-Amon, the Egyptian Thebes, c. 663, which it describes, and the Fall of Nineveh, c. 606, which it predicts. The precise date is uncertain. Perhaps the vivid pictures of imminent ruin reflect the last agonies of Assyria, in the period just before the fall of its capital.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—This period coincides with the latter years of Josiah's reign, after the Deuteronomic reformation had secured comparative purity of life and worship, and after the retreat of the Scythians had left Judah a breathing space of peace and prosperity.

For 663-621 see § 10.

1 Deut. xvi. 21, 22, xvii. 16; cf. Hosea iii. 4.
2 Cf. John vii. 42.
HABAKKUK

(c) Contents.—i., Psalm describing a Theophany in which Jehovah destroys the enemies of His people.

Cheyne 1 and others regard i. as post-exilic. Bickell, G. B. Gray, etc., find in it a mutilated and distorted alphabetic acrostic. Some emendation is necessary, especially in 11-15, where the present text requires “thee” to stand for Judah and Assyria alternately in a most impossible fashion.

ii., iii., Description of the siege and sack of Nineveh.

ii. 2 is either a gloss or should be taken with i.

(d) Significance.—Nahum, like Habakkuk, is remarkable for the absence of any reference to the sin of Judah. Judah, the righteous sufferer, is contrasted with its wicked oppressor. This attitude may be due to the Deuteronomic reformation, or Nahum and Habakkuk may represent a school of prophets in partial opposition to Jeremiah and the main line of prophecy.

Nahum is not quoted in N.T.


(a) Date and Authorship.—Nothing is known of Habakkuk, except what may be gathered from this book.

The LXX. ascription of “Bel and the Dragon” to Habakkuk; the account in “Bel, etc.,” of an angel carrying Habakkuk by his hair from Judah to Babylon, to give his dinner to Daniel in the lion’s den; and the information given by Epiphanius, are unhistorical. The statement that Habakkuk was a Levite is a deduction from the presence in the book of a Psalm with the musical directions of the Levitical choir.

The description of the Chaldaean 2 shows that the book was written when they were a prominent power, i.e., after the revival of the Chaldaean empire in 625, and before the Fall of Babylon in 536, probably before the Fall of Jerusalem in 586. The exact date depends on the interpretation of the book. 3 If the oppressor of Israel is the Assyrian, the date would be before the Fall of Nineveh, c. 625-607; if the Egyptian, between Pharaoh Necho’s victory at Megiddo and his defeat at Carchemish, c. 606; if the Chaldaean, after the deportation of Jehoiachin, c. 597-586.

Peake, Rel. of Isr., p. 118, chh. i. ii., exilic. Duhm (in Mercier Proph. d’Isr., p. 74) dates Hab. in fourth century, and thinks it refers to Alexander. Marti, basis 605, rest later; or as Duhm. Driver, p. 317, reign of Jehoiakim, 608-597.

1 Introd. to Isaiah, p. 112. 2 i. 5-11. 3 See below.
(b) **Historical Circumstances.**—Cf. Jeremiah.

(c) **Contents.**—i., ii., The Vindication of Judah and the Punishment of its Oppressor.

The statement of contents depends upon the interpretation. We give the three main views with an analysis according to each.

(a) Judah's sin will be punished by the Chaldeans, who in their turn will be punished.  

i. 1-4, Social corruption of Judah, in which the righteous Jew, çaddîq, is oppressed by the wicked Jew, râshâ'.

5-11, The destructive might of the Chaldeans, who are raised up to punish the wicked Jews.

12-17, Appeal to Jehovah against the unmeasured cruelty of the Chaldeans, the wicked, râshâ', who are even less righteous, çaddîq, than the Jews.

ii. 1-4, Deliverance promised.

5-20, Woes against the Chaldeans for their cruelty, debauchery, and idolatry.

This view takes the text just as it stands, but involves the following difficulties: The "wicked" is in one place a portion of the Jews, in another, the Chaldeans; i. 5-11 breaks the connection; in i. 6 the Chaldeans are a new power to be raised up; in ii. 5-20 the oppressors are spoken of as well known and of long standing.

(β) Nothing is said of the sin of Judah; the prophet dwells on the wrongs done to Judah and other nations by the Chaldeans, and announces the coming chastisement of the oppressor. i. 5-11 is either a later addition, or to be placed before i. 1-4.

[i. 5-11, Chaldean oppression.]

i. 1-4, Social disorder in Judah, sufferings of the righteous, çaddîq, Jews, at the hands of the wicked, râshâ', Chaldeans.

5-11, Interpolated expansion of the picture of Chaldean cruelty.

12-17, Appeal against the wicked Chaldeans on behalf of the righteous Jews.

ii. 1-4, Deliverance.

5-20, Woes against the Chaldeans.

The chief objection to this view is that i. 5-11 neither furnishes a suitable exordium, nor seems a probable interpolation.

(γ) Nothing is said of the sin of Judah, the prophet dwells on the wrongs inflicted either by the Assyrians or by the Egyptians. The oppressor in his turn is to be punished by the Chaldeans; i. 5-11 is to be placed after ii. 4.

i. 1-4, Sufferings of the righteous Jews at the hands of the wicked Assyrians or Egyptians.

12-17, Appeal against the wicked oppressor on behalf of the righteous Jews.

ii. 1-4, Deliverance.

i. 5-11, Through the prowess of the Chaldeans.

ii. 5-20, Woes against the oppressor, Assyrian or Egyptian.

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1 So Driver, Davidson, and most critics.  
2 Wellhausen, etc.  
3 Giesebrecht, etc.  
4 Budde, etc.  
5 G. A. Smith.
The chief objections to this view are the difficulty of accounting for the transposition of i. 5–11; and the absence of any mention of the Assyrians or Egyptians. The part or whole of ii. 9–20 is considered by Kuenen, etc., not to be Habakkuk's.

iii., A psalm provided with heading, "Prayer of Habakkuk," etc., and subscription as in the Psalter.

iii. 2–15, Theophany in which Jehovah delivers His anointed—the people Israel—from the wicked.

16–19, Expression of faith in the depths of affliction.

The heading and subscription suggest that iii. was taken from a collection of Psalms, and that the ascription to Habakkuk is a conjecture of an editor. The term "anointed" māšīḥā for Israel seems post-exilic, in pre-exilic literature māšīḥā is the actual king. Hence Cheyne and others regard iii. as post-exilic.

(d) **Significance and use in N.T.**—Habakkuk, like Nahum, emphasises not Judah's sin, but the contrast between righteous Judah and her wicked oppressor, an attitude very different from that of Isaiah and Jeremiah. In iii. 17 f. the spirit of trustful acceptance of suffering finds its supreme expression in "Though the fig tree shall not blossom . . . yet will I rejoice in Jehovah."

Paul in Romans i. 17 and Galatians iii. 11, uses ii. 4 in the LXX. form, "The righteous shall live by faith;" the Hebrew is rather "by faithfulness." Cf. also Hebrews x. 37, 38; also i. 5 with Acts xiii. 41.

### 10. Zephaniah.

(a) **Date and Authorship.**—The opening verse describes the book as "The word of Jehovah which came unto Zephaniah, the son of Cushi, the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah." The contents confirm this statement, and the picture of social and religious corruption suggests a date before the reforms of Josiah, i.e., 639–621. Probably Hezekiah is the king, and the genealogy is given in order to introduce the name of this distinguished ancestor.

(b) **Historical Circumstances.**—The efforts of Isaiah and Hezekiah for purity of life and worship were followed by a reaction under Manasseh and Amon. During the minority
of Josiah, the prophetic party, under Zephaniah and his younger contemporary, Jeremiah, were gathering strength for a new movement, which culminated in the reforms of Josiah. Abroad the Assyrian empire was in the throes of dissolution, Egypt was not formidable, and the minor Syrian states were left to their own devices. Western Asia, however, was subject to the ravages of Scythian hordes, who reached the frontiers of Egypt.

(c) Contents.—The book is occupied with the Doom of Judah and Jerusalem and all nations in the Day of Jehovah.

i., Judah and Jerusalem are punished for corrupt worship, social injustice, and disbelieving in a living God, they "say in their heart, Jehovah will do neither good nor evil."

ii., Doom of Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Ethiopians, and Assyria.

iii. 1–13, Doom of Jerusalem and all nations. Deliverance of a purified remnant, "a humble and poor people" in Jerusalem.

iii. 9, 10 are perhaps a later addition. Doubts have also been raised as to every verse in ii. and iii., especially ii. 8–11 (Moab and Ammon) and iii. 8–20.

iii., 14–20, A post-exilic lyric in the style of Second Isaiah, celebrating the restoration of the exiles to Zion, and the Divine Presence in their midst.

(d) Significance.—Zephaniah is a link between Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the gathering of the nations for destruction, we have the germ of the apocalyptic visions of later prophets. There is no quotation from Zephaniah in N.T.

ii. Haggai.

(a) Date and Authorship.—The book contains four utterances, each separately ascribed to Haggai, and dated in the second year of Darius (i.e., Darius I., Hystaspis), B.C. 520; on the 1st of the sixth, the 21st of the seventh, and (the last two) on the 24th of the ninth month, i.e., about September to December. Probably they were committed to writing about the time of delivery. The book frames these utter-

\[1\] i. 4-6. \[2\] i. 9. \[3\] iii. 8.
ances in a very brief narrative, and Haggai is spoken of throughout in the third person; it may have been compiled by the prophet himself, or by one of his hearers. In addition to the facts recorded of Haggai in this book, Ezra v. 1, vi. 14 tell us that he, with Zechariah, persuaded the Jews to rebuild the Temple.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—Sixteen years before, after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, many Jews returned to Judah, and settled there as subjects of Persia, under the Davidic Prince, Zerubbabel, and the High Priest, Joshua. They were harassed by hostile neighbours, who induced Cyrus to forbid the building of the Temple, after the foundations had been laid. The recent accession of Darius I. held out prospects of a change of the Persian policy in Judah, while numerous revolts raised hopes of great internal changes issuing in the full deliverance of Israel.

(c) Contents.—The First Utterance, i. 1–11, urged them to rebuild the Temple, which they had neglected for their own houses. A recent drought had been sent as a punishment.

A short narrative, i. 12–15, tells us that three weeks later the Jews under Zerubbabel and Joshua set to work on the Temple.

The Second Utterance, ii. 1–9, promises that the new Temple, enriched with the wealth of the Gentiles, and blessed with peace, shall be more glorious than Solomon's.

The Third Utterance, ii. 10–19, teaches that their neglect of the Temple tainted and blasted all their life, but that they will be blessed for their new zeal.

The Fourth Utterance, ii. 20–23, announces that, in the approaching overthrow of the nations of the earth, Zerubbabel will be the favoured and protected Servant of Jehovah.

(d) Significance and Use in N.T.—The new energy which Haggai inspired was a necessary preliminary to the work

1 But cf. chapter on Chron., Ezra, and Neh.
of Ezra and Nehemiah. Haggai and Zechariah, § 12, must be reckoned amongst the founders of Judaism. Hebrews xii. 26 quotes ii. 6, the "shaking" of all things.


(a) Date and Authorship.—These chapters contain a series of utterances, each separately ascribed to Zechariah, and dated from the second year of Darius (i.e., Darius I., Hystaspis), B.C. 520, the eighth month, about August, to the fourth year of Darius, B.C. 518, the 4th day of the ninth month, about September. The first person is used freely throughout, and all the evidence shows that these chapters were composed by Zechariah himself soon after the latest of the prophecies. In addition to the facts recorded of Zechariah here, Ezra v. 1, vi. 14 tell us that he, with Haggai, persuaded the Jews to rebuild the Temple.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—As the prophecies of Zechariah were uttered within a few months of those of Haggai, the historical circumstances are substantially the same.

(c) Contents.—Second Year of Darius, eighth month (August, 520).

i. 1–6, Appeal to the fulfilment of ancient prophecy.

Second Year of Darius, eleventh month, 24th day (November, 520).

i. 7–17, Vision of Angelic Horsemen, who report that the shaking announced in Haggai ii. 20–23 has not taken place. Promise of great prosperity to Jerusalem.

i. 18–21, Vision of Four Smiths, who file away the Four Horns, which had scattered Judah. The horns and smiths are nations, not to be more exactly defined.

ii. 1–5, Vision of Man with Measuring-line, forbidden to draw any fixed limits for the future city.

ii. 6–13, Exilic Lyric on the Restoration of the Jews.

The situation is that of the Exile; the ideas and style resemble II. Isaiah. The lyric was either used by Zechariah or inserted by an editor, as a suitable expansion of the teaching of the preceding vision.

iii., Vision of the High Priest accused by Satan, but puri-
fied, acquitted, and honoured by Jehovah. The Branch or Messiah, i.e., Zerubbabel.

iv., Vision of the Seven-branched Candlestick supplied with oil from the Two Olive Trees, symbolising the grace given to the Jews [through Zechariah and Joshua to build the Temple].

iv. 6–10 interrupts the context, and seems to belong to an earlier stage of the building of the Temple than November, 520. Probably an earlier utterance of Zechariah placed here, at or after, the compilation of the book.

v. 1–4, Vision of the Flying Roll, which carries a destroying curse to sinners.

v. 5–11, Vision of Wickedness—as a Woman—shut up in an ephah-measure, carried away to the land of Shinar (Babylon).

vi. 1–8, Vision of the Four Chariots, which go through the earth to execute God’s judgments.

vi. 9–15, The Crowning of the Messianic Prince, the Branch, Zerubbabel.

The text, as it stands, refers 11–13 to Joshua, and makes him “the Branch”; but the plural “crowns,” 11, and the “both,” 13 show that two persons were originally referred to. The “Branch” elsewhere, Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6, xxxiii. 15, 16, is a Davidic prince, specially Zerubbabel, Zechariah iii. 8; and the builder of the Temple is Zerubbabel, Zechariah iv. Hence the text has been reconstructed, and is translated, G. A. Smith, Twelve Prophets, ii. 308 and note: “Thou shalt . . . make a crown, and set it on the head of [Zerubbabel] . . . and he shall wear the royal majesty and sit and rule upon his throne, and [Joshua] shall be priest on his right hand, and there will be a counsel of peace between the two of them.”

This utterance, which regards the building of the Temple as still future, is probably out of place here, and was delivered before the preceding prophecies.

Fourth Year of Darius, ninth month, 4th day (September, 518).

vii. 1–7, Shall fasts continue? Unreal fasts.

vii. 8–14, The former ruin of Israel the punishment of oppression.

viii. 1–17, The future happiness and peace of Jerusalem.

viii. 18–23, The abolition of fasts. All nations shall worship at Jerusalem.
(d) Significance and Use in N.T.—Zechariah was commissioned to enforce the lessons and continue the work of the older prophets. They and their hearers had passed away, but the Word and purpose of God remained.\(^1\) Zechariah has reminiscences of his predecessors; his formula, “And he said unto me, What seest thou? And I said,” is found in Amos vii. 8, viii. 2, Jeremiah i. 11, 13; and his message, “Execute true judgment, and show mercy and compassion every man to his brother; and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger, nor the poor,” is an echo of the teaching of the great pre-exilic prophets.\(^2\)

But in Isaiah’s time sacrifices were offered as a substitute for righteousness, and the prophets were indifferent to or even denounced ritual and sanctuary. Now the best hopes for social righteousness lay in devotion to the Temple, hence Zechariah is zealous for it and its priesthood. The older prophets had announced that the sin of Israel must be punished by the overthrow of the nation. Zechariah knows that the Jews are still sinful, but this sin may be purged away by the destruction of individuals, by the removal of wickedness and the purification of the people.\(^3\) The ancient hope of deliverance through the house of David revived and fastened itself on Zerubbabel;\(^4\) this Messianic hope connects itself, as of old, with victory over the Gentiles, but also with the homage of the Gentiles to Jehovah at Jerusalem,\(^5\) which shall be “the city of truth” and the temple hill “the holy mountain”; and “there shall sit in the streets of Jerusalem old men and women, each with staff in hand because of great age; and the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof,”\(^6\) and all this is to be brought about, “Not

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\(^1\) i. 4-6, vii. 7.
\(^2\) Cf. also ii. 13 with Zeph. i. 7; viii. 3 with Isaiah i. 26; viii. 18-23 with Isaiah ii. 1-4, Micah iv. 1-3.
\(^3\) iiii., v.
\(^4\) See above on vi. 11-13.
\(^5\) ii. 11-13, viii. 18-23.
\(^6\) viii. 4, 5.
by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith Jehovah Sabaoth."  

In Zechariah, however, Hebrew prophecy begins to lose its sense of immediate communion with God; the prophet receives his messages through visions and angels; and it is Satan who denounces the sin of Israel, symbolised by the filthy garments of the High Priest.

Zechariah viii. 9-12 repeats the teaching of Haggai i. 1-11, ii. 15-19, that indifference to the rebuilding of the Temple brought calamity, especially failure of crops and vintage. The unwelcome peace among the nations, i. 11, is a reference to the shaking of the nations in the interests of Israel promised in Haggai ii. 6, 7, 21. Another parallel with post-exilic literature is the denunciation of the sham fast in vii. 5 as compared with Isaiah lviii. 2

The N.T. contains only a few traces of these chapters, chiefly in the Apocalypse.


(a) Date and Authorship.—Owing to the accident that Zechariah xi. 13 is quoted in Matthew xxvii. 9 as from Jeremiah, criticism early 3 suggested that these chapters were not the work of Zechariah. Apart from this, there are many striking differences between the two parts of the book, which show that they are not by the same author.

In i.-viii., the sections have headings specifying the date and author—Zechariah; Zechariah speaks in the first person; almost every paragraph has numerous points of contact with B.C. 520-518. There are many visions, in which angels play an important part.

In ix.-xiv., either there are no headings, or, if there are, they are silent as to date and authorship; the author rarely speaks in the first person. Where he does, it is not, as in the

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1 iv. 6, cf. Isaiah xxxi. 3, "The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit."

2 Dated by Cheyne, B.C. 450-444.

3 Joseph Mede, 1632.
first part, in his own, but in some symbolic character, e.g., the Good Shepherd; there are no points of contact with B.C. 520–518, but rather with other periods (see below); there are neither visions nor angels.

There are also diversities of vocabulary, style, and ideas.

Criticism started with an attempt to ascribe these chapters to Jeremiah; i.e., also to assign them to the period B.C. 626–586. They are certainly not by Jeremiah, nor do they belong to his period, but some critics still regard them as pre-exilic. Ephraim, ix. 10, Assyria, x. 10, Damascus, ix. 1, and Hamath, ix. 2, are spoken of as in existence, which seems to imply a date before the Fall of Samaria, B.C. 722. The carrying away of captives from Gilead, x. 10, has been connected with the captivity of Gilead by Tiglath-Pileser, ii. Kings xv. 29. The "three shepherds cut off in one month," Zechariah xi. 8, have been explained of ii. Kings xv. 13–15, where Zechariah and Shallum perish in a short time, the third shepherd being some unknown pretender. The necessity for this sheer conjecture shows that there is no real connection between the two passages. On these and similar grounds the whole or part of ix.–xi. with xiii. 7–9 are sometimes referred to the last days of the kingdom of Israel; and xii.–xiv. (less xiii. 7–9) to the last days of the kingdom of Judah, for the mourning in xii. 11 is often understood of the mourning for Josiah, ii. Chronicles xxxv. 24, 25.

But, on the whole, a closer examination of this appendix shows that both sections are post-exilic, at any rate in their present form. In ix. 13, Greece is mentioned as the great enemy of the Jews, and the Greeks first became a great neighbouring power after the conquests of Alexander, B.C. 333. The idea of the Messianic King as Prince of Peace, ix. 9, would be very remarkable in a pre-exilic work dealing with the impending ruin of Israel and Judah. The idea is even more developed than in Isaiah x. 6, often regarded as post-exilic.

From xii. onward, the marks of post-exilic authorship are numerous and convincing. In xii. 1 Israel stands for Judah;
the importance given to "the house of Levi" by being placed side by side with "the house of David," xii. 12, 13, reminds us of the exalted position of the priesthood after the exile; the utter contempt poured upon prophecy, xiii. 2–6, suggests a late period when genuine prophets had ceased to appear; xiv. is an apocalypse of an advanced type; the importance attached to the Feast of Tabernacles, xiv. 16, to the sanctity of pots and bells, xiv, 20, 21, to the absence of foreigners from the Temple, xiv. 21, and the universal observance of Jewish feasts by Gentiles, point to the ritual of the post-exilic period.

Hence ix.–xiv. is, as a whole, post-exilic. The reference to Greece, ix. 13, points to a date in the Greek period, after B.C. 333, for at any rate a part of the chapters. Some, however, obtain an earlier date by attributing this reference to an editor.

Marti, Gesch. d. Rel. Isr., p. 218, dates ix.–xiv. in the second century B.C. Nowack, Die kleinen Propheten, pp. 350 ff. assigns ix., x. 3–xi. 3, to a date after B.C. 330; xi. 4–17, xiii. 7–9, post-exilic; xii. 1–xiii. 6, late post-exilic; xiv. later than Malachi. These views may be considered fairly representative of the general attitude of criticism.

Hence Ephraim and Joseph are only used in a quasi-symbolic sense, Judah and the restored Jews claim to represent Ephraim and Joseph, just as they appropriate the term Israel. Assyria is either used as a geographical term, or applied to the Greek kingdom of Syria. The later application was very natural, seeing that "Syria" is simply a Greek contraction for "Assyria." These usages can be paralleled from Ezra vi. 22, Judith i. 1.

Probably the appendix, together with the equally anonymous "Malachi," was placed, because of its anonymity, at the end of the Book of the Twelve Prophets, i.e., after Zechariah; and thus came to be written consecutively with Zechariah and included under the same title.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—For Persian period see § 11 Haggai; for Greek period see chapter v. § 10, (b); cf. Contents below.
(c) Contents.—IX.—XI. with XIII. 7–9.

ix. 1–8, The Temple protected when Phœnicia and Philistia are devastated. A remnant of the Philistines converted.

ix. 9–17, The Messianic King brings peace and prosperity to Israel by giving victory over the Greeks.

x., Victory and restoration for Judah and Ephraim.

xi., with xiii. 7–9, In a time of calamity the people were oppressed by their rulers or "shepherds"; the prophet representing Jehovah "cut off three shepherds in one month" and undertook to rule the people, "feed the flock," with two staves, "Grace" and "Union," symbolising the covenant of Jehovah with man and the union of Judah and Israel. But, saith the prophet, "I was weary of them, and they also loathed me." He relinquished his task, broke his staves, and received for his hire thirty shekels, the price of a slave, which he cast into the Temple treasury. Then Jehovah delivers over His people to a good-for-nothing shepherd, who neglects and devours the flock, and is punished. Then the prophet, "my shepherd, the man that is my fellow, saith Jehovah Sabaoth," is slain and the flock scattered; finally, a third part of the people are purified and reconciled to God.

The action is symbolic, the prophet representing in turn very different actors in an apocalyptic drama, first Jehovah, then the worthless shepherd, then the faithful shepherd who is martyred.

XII. 1–XIII. 6, XIV.

xii. 1–xiii. 6, Siege of Jerusalem by Gentiles allied with Judah; the assailants are discomfited, Judah is reconciled to Jerusalem; both are delivered, Judah first, that Jerusalem may not be puffed up. The city mourns for a martyr, whom it has put to death; and is purified by a fountain opened for

1 So G. A. Smith, Book of the Twelve Prophets; A.V., R.V. "Beauty," "Bands."

2 In xi. 13 read "treasury" וְקַר for "potter" יְקַר with G. A. Smith, etc.

sin and uncleanness, and by the cutting off of idols, prophets, and the unclean spirit.

xiv., Another siege of Jerusalem by the Gentiles; the city is actually taken and sacked, when Jehovah appears upon the Mount of Olives, which splits asunder, and the Jews escape through the chasm. Living waters flow east and west from the city, and the rest of the land becomes a plain. The besiegers are destroyed. The remnant of the Gentiles shall go up every year to worship Jehovah at the feast of Tabernacles, and if they neglect will be punished with plagues. Everything in Jerusalem, down to the pots, shall be holy.

If we translate with R.V. text, "Judah also shall fight against Jerusalem," we must suppose that verses 13 and 14, which in any case interrupt the context, have either been transferred here from the beginning of xii., or have been added by an editor to connect xiv. and xii., cf. G. A. Smith, i. 1. Driver takes the rendering of R.V.Mg., "Judah shall fight at Jerusalem," but even this is quite alien to the context.

(d) Significance and Use in N.T.—In Zechariah ix.—xiv. passages of ancient prophecy may be embedded, but we are mostly in the region of the apocalyptic visions of later Judaism. In the picture of the future, Judah and Jerusalem, and the Temple, the circumstances of the writer's own time, are strangely blended with vast armies of all nations attacking the Holy City, with supernatural plagues and transformations of mountain and rivers, with vague symbolism of shepherds, and with the phantoms of dead peoples and empires, Ephraim and Assyria. This confusion of symbols from all sources makes it difficult to discover any certain indications of the actual conditions of the author and his times. The martyr of xii. 10 and perhaps also of xiii. 7 did not necessarily belong to the author's own time, but may have been someone whose death burdened the conscience of Israel for many generations; perhaps the innocent sufferer whose fate suggested Isaiah liii.

Yet xii. 2, 7, xiv. 14 indicate a time of estrangement between Jerusalem and the house of David on the one hand, and the rest of Judah on the other; and xiii. 1–6
shows the prophetic order in the last stage of decay; the "wounds" in 6 were perhaps self-mutilations connected with superstitious ritual.

The Messianic pictures become more detailed and explicit. The post-exilic type of saint was the humble, pious, God-fearing man, the לְאִי; so, ix. 9, the King comes to Zion "vindicated and victorious, meek and riding upon an ass." In xii. 8, "The house of David shall be as God."

The overthrow of the Gentiles and their homage to Jehovah are still dwelt on, but with the grimness of apocalypse; the heathen hosts moulder into rottenness as they stand; the survivors are compelled by dread of drought to be regular attendants at the Feast of Tabernacles, xiv. 12-19.

Finally the ethical zeal for righteousness connects itself, after the manner of the Pharisees, with the ceremonial cleanliness of material objects, bells, bowls, and pots, xiv. 21.

The clause in xii. 1, "Jehovah which stretcheth forth the heavens, and layeth the foundation of the earth," is a favourite formula of II. Isaiah. The fountain opened for uncleanness, the streams issuing from Jerusalem, and the transformation of the land, are based upon similar pictures in Ezekiel.

The picture of the Meek King, ix. 9, riding on the ass, is applied to Christ entering Jerusalem, Matthew xxv. 5; John xii. 15. The thirty pieces of silver thrown to the potter, xi. 13, are applied to Judas' thirty pieces given for the potter's field, Matthew xxvi. 15, xxvii. 9, 10. Cf. also xii. 10, "They shall look unto me whom they have pierced," with John xix. 37; and xiii. 7, "I will smite the shepherd," etc., with Matthew xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 27.


(a) Date and Authorship.—The book is anonymous. "Malachi," which means "my messenger" or "my angel,"

1 So G. A. Smith; R.V., "just and having salvation; lowly," etc.
2 xl. 22, xlii. 5, etc.
3 xxxvi. 25, xlvii. 1-12, cf. Joel iii. 18.
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is a title prefixed by an editor, to whom it was suggested by the "my messenger" of iii. 1.

The book is clearly connected with the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, B.C. 458-433. Two main features of those reforms were the provision for the maintenance of the services of the Temple, and the prohibition of marriages with foreigners; and the Book of Malachi is devoted to the advocacy of these two objects. Opinion is divided as to the exact date. The book may have been issued before the first arrival of Nehemiah, B.C. 458, or before the promulgation of the Priestly Code in B.C. 444, and may thus have prepared the way for the reforms; or it may have been issued after B.C. 444, or even after Nehemiah's final departure from Judah, some time after B.C. 433, and may have served to overcome the reluctance of the Jews to fully accept and maintain the new dispensation. The fact that the book has points of contact with Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and the Law of Holiness, rather than with the later portions of the Priestly Code, points to a date previous to the promulgation of the latter.

(b) Historical Circumstances.—Malachi falls in a part of the Persian period, the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464-424, when the Persian government was favourably disposed to the Jews. Before the first arrival of Nehemiah, however, the condition of Judæa was very unsatisfactory. The Temple had been completed, but its completion had not been followed by the prosperity promised by Haggai and Zechariah; people and priests alike were careless about the services, and entangled in marriages and other relations with heathen and half heathen neighbours; there was danger lest the worship of Jehovah should be degraded to the level

1 male'akhi; the word in i. 1 is taken as a title by the LXX., which, however, read male'akhō, "his messenger," and by the Targum of Jonathan. This view was adopted by Calvin, who has been followed by most recent critics. Some, however, still regard Malachi as a proper name. Cf., however, the designation of Haggai as the "messenger" of Jehovah in Haggai i. 13.

2 Nowack and Stade date Mal. before the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah.
of heathen religions, and confused and blended with the worship of other gods. These dangers were averted by Ezra and Nehemiah. Nehemiah used his authority, as the representative of the Persian King, to establish the Priestly Code as the Law of the Jews, to put an end to marriages with foreigners, to make a sharp and permanent division between the Jewish community and its neighbours, and to make adequate provision for the Temple services.

(c) Contents.—i. 1–5, Edom’s ruin a proof of Jehovah’s love to Israel.

i. 6–ii. 9, Neglect of the Temple services by priests and people.

ii. 10–16, Jewish wives divorced to make room for foreign women.

Verses 11, 12 break the connection, and may be a later addition; see G. A. Smith, i. 1.

ii. 17–iii. 6, The sudden coming of Jehovah’s messenger to purify priests and people.

iii. 7–12, Fertility will reward the due payment of tithes and offerings.

iii. 13–iv. 3, Prosperous sinners will come to ruin, and suffering saints will be delivered.

iv. 4–6, Elijah the Forerunner.

(d) Significance and Use in N.T.—The form of the book is an argument against those who are prepared to justify themselves, e.g., “Ye have wearied Jehovah with your words. Yet ye say, Wherein have we wearied Him?”1 It is a manifesto on behalf of earnest and pious Jews alike against the self-satisfied indifference to true religion of the ruling classes, the priests and the people generally, and against the despondency of those who thought that the prosperity of wicked oppressors showed that God had deserted His own cause and those who were faithful to it.2 Here, as in Haggai and Zechariah, zeal for holiness and righteousness goes hand in hand with zeal for the Temple. The devotion

1 ii. 17.  
2 iii. 13–iv. 3.
and enthusiasm of the party represented by this book made the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah possible.

Two details may be noticed. The Davidic Messiah does not appear; but a messenger, a new Elijah, is announced, who shall prepare the way for Jehovah and His Day of Judgment. In a most remarkable passage the writer seems to recognise the Gentile worship of their gods as worship paid to Jehovah, "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name is great among the Gentiles." ¹

In the New Testament, St. Paul uses i. 2 to illustrate the doctrine of divine election ²; and the prediction of Elijah the Forerunner is applied to John the Baptist. ³

In Mark i. 2 a quotation from Malachi iii. 1 is included in a quotation from "Isaiah the prophet."

¹ i. 11 R.V. Text. ² Rom. ix. 13. ³ Matt. xvi. 14, xvii. 1-13, Mark i. 2-4, etc.
CHAPTER VII.

APOCRYPHA, PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, AND SOME OTHER JEWISH LITERATURE NOT INCLUDED IN THE PROTESTANT CANON

| 10. II. or IV. Esdras. | 22. Psalms of Solomon. |

1. **Apocalypse of Baruch.**—Extant in Syriac version of Greek version of the original Hebrew; written by unknown Pharisaic authors, c. A.D. 70–130. Apocalypse of the history from the time of Baruch to the Last Days, and the Reign of Messiah, put into the mouth of Baruch. It has much in common with ii. or iv. Esdras, and includes what was known as the Epistle of Baruch.

2. **Ascension of Isaiah.**—Extant in Latin and Ethiopian versions of the original Greek, consists of a Jewish, possibly pre-Christian account of the sawing asunder of Isaiah, with

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1 Cf. Chapter I. § 4 on the Canon.

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Christian additions, containing Isaiah’s vision of the Seven Heavens, with a prologue and epilogue. The combination may be dated c. A.D. 100.

3. Assumption of Moses.—Extant in Latin version of Greek version of Aramaic or Hebrew (Charles) original, written by a Zealot or Pharisee, c. A.D. 1-50. Only part is extant, viz., an Apocalypse of the history from the time of Moses to the Last Days, when Jehovah shall manifest Himself to restore the theocracy. The lost portion, only known from the Fathers, contained an account of the end of Moses, and was Jude’s authority for the dispute over the body of Moses.

4. Baruch, Book of.—Extant in LXX. and dependent versions. A combination of at least two independent works, (a) i.–iii. 8, Confession of the sins which led to the Captivity, with historical introduction, apparently dependent on Daniel ix., or vice versâ, written in Hebrew, assigned to various dates from B.C. 320 to A.D. 70. (b) iii. 9–v., Praise of Wisdom, and Consolations for the Exiles, written in Greek after A.D. 70.

Marshall, Hastings’ Bible Dictionary, holds that iii. 9–iv. 4, the Praise of Wisdom, was written in Aramaic.

5. Daniel, the Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna.—The Greek Daniel contains these three and other additions. Bel and the Dragon, and Susanna in many MSS. and editions of the LXX. are given separately. The Dragon story of the former, and the Song exist in Aramaic, otherwise these three additions are only found in Greek, in which language they were probably composed, the Aramaic being not the original but a translation. In LXX., Bel and the Dragon bears the title, “From the prophecy of Ambakoum (Habakkuk), Son of Jesus, of the tribe of Levi.” These additions may be dated between B.C. 160 and the Christian Era.

6. Ecclesiasticus or Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach.—Extant, as a whole, in LXX. and allied versions, of a Hebrew original,  

1 Verse 9.
of which xxxix. 15-mlx. 11, and other portions, have been recently discovered. Composed about B.C. 180 by Jesus ben Sirach, and translated into Greek by his grandson about B.C. 130. A second and larger Book of Proverbs.

7. Enoch, Book of.—Extant entire in Ethiopic version; in part, in Greek version of Hebrew or Aramaic original. Consists of five books, which may be five separate works, the second is certainly by a different hand from the rest. The second book, a Vision of Heaven and Hell, and of the Judgment by the Messiah, the Son of Man, variously dated from B.C. 95 to A.D. 70. The rest contains the Fall of the Angels, Enoch's Journeys through earth and heaven, a Treatise on Astronomy, two Visions of the Flood, and two Apocalypses of the history from Adam to the establishment of Messiah's kingdom, and is variously dated from B.C. 160 to B.C. 105. It is quoted as Scripture in Jude 14 f. (?) and Barnabas iv. 3, xvi. 5.

8. Enoch, Book of the Secrets of.—Extant in a Slavonic version, made known to Western Europe for the first time in 1896, by the translation of W. R. Morfill, edited with Introduction and Notes by R. H. Charles. According to Mr. Charles, this book was written in Egypt, in Greek, A.D. 1-50, but embodies fragments of an older Hebrew work. It contains Enoch's journey through the Seven Heavens; God's description to Enoch of the Creation, the Fall of the Angels, the Fall of Adam; Enoch's Translation, and his temporary return to instruct his sons. In spite of its similarity to the Book of Enoch, it is a distinct work.

9. I. Esdras (E.V. and LXX.) or III. Esdras (Vulg., Sixth Article, and early English Bibles); often the Greek Esdras.—A Greek edition of Ezra (order of sections altered), ii. Chronicles xxxv. f. (Josiah-Zedekiah), Nehemiah vii. 73-viii. 13 (Promulgation of the Law), with an original section, iii. i-v. 6, describing Zerubbabel's victory in a contest of wit

1 König, Cornill, etc. regard this section as a Christian document.
2 Esdras A, but in LAGARDE, Luc. Text, Esdras B.
before Darius, and its reward in the Return of the Jews. Either compiled from the Greek of the LXX., or by a Greek writer who translated freely from the Hebrew; iii. i–v. 6, in any case, composed in Greek. Used by Josephus, and may be dated B.C. 170–100.

10. II. Esdras (Eng. Apoc.), or IV. Esdras (Vulg.).—Extant in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic versions of a Greek original. The original work, iii.–xiv., is closely connected with the Apocalypse of Baruch, and was perhaps known as the Apocalypse of Ezra; it was written by a Palestinian Jew, c. A.D. 81–96, and contains discourses and visions given to Ezra by an angel, and an account of the rewriting of the O.T. by Ezra. Some of the visions are symbolic apocalyptic statements of history, in the manner of Daniel and Revelation. Chapters i. f., xv. f. are much later additions of little interest.

11. Esther.—The Greek Esther contains a speech and prayer of Mordecai, two letters of Artaxerxes to the provinces, a prayer of Esther and other additions, not found in the Hebrew, which were composed in Greek, c. B.C. 300–100.


13. Josephus.—Born A.D. 37, died c. 103, a Jewish priest, who commanded the forces in Galilee during the revolt, but was taken prisoner by the Romans, and became a protégé of Titus. Besides an autobiography, works On the Jewish War, and Against Apion, he wrote, in A.D. 95, the Antiquities, a history of the Jews from the Creation to the outbreak of

the Jewish War. The older history is almost entirely derived from the O.T., and adds little or nothing that is trustworthy. His accounts of the Jews and their literature were intended to make as favourable an impression as possible upon Gentile readers. He wrote in Greek, also in Aramaic, which he translated into Greek.

14. Jubilees, Book of, or Leptogenesis, "Little Genesis," etc.—Extant in an Ethiopic version of a Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic original; fragments of a Latin version also exist. Written towards the beginning of the first century A.D. A Midrash on Genesis i.—Exodus xiv., arranged according to Jubilees, or periods of 49 years. The history purports to have been revealed to Moses by an angel during his stay in the Mount.

15. Judith, Book of.—Extant in the LXX., etc. of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, composed by a Palestinian Jew, c. B.C. 150-100. Narrates how Judith delivered the Jews who had returned from the Exile, by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the general of an invading army sent by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Assyria.

16. I. Maccabees.—Extant in the LXX., etc. of a Hebrew original, composed by a Palestinian Jew, c. B.C. 100-70. A most valuable history of the Maccabees from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175, to the murder of Simon, 135.

17. II. Maccabees.—A Greek work, preserved in the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 125 to A.D. 70. There are two introductory letters, containing legends about Jeremiah, etc.; but the bulk of the book from ii. 18 is an abridgement of an earlier work by Jason of Cyrene, c. B.C. 150. The work is a history of the Jews from the accession of Seleucus IV., 187, to the death of Nicanor, 161. It is very inferior as history to i. Maccabees.

18. III. Maccabees.—A Greek work, by an Egyptian Jew, preserved in the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 100–A.D. 100.

1 Edition supplemented by illustrative narratives, etc.
2 Not 50 as in the Pentateuch.
A legend of the miraculous deliverance of the Temple, and also of Jewish captives at Alexandria, from Ptolemy IV., B.C. 222–204. Its only connection with the Maccabees is the name and its position in the LXX.

19. **IV. Maccabees.**—A Greek work, preserved in the LXX., composed c. A.D. 30–70. Uses an incident from ii. Maccabees as the text of a sermon on the Supremacy of Reason, at one time wrongly ascribed to Josephus.

20. **Manasseh, Prayer of.**—A Greek work, contained in some MSS. of the LXX., variously dated from B.C. 200 to the beginning of the Christian Era or later. Purports to be the prayer mentioned ii. Chronicles xxxiii. 18.

21. **Philo.**—Born c. B.C. 20, died after A.D. 40. A Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, who sought to combine and harmonise the teaching of the Pentateuch with Greek philosophy. He wrote in Greek a long series of works which constitute an allegorising commentary on the Pentateuch, and also various philosophical treatises. Some of them are only extant in Latin translations.

22. **Psalms of Solomon.**—Eighteen poems, composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, by a Palestinian Jew, partly after Pompey's capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 63, partly after his death in B.C. 48; preserved in a Greek translation in some MSS. of the LXX., but not included in the Vulgate or the English Apocrypha. The poems are partly general and didactic, but chiefly consist of praise, prayer, and lamentation concerning contemporary events, and include a glowing description, xvii., of the reign of Messiah.

23. **Sibylline Poems.**—Numerous poems, purporting to be Sibylline oracles, circulated in the Roman empire; many of these were composed by Jews and Christians, in order to propagate their own doctrines under the authority of the

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1 Both events are referred to in these psalms in terms which imply that they were recent. The language is symbolic, and gives no names, but the reference to Pompey's death is quite clear.
ancient Sibyl. The extant twelve books, in Greek, are a medley of Jewish and Christian fragments of various dates, in which are embedded some relics of older Gentile poems. The Jewish portions—iii. 97–820, written under Ptolemy VII., c. B.C. 140, iii. 36–92, c. B.C. 40, iv. (probably Jewish), c. A.D. 80, v. (in part), first century A.D., xi.–xiv., much later—contain polemics against polytheism and apocalyptic visions of history, the Day of Judgment, and the world-wide dominion of Israel and the Messiah.

24. Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.—A Greek work, composed by a Jewish Christian, c. A.D. 70–130, perhaps on the basis of an older Jewish work in Hebrew. It purports to be the last words of the twelve sons of Jacob. Each gives Midrashic history of himself, a discourse on some moral topic, such as Envy or Simplicity, and apocalyptic history and prophecy.

25. Tobit, Book of.—A Greek work, composed, probably in Assyria, between B.C. 200–20. The Hebrew and Aramaic editions are probably versions of the Greek. A religious romance, inculcating obedience to the Law, and the burial of the dead. The scene is laid in Assyria under Sennacherib and his predecessor and successor. Tobit is an Israelite captive. The archangel Raphael heals Tobit's blindness, and obtains for his son Tobias the hand of Sarah, daughter of Raguel, in spite of the demon Asmodeus. It contains a brief apocalyptic poem put into the mouth of Tobit.

26. Wisdom of Solomon.—A Greek work, composed in the first century B.C. by an Alexandrian Jew, preserved in the LXX. An essay on Wisdom as the divine agent in creation and in the providential government of the world, as illustrated by the history of Israel, and in the spiritual discipline of man. As combining O.T. teaching with that of Greek philosophy, it is closely allied to Philo's works, and has sometimes been ascribed to that philosopher, but wrongly.

1 See p. 272 n.
APPENDIX A

EARLY WITNESSES TO NEW TESTAMENT WRITINGS


[Barnabas.] *Epistle*, wrongly attributed to Barnabas . . . . between A.D. 96 and 120.


Marcion. From Pontus, formed his own Canon . . . . A.D. 144.


Epistle to Diognetus. Anonymous . middle of 2nd cent.


Origen. Clement's successor at Alexandria, a learned and voluminous writer. First half of 3rd cent.


Peshitto. The Syriac popular version of the N.T., probably preceded in part by other versions. 2nd cent. to 4th cent.


APPENDIX B

HAMMURABI (AMRAPHEL)

The most important discoveries of inscriptions of late years, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, are those connected with the Babylonian King Hammurabi, c. B.C. 2100, especially the laws engraved on the broken portions of a block of black diorite, once forming a monument about eight feet high. This important discovery was made in January, 1902. Hammurabi is very commonly, though by no means universally, identified with the Amraphel of Genesis xiv. The monument just mentioned contains about 3,600 lines of inscription in forty-four columns, including a legal code of nearly 300 ordinances. There are parallels with the Pentateuch which have suggested that some of its authors were acquainted with Hammurabi’s laws, but the similarities hardly warrant such a conclusion. This and other recent discoveries confirm the view already held, that Babylon in this era had attained a high level of civilisation and exercised a dominant influence in Western Asia. They do not confirm the historicity of Genesis xiv., except to the extent stated on pp. 61, 62. There are many close parallels between the Code of Hammurabi and the oldest portions of the Pentateuchal legislation, the book of the Covenant, p. 65. See the authors’ Exodus in the Century Bible.
APPENDIX C

WISDOM LITERATURE

Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, together with the Apocryphal Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom of Solomon, are often spoken of as the "Wisdom Literature," from their references to "Wisdom," or Khochmah. They are the nearest approach in the Old Testament to Philosophy and the speculative discussion of Theology, though they also include other material; e.g., the narratives in Job. On the other hand, there are sections of other O.T. books which might be included in the Wisdom Literature, notably Psalm lxxiii. and the Psalms included in § IV., p. 149. Similar material is found in some of the Rabbinical writings, especially in the most ancient, the Pirqe Aboth, or Sayings of the Fathers, portions of which may be pre-Christian.

On the meagre and ambiguous evidence of a few references to "the Wise" in the O.T. a theory has been built up of a class of scholars who studied and wrote about "Wisdom" even before the exile; but it may be doubted whether this species of literature was not a post-exilic development in Israel, succeeding to and not contemporaneous with Prophecy.
APPENDIX D

THE RECENT CRITICISM OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

This criticism consists largely of the independent discussion of numerous sections, some very short. Some references have been made to it in the account of the contents, pp. 200 ff.; but these numerous discussions, involving endless details, cannot be summed up in any concise elementary statement. It is generally admitted (a) that much of the book comes directly from Jeremiah, or indirectly chiefly through Baruch; and that much that is told of the prophet is also from Baruch, and is substantially historical; and (b) that there are additions which are not directly or indirectly from Jeremiah or Baruch. Scholars, however, differ widely as to the distribution of material between (a) and (b). Apart from shorter passages, the following are very commonly assigned to (b—Non-Jeremianic sections):—x. 1-16, xvii. 19-27, xxxiii. 17-26, xxxix. 1-13, l.-lii. According to some critics, xlvi.-xlix., or large portions of them, would also belong to (b).

Cornill, in his Hebrew Text of Jeremiah in Dr. Paul Hampt's Sacred Books of the Old Testament, distributes the book thus:—

(a)* Contents of the Roll, mentioned in xxxvi. 32.
   i.-viii.; ix. 1-22; x. 17-24; xi.; xii. 1-6; xviii.; xxv. 1-29;
   xlvi. 1-12; xlvii. f.; xlix. 1-33.

(b)* Other utterances of Jeremiah.
   ix. 23-25; xii. 7-17; xiii.-xvii.; xx.-xxiv.; xxix.-xxxii.; xxxiii. 1-13;
   xxxv.; xlvi. 13-20; xlvii.; xlviii.; xlix. 34-39.

* N.B.—From the passages in (a) and (b) must be excepted many interpolations, the more important of which are enumerated below in (c).

(c) Sections not by Jeremiah.
   x. 1-16; xv. 11-14; xvii. 19-27; xix.; xx. 1-6; xxv. 4-6, 12-14,
   30-38; xxvi.-xxviii.; xxix. 2, 16-31; xxx. 10, 11, 22-24; xxxi. 10-14,
   35-37; xxxii. 1-5, 17-23; xxxiii. 2, 3, 11-26; xxxiv.; xxxvi.-xlv.;
   xlviii. 21-34, 45-47; l.-lii. Prof. N. Schmidt, Encyd. Bibl.,
   JEREMIAH (BOOK), is inclined to minimise the amount of Jeremianic material in the book, but admits a Jeremianic basis for most of i.-xxviii. Dr. Driver, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, and Dr. C. R. Brown (Newton, U.S.A.), The Book of Jeremiah, still connect the bulk of the book with Jeremiah and Baruch.

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LIST OF BOOKS

TO WHICH THE STUDENT IS REFERRED FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Considerations of space necessitate the exclusion of many excellent works; there is only room for a representative selection. Untranslated foreign works are only mentioned where no satisfactory book of precisely the same character is accessible in English.

A. General.

1. Bibliography.—Introduction to Theology and its Literature, Alfred Cave, D.D. (T. and T. Clark.)


3. Concise Handbooks.—Cambridge Companion to the Bible. (Camb. Univ. Press.)

How to Read the Bible, by W. F. Adeney. (James Clarke.)

Primer of the Bible, W. H. Bennett. (Methuen.)

A Guide to Biblical Study, by A. S. Peake. (Hodder and Stoughton.)


Historical Geography of the Holy Land, by Prof. G. A. Smith. (Hodder and Stoughton.)


Geographie des Alten Palästina, by D. F. Buhl. (J. C. B. Mohr, Leipzig.)
5. *Archeology.*—Antiquities of Israel, by H. Ewald. (*Longmans.*)
Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie, by W. Nowack. (*J. C. B. Mohr, Leipzig.*)
Hebräische Archäologie, by J. Benzinger. (*J. C. B. Mohr.*)
Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, by E. W. Lane.
(*Murray, 1871.*)
Arabian Nights.
The Land and the Book, by W. M. Thomson.
Travels in Arabia Deserta, by C. M. Doughty.

B. OLD TESTAMENT.

Books written more or less on the lines of traditional criticism are enclosed in brackets ( ); the critical position of the rest is substantially that of the O.T. section of this book, or else the books or subjects dealt with do not raise serious critical questions, or are treated without special reference to such questions.

1. *Canon.*—The Canon of the O.T., by Prof. E. H. Ryle.
(*Macmillan.*)

(*Williams and Norgate.*)
Introduction to the Hebrew Bible, by C. D. Ginsburg, Trinitarian Bible Soc.

(*Longmans.*)¹
Lectures on the Hist. of the Jewish Ch., by A. P. Stanley,
3 vols. (*Murray.*)¹
History of the Hebrews, by R. Kittel (applying Dillmann’s critical views), tr.
(*Williams and Norgate.*)
History of the People of Israel, by Prof. C. H. Cornill, tr.
(*Kegan Paul.*)
Histoire du Peuple d’Israel, by C. Piepenbring. (*Williams and Norgate.*)
History of Israel, by J. Wellhausen, tr. (*A. and C. Black.*)
Old Testament History, by H. P. Smith. (*T. and T. Clark.*)

¹ Representing the transition from traditional to modern criticism.
Old Testament History, by G. W. Wade. (Methuen.)
History of the Hebrews, by R. L. Ottley. (Camb. Univ.)
The Biblical History of the Hebrews, by Foakes-Jackson, F. J. (Heffer.)

4. Introduction.—Introduction to the Lit. of the O.T., by Prof S. R. Driver. (T. and T. Clark.)
Outline of the Hist. of the Lit. of the O.T., by Prof. E. Kautzsch, tr. (Williams and Norgate.)
O.T. in the Jewish Ch., by W. Robertson Smith. (A. and C. Black.)

5. Theology.—Theology of the O.T., by A. B. Davidson. (T. and T. Clark.)
O.T. Theology, by H. Schultz, tr. (T. and T. Clark.)
Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets, by W. H. Bennett. (Clark.)
Theology of O.T., by W. H. Bennett. (Hodder and Stoughton.)
Lehrbuch der Alt-Testamentlichen Religionsgeschichte, by R. Smend. (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B.)

The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T., by E. Schrader, tr. (Williams and Norgate.)
(The Higher Criticism and the Monuments, by A. H. Sayce, S.P.C.K.)
Life in Ancient Egypt, by A. Erman, tr. (Macmillan.)
Authority and Archaeology, by S. R. Driver, etc. (Murray.)
Light from the East, by C. J. Ball. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)
Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century, by H. V. Hilprecht. (T. and T. Clark.)
The Seven Tablets of Creation, by L. W. King. (Luzac.)
The Ancient East (Series of Booklets). (Nutt.)
The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi, by S. A. Cook. (Black.)

But accepts most of the principles and many of the results of modern criticism.
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The Oldest Code of Laws (Hammurabi), by C. H. W. Johns. (T. and T. Clark.)

7. Commentaries, etc.—Abbreviations, etc.: (a) Works on introduction. (b) Complete commentaries for advanced students. (c) Concise commentaries for English readers, etc. (d) Expository works, which do not include a complete detailed commentary. (e) Works in which the text is arranged so as to show the analysis into earlier documents, including some notes, but not a complete commentary.

C.B., Century Bible (T. C. and E. C. Jack); C.B.S., Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges (Camb. Univ. Press); E.B., Expositor’s Bible (Hodder and Stoughton); H.B.C., Handbooks for Bible Classes (T. and T. Clark); I.C., International Critical Commentary (T. and T. Clark); P.B., Polychrome Bible (James Clarke and Co.).


Pentateuch (or Hexateuch = Pent. + Josh.).  
(a) The Hexateuch, by Kuenen, tr. (Macmillan.)
The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, by C. A. Briggs. (New York.)
Einleitung in den Hexateuch, by H. Holzinger. (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B.)
(The Inspiration of the O.T., by Dr. A. Cave, Congregational Union.)
(The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch, by W. H. Green.) (Dickinson.)
The Hexateuch, by J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby. (Longmans.)

(e) Documents of the Hexateuch, by W. E. Addis, 2 vols. (Nutt.)


1 Cf. several books.  
2 Cf. Pentateuch.

Leviticus.—(b) See Exodus; B. Baentsch (H.K.); Bertholet (H.C.). (e) See Exodus; also S. R. Driver and H. A. White (P.B.).

Numbers.—(b) Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua, by A. Dillmann (H.B.); G. B. Gray (I.C.); B. Baentsch (H.K.). (e) See Exodus.

Deuteronomy.—(b) Driver (I.C.); Bertholet (H.C.); Steuernagel (H.K.) (c) H. W. Robinson (C.B.). (d) A. Harper (E.B.).

Joshua.—(b) See Numbers; Steuernagel (H.K.); Holzinger (H.C.). (c) J. S. Black (Smaller C.B.S.); H. W. Robinson (C.B.). (e) W. H. Bennett (P.B.)

Judges.—(b) G. F. Moore (I.C.); Nowack (H.K.); Budde (H.C.). (c) J. S. Black (Smaller C.B.S.); G. W. Thatcher (C.B.). (e) G. F. Moore (P.B.).

Ruth.—(b) A. Bertholet, in Die Fünf Megillot (H.C.); Nowack (H.K.). (c) R. Sinkler, in Ellicott’s O.T. Comm. for Eng. Readers. (Cassell.)


Kings.—(b) J. Benzinger (H.C.); C. F. Burney (Notes on the Hebrew Text); Kittel (H.K.). (c) J. Skinner (C.B.). (d) F. W. Farrar (E.B.).

Chronicles.—(b) Kittel (H.K.); (c) W. Harvey-Jellie (C.B.). W. E. Barnes (C.B.S.). (d) W. H. Bennett (E.B.).

Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther.—(b) C. V. Ryssel (H.B.); Siegfried (H.K.); L. B. Paton, Esther (I.C.). (c) H. E. Ryle, Ez. and Neh. (C.B.S.). (d) W. F. Adeney (E.B.).

Job.—(a) T. K. Cheyne, Job and Solomon; W. T. Davison, Wisdom Literature of the O.T. (C. H. Kelly). (b) Dhum (H.C.); S, Cox (Kegan Paul); Budde (H.K.). (c) A. B. Davidson (C.B.S.); Peake (C.B.); E. C. S. Gibson (Methuen); Driver (Clar. Pr.). (d) R. A. Watson (E.B.).

1 Cf. Pentateuch.  
2 Ibid.
LIST OF BOOKS


Psalms.—(a) T. K. Cheyne, Origin of the Psalter (Kegan Paul); W. T. Davison, Praises of Israel (C. H. Kelly); (b) Cheyne (Kegan Paul); C. A. Briggs (I.C.); Duhm (H.C.); Baethgen (H.K.). (c) Davison and Witton Davies (C.B.); A. F. Kirkpatrick, 3 vols. (C.B.S.); Wellhausen (P.B.). (d) A. Maclaren (E.B.), 3 vols.

Ecclesiastes.—(a) Cheyne and Davison, as on Job. (b) G. Wildeboer, in Die Fünf Megilloth, see Ruth; T. Tyler (Nutt); Siegfried (H.K.); C. A. Barton (I.C.). (c) E. H. Plumptre (C.B.S.); G. C. Martin (C.B.). (d) S. Cox (E.B.); Koheleth, by T. C. Finlayson.

Canticles or Song of Songs.—(b) C. D. Ginsburg (Longmans); Budde, in the Fünf Megilloth, see Ruth; Siegfried (H.K.). (d) W. F. Adeney, Cant. and Lam. (E.B.).

The Prophets.¹

(a) The Prophets of Israel—Amos, Hosea, I. Isaiah, Micah—by W. R. Smith. (A. and C. Black.)


The Theology of the Prophets, by A. Duff—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. (A. and C. Black.)

Isaiah.²—(a) Introduction to the Book of Isaiah, by Cheyne (A. and C. Black); Isaiah, etc., by Driver (Nisbet); (Isaiah One and His Book One, by G. C. M. Douglas), (Nisbet). (b) Cheyne, 2 vols. (Kegan Paul); Delitzsch, 2 vols., tr. (T. and T. Clark); Duhm (H.K.); Marti (H.C.). (c) J. Skinner, 2 vols. (C.B.S.); Whitehouse (C.B.); W. E. Barnes (Methuen). (d) G. A. Smith, 2 vols. (E.B.). (e) Cheyne (P.B.).

Prophecies of Isaiah—pamphlet on Assyriology, etc.—by M. L. Kellner, Camb., U.S.A.

Jeremiah.—(a) Jeremiah, etc., by Cheyne. (Nisbet.) (b) Giese- brecht (H.K.); C. R. Brown (U.S.A.). (c) Driver (Hodder and Stoughton); A. W. Streane (C.B.S.). (d) i.–xx., C. J. Ball (E.B.); xxii.–lii., W. H. Bennett (E.B.).

¹ Cf. the several books. ² See The Prophets.
Lamentations.—(b) Cheyne, at end of Jeremiah; Budde, in the Fünf Megillot, see Ruth. (c) Streane, at end of Jeremiah. (d) W. F. Adeney, see Canticles.

Ezekiel.—(b) A. Bertholet (H.C.); Kraetzschmar (H.K.). (c) A. B. Davidson (C.B.S.); Toy (P.B.); W. F. Lofthouse (C.B.). (d) J. Skinner (E.B.).

Daniel.—(a) (The Book of Daniel from the Christian Standpoint, by John Kennedy. Eyre and Spottiswoode.) (b) A. A. Bevan (Camb. Univ. Press); (J. E. H. Thomson, etc., Pulpit Comm.), (Kegan Paul); J. D. Prince (Williams and Norgate); Behrmann (H.K.); Marti (H.C.). (c) S. R. Driver (C.B.S.). (d) F. W. Farrar (E.B.).

The Minor Prophets.—(b) Nowack (H.K.); Pusey; Wellhausen (Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, Part V., Reimer, Berlin. (c) Horton and Driver (C.B.). (d) G. A. Smith, 2 vols. (E.B.).


Joel and Amos.—(b) Amos, H. G. Mitchell (Boston). (c) Driver (C.B.S.).

Obadiah and Jonah.—(c) T. T. Perowne (C.B.S.).

Micah.—(c) Cheyne (C.B.S.).

Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah.—(c) A. B. Davidson (C.B.S.).

Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.—(c) T. T. Perowne (C.B.S.).

Zechariah.—(b) (C. H. H. Wright). (Hodder and Stoughton.)

8. Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, etc.


Apocrypha, in “Speaker’s Comm.,” by H. Wace, etc., 2 vols. (Murray.)

Pseudepigrapha, by W. J. Deane. (T. and T. Clark.)

Books which influenced our Lord, etc., by J. E. H. Thomson. (T. and T. Clark.)

The Age of the Maccabees, by A. W. Streane. (Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

Book of Wisdom, by W. J. Deane. (Oxford.)

Book of Enoch, by R. H. Charles. (Oxford.)


1 See The Prophets and The Minor Prophets.
2 See The Minor Prophets.
LIST OF BOOKS

Apocalypse of Baruch, R. H. Charles.
First Maccabees, W. Fairweather and J. S. Black (C.B.S.).
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, by R. Sinker.
Book of Jubilees, by R. H. Charles. (Black.)
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<td>Gray's Inn and Lincoln's Inn</td>
<td>6s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hampshire</td>
<td>4s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
<td>4s. 6d. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td>4s. 6d. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Man</td>
<td>6s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td>4s. 6d. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kent</td>
<td>6s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lancashire</td>
<td>6s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leicestershire and Rutland</td>
<td>5s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
<td>6s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>5s. net.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvern Country</td>
<td>4s. net.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
