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DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.



DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH.

BY

DR E. W. HENGSTENBERG,

Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

"Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me. But if ye believe not his writings how shall ye believe my words."---JESUS CHRIST. (John v. 46, 47.)

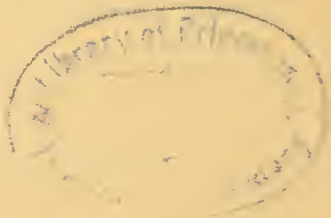
Πρὸς Μωϋσέα τὸν τῆς Θεολογίας ὠκεανὸν μεταβαίνομεν, ἐξ οὐπερ, ποιητικῶς εἰπεῖν, πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλαττα.—THEODORET. (Opp. iv. 742.)

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

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Editor of the Life and Correspondence of John Foster.

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ADVERTISEMENT.



THE work, of which a translation is now presented to the English reader, comprises the *second* and *third* of three volumes, published successively in the years 1831, 1836, 1839, under the general title of *Beiträge zur Einleitung ins Alte Testament* (Contributions for the Introduction to the Old Testament). In the preface to the *first* volume (*on the genuineness of Daniel and the integrity of Zechariah*), the author mentions several other topics of great interest to the Biblical Student, which he proposed to include in the "Contributions," but the pledge thus given has been hitherto only partially redeemed by the valuable articles that bear his signature in KITTO'S BIBLICAL CYCLOPEDIA.

It appears proper to state, that, in reply to an enquiry whether the author had prepared any corrections or additions for a new edition of the "*Beiträge*," DR HENGSTENBERG informed the Translator that there was no prospect of an immediate republication, and that within the last ten years, very few works on the Pentateuch had appeared in Germany of sufficient importance to call for special notice or animadversion.

The Translator has aimed throughout at the utmost perspicuity; and though he cannot flatter himself with complete success (more particularly in the Introduction), he hopes that there are but few passages which will fail to convey the Author's meaning with accuracy and distinctness.

Whenever the division of chapters and verses differs in the Hebrew from that of the authorized version, the latter is added in brackets.

CORRECTIONS.



- Page 66 (note), for "Literarischu," read "Literarischer."
Page 80, line 26, for "blacksliding," read "backsliding."
Page 135, line 21, for "הַחֲסִידִים," read "הַחֲסִידִיִּם."
Page 192, line 14, for "equivalent," read "unimportant."
Page 217, line 22, for "and," read "et."
Page 224, (note), for "causalty," read "causality."
Page 268, (note), for "of the Trinity," read "of the Christians."
Page 299, line 3, for "Zum Job," read "zum Joh."
Page 401, line 14, for "faultatem," read "faulstatem."
" ~ ~ 15, for "adjudicanti," read "abjudicanti."
Page 402, line 17, for "πολλοῦ," read "πολλοί."
Page 420 (note), for "BOULEN," read "BOHLEN."

INTRODUCTION.



It is by no means our design to give a complete history of the investigations respecting the genuineness of the Pentateuch. This has been already partially done by HARTMANN ; and it would be of little service merely to correct some particulars in his survey, or to enlarge it by a list of names, titles of books, and summaries of their contents. It would be far better that whatever is not essentially connected with the progress of the controversy—which merely tells us how this or that writer has arranged the speculations of others—which does not penetrate further into the merits of the question, but is only an echo of what has been said before—should be omitted, lest we should run the risk of not being able to see the wood for the trees.

We shall direct our attention only to the main points of the history. Our object, first of all, will be to explain how it has happened, that the genuineness of the Pentateuch, which, in a former age, had been regarded as fixed on a philosophical basis, has been subject, since the last quarter of the eighteenth century, to so many attacks, and has been impugned with so much confidence and with such wide-spread effects.

We designedly confine our enquiry within these narrow limits. Scattered attacks on the genuineness of the Pentateuch were made, it is well-known, in the seventeenth century, in which SPINOSA took a conspicuous part.* But when we have succeeded in explaining the opposition in its fully developed and undisguised form, it will be easy to trace back to their cause these earlier and unconcerted movements.

* CARPZOV. *Introd.* i. 33. WITSIUS, *Miscell.* i. 102. *An Moses auctor Pent.*

Let us first survey the state of the exposition of the Pentateuch in the times which preceded this critical period. Such a work as the Pentateuch can be maintained as genuine, only as long as it is expounded as a sacred book. An inability to penetrate its depths—the exposition of it as a profane author—the diluting of its meaning, contain (in the germ) the denial of its genuineness; and if this is not immediately developed, it is a mere inconsequence, which the course of events will set aside; for every tendency will, sooner or later, arrive at maturity. If the Pentateuch, in reference to its doctrines and its spirit, do not rise above the level of Nature—if this spirit is not acknowledged as the greatest of miracles—if recourse must be had to faint forced apologies in order to remove the great stumbling-blocks—external miracles and prophecies will not then rescue it, but will rather serve to hasten its downfall. It is an untenable requirement of writers on the external evidences, that miracles and prophecies are to be proved just in the same way as other occurrences. Heathen miracles could not be credited even when reported by persons whom otherwise we should have every reason to believe. If thus the Mosaic miracles and prophecies are put, more or less, on the same footing with those recorded in profane authors, their distinctive limits destroyed, and the finger of God in them not perceived and indicated, we are placed in a false position towards those who, on the score of the miracles and prophecies, attack the genuineness of the Pentateuch. We no longer contend for the genuineness of the Pentateuch, but for a piece of patchwork that is substituted for it. And the attacks of our opponents are no longer directed against the giant himself, but his shadow, or a bugbear set up in his stead.

The close connection between the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and the correct, profound exposition of its contents, is apparent from the fact, that the first unambiguous attacks on the genuineness proceeded from an utter incapacity for expounding it. In the Clementine Homilies,* the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch is denied on account of a variety of objections, which could only be such to the rudest conceptions; God cannot lie, cannot tempt, because this would imply ignorance; he cannot repent, he cannot harden the heart; He, the all-sufficient One, can need no offerings

* PATRES APOST. *ed. Cotel. t. i.*

He cannot be pleased with lights, &c.* The invisibly adulterated Pentateuch of the author, which contained such statements, was, in fact, not genuine.

With CALVIN, the theological exposition of the Pentateuch reached its highest point, that is, relatively. He stands still higher above those who followed him than above his predecessors. It is curious enough how such a leader should have such followers. It can be explained only on the supposition, that they have never read his works, of which, indeed, we everywhere find evidence. It is impossible, that, if they had thoroughly studied Calvin's Commentary, they could be so invariably and decidedly superficial as they always have shown themselves to be. We intend to confine our remarks to three authors who have exercised the most extensive influence: SPENCER, LE CLERC, and J. D. MICHAELIS. Others who took the same direction, as GROTIUS and MARSHAM, have either not carried out their views so logically, or devoted themselves less earnestly to the exposition of the Pentateuch, so that the traces of their influence are lost in that of these three leading writers.†

SPENCER, whose exegetical labours on the Pentateuch are presented in his work, *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus*, has, in our own times, found a kindred spirit in STRAUSS. Both possess acuteness, but with such an almost incredible deficiency in profundity of thought as oftentimes to cast a doubt on their acuteness. In both there is the same icy coldness—the same religious feebleness—the same aptitude for stifling devotional sentiment, so that the emotions of piety never once appear, even as a transient influence, to interrupt the train of their speculations. In both we find the same clearness and precision of representation, which may

* *Homil.* 2, c. 43, 44; see also c. 52, where it is asserted that it cannot be true that Noah was drunk—that Abraham had three wives and Jacob four—that Moses committed murder—assertions which fall to the ground at once when the object of the writer is determined not according to our own fancies and opinions, but viewed with an unprejudiced eye as he presents it. For then it appears, that, at the head of the whole, stands the invisible symbol; “Lord to thee alone belongeth honour, but to us shame and confusion,” that the weaknesses of the chosen, as far as they are consistent with the existence of a good foundation, promote the object of the work instead of destroying it.

† The remarks on these writers are, from the nature of the case, partial. The author is far from denying their merits in other respects, but this is not the place for speaking of them.

be attained with greater ease in proportion as the understanding operates alone, and succeeds in subjecting the other mental faculties. A difference exists between them in this respect, that Spencer was contented with applying his peculiar views to one side of revelation, which is, however, rather accidental, and founded in the difference of their respective times. We cannot divest ourselves of the impression, that, in our day, this difference would have vanished, and that he thought more than he chose to utter. The difference, in point of scholarship, is still more accidental and external.

The leading idea of Spencer's work shows sufficiently how unfitted he was to be an expositor of the Holy Scriptures, and that in his hands their spirit must evaporate. He sets out with an assertion—in the main correct, but pushed by him to an extreme—that many parts of the Mosaic ceremonial law present a striking agreement with the religious usages of heathen nations, particularly of the Egyptians. But this agreement relates only to their form; its explanation and justification can occasion no difficulty, as soon as it is shown that the spirit which animated this form in the Mosaic economy was a totally new one. It is perfectly natural, that, for the outward representation of things really holy, those forms should be chosen which have been long and extensively used for the representation of things supposed to be holy, and therefore free from the profane associations which cleave to every symbol when first applied to a sacred purpose. Who would think of inferring anything to the disadvantage of baptism from the religious washings practised by the Jews and all other nations of antiquity? But Spencer was incapable of discerning that on which every thing depends—the *difference of spirit*. To him the ceremonial law was a body without a soul. To some parts he allows, indeed, a mystical and typical sense, (*ratio mystica et typica*); but this is only in a few instances; he maintains that it is merely a subordinate, not a principal object, so that the moderate and gentle Pfaff, in the preliminary dissertation to his edition of Spencer's work, was induced to remark, “the author appears to have said this—to save appearances, and that he might not seem to do away with the typical meaning altogether.”* And even when he allows a spiritual

* “Dieis saltem gratia, et ne rationem typicam prorsus eliminare videatur, dixisse hoc valetur auctor.”

meaning, it is referred entirely to a foreign ground of interpretation. "It is probable," he says, "that God delivered in the law some things of peculiar sanctity under the veil of symbols and types, on account of a similar custom among the wise men of heathen nations, especially the Egyptians."* But, in general, he loses sight of all distinction between the usages of the heathen and those belonging to the Israelites that bore an external resemblance to them. God adopted the heathenish customs, just as they were, in order to furnish the minds of an uncultivated people with occupation, which otherwise they would have sought for abroad. He expresses this in the coarsest way possible. "God meanwhile, in order to meet their superstitious feeling, adopted not a few rites as a part of their own religious institutions, that had been consecrated, by long use, among many nations, which he knew to be *endurable trifles*."† He always speaks of the ceremonial law in the most contemptuous terms—language which is perfectly natural to those by whom the prayer, "Show me the wonderful things out of thy law," is never offered, (and therefore not answered)—those persons who have so much self-importance as to infer from their not seeing a thing that it does not exist. In one passage he says, "No reason can be assigned, why God determined to burden the Jewish people with so many laws and useless rites, and almost to overwhelm a rational worship, except that by that heavy yoke to hinder them from transgressing the limits of obedience, and rushing into idolatrous practices. For it is acknowledged and evident that rites of this kind have no agreement with the nature of God, and that such an apparatus of ceremonies was not needful for the cultivation of piety."‡ The connection between a defect in exegetical ability, and the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is here

* "Verisimile est, Deum sacratiora quedam symbolorum et typorum velis obducta in lege tradidisse, ob morem affinem, inter gentium, Ægyptiorum præcipue sapientes usitatum."—P. 211.

† "Deus interim, ut superstitioni quovis pacto iretur obviam ritus non paucos, multorum annorum et gentium usu corroboratos, quos ineptias norat esse tolerabiles, in sacrorum suorum numerum adoptavit."—P. 640.

‡ "Nulla ratio occurrit, cur deus tot legibus et ritibus inutilibus populum Judaicum onerare et cultum rationalem pæne obruere voluerit, nisi ut gravi illo jugo populum impediret, ne officii sui cancellos transiliret et ad ritus gentilium rueret. Id enim confessum et assertum est, hujusmodi ritus nullum eum Dei natura consensus habuisse nec tanto ceremoniarum apparatu opus fuisse ad pietatem colendam."—P. 26.

evident at a glance. If the Mosaic ceremonial law be looked upon as diametrically opposed to the worship of God in spirit and in truth, instead of being its preparative, a veil or lower form of it—then nothing can be more absurd than to trace its origin to the Divine Being; the more natural supposition is, that it has passed over in a purely natural way from the Gentiles to the Jews; and especially since God never speaks of these pretended *ineptiæ* as such, but rather places them on a level with the moral law, and denounces and commands the punishment of their violation in the strongest terms, and which, according to Spencer's view, must be little else than a *pious fraud* (*fraus pia*), though he conceals it under the *decorous* epithet of *συγκατάβασις*, *accommodation*; and even observes that God mocked his own people—as, for example, in a passage where he says that perhaps God commanded sacrifices *per ironiam*. The unworthy conceptions of God that lie at the basis of Spencer's hypothesis have been exposed by some of his contemporary opponents. WITSIUS in his *Ægyptiaca* remarks, “Truly whatever appearance of political sagacity such things may have, they are contrary to the word of God, and are the fictions of human ingenuity, unworthy of the majesty of the Divine Being. Mortals who are crafty and skilled in worldly wisdom, measure the Deity by their own dispositions, and impute to heaven secret arts of government and wily contrivances of politicians, which are scarcely approved on earth. As if He who has the hearts of men in his hands, turning them whithersoever he will, needed these involved subtleties to form and establish a people for himself.”* Spencer's conceptions of the Divine Being are so crude, that we might almost suppose that he had brought forward his hypothesis *per ironiam*, expecting that his readers would be ripe enough for the whole truth to find it out for themselves. We might appeal to such hints as those given in p. 210: “God delivered many things in the law concealed in the envelopment of types and figures, perhaps that the Mosaic law might harmonise with the mind and

* “Verum enimvero, quantamcumque hæc civilis prudentiæ speciem habeant, præter dei verbum cuncta dicuntur, et humani commenta sunt ingenii, divini numinis maiestate haud satis digna. Nimiram canti catique in seculo mortales deum ex sua metiuntur indole; arcanasque imperandi artes et vaframenta Politicorum, quæ vix terra probet, cælo locant. Quasi vero in populo sibi formando firmandoque iis astutiarum ambagibus indigeat, is, qui mortalium corda in manu sua habens, ea quorum vult flectit.”—WITSII *Ægypt.* p. 223. Words which J. D. Michaelis should have laid to heart!

education of Moses himself."* Yet we are not in possession of certain evidence that Spencer was distinctly aware of the legitimate consequences of his theory, and, as far as we are concerned, this is of little importance. It is enough, that such were the consequences; that from this view of the ceremonial law, the way was open on all sides for denying the genuineness of the Pentateuch. As a specimen, let us note the following deductions: If the ceremonial law of Moses is so constituted, it cannot have proceeded from God. Moses, who professed to receive it from God, was not divinely commissioned, and cannot be proved to be so by miracles and prophecies, and the Pentateuch, which attributes such credentials to him in great number, was not his work. Nor was Spencer content with robbing the ceremonial law of its deeper significance and Divine character; he endeavoured also to reduce, as much as possible, the value of the moral part of the law. Thus he labours to prove that the Decalogue was not a comprehensive moral code, but only had the partial object of counteracting gross idolatry. (P. 28.)

The influence of Spencer's work was very considerable, as may be inferred from the repeated editions, and reprints in Holland and Germany. Even theologians, like BOSSUET, were so incautious and shortsighted as, more or less, to abet his views. His learned opponents knew not how to strike the vulnerable parts with effect. Instead of employing all their powers in a thorough and judicious examination of the symbolical and typical meaning of the ceremonial law, and thus exhibiting the "wonderful things" of the law, they subjected themselves to the fruitless toil of showing that the outward forms were not borrowed by the Jews from the heathens, but that the reverse was the case. Typology remained in its ancient unfixed state which served as a partial apology for Spencer.

Spencer was followed by LE CLERC, who adopted his hypothesis without any modification or refinement. To characterise him in this respect it is quite enough to quote his remark on Circumcision, (Gen. xvi. 10): "To many persons, it seems scarcely credible that a rite so inconvenient, which, when submitted to by adults, is not very decent, and which, lastly, cannot contribute to good

* "Deus multa in lege typorum et figurarum tegumentis involuta tradidit, forsitan re-
 lax Mosuica cum ipso Mosis ingenio et educatione consensum coleret."

morals, could be first instituted by the Most High. They suspect that Abraham, who had witnessed it in Egypt, was favourably disposed towards it, and this being noticed by God, who adapts himself with the greatest condescension to our weakness, he commanded Abraham to practise what he had approved in others."* The religious superficiality which, in general, belongs to the Arminian school of theology, appears in him to have reached its height. His mental point of view is deistical. Everything which reaches beyond his abstract notion of God, and points to a living God, he sets down without hesitation as Anthropopathism, Anthropomorphism. It is to him a shell without the kernel, and he indulges in remarks of this sort till one is quite tired of them. He never suspects that his own abstract notion may, after all, be the grossest Anthropomorphism and Anthropopathism. From his imaginary religious elevation, he looks down with commiseration on the sacred persons and the sacred writers. We hardly need point out, that such a tendency, as soon as it is clearly developed by history,† must lead to the denial of the genuineness of such sacred books as the Pentateuch. Books which speak so childishly of God, reject the admission of a Divine co-operation with their composition; miracles and prophecies, as they must have actually occurred if the Pentateuch be genuine, belong to the living God; and if every *word* be already looked upon with alarm lest it should be too coarse for the idol Reason, how much more those *acts* which break through the supposed brazen walls of Nature!

That this writer had some consciousness that the admission of the latter was little suited to his religious standing, is shown by some insulated attempts to bring down miracles within the range of natural events, as in his Essay on the Passage through the Red Sea, appended to his Commentary on the Pentateuch. In truth, he was deficient in the necessary condition of belief in miracles—the recognition of the dependence of the common course of nature on the Divine will; and hence miracles appeared to him throughout as

* "Parum credibile multis videtur ritum ejusmodi incommodum, et quando a grandioribus suscipiebatur parum honestum, qui denique neque ad bonos mores quidquam conferre potest, a deo opt. max. primum institutum. Suspiciantur Abrahamum, qui hoc viderat in Aeg. fieri—in illorum sententiam ivisse; quod cum animadverteret deus qui summa συγκράτῳβασει sese nostrae imbecillitati attemperat, idem Abrahamum jussit facere, quod jam in aliis probabat."

† In the present day, Gesenius may be regarded as a *Clericus Redivivus*.

something *causeless* and irregular, and assumed almost a grotesque form. For whatever may be called a deeper meaning he had a great aversion. This cannot be accounted for merely from an incapacity of perception. There is oftentimes an evident dread of leaving the precincts of natural development, by the acknowledgment of the deeper sense—of conceding something to the Scriptures which can only belong to them on the supposition of their holiness. Thus he endeavours, at all hazards, to explain away the passages which show that the Israelitish nationality (*particularismus*) was from the first not the opposite, but the groundwork and preparative, of a universal dispensation of religion (*universalismus*)—that the exclusiveness was the means for final comprehensiveness. He explains Genesis xii. 3, “in thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,” (where, even at the beginning of God’s dealings with Abraham, the final object of his calling is very apparent)* “Benedictions shall be generally expressed among the nations of the east by the use of thy name and example, in these or similar words, ‘May God bless thee, as he blessed Abraham.’” He would rather commit a gross violation of the laws of language than make up his mind to admit a meaning which, the event being considered according to the common course of things, was so little to be expected, and which would have placed him on ground where he would not have felt himself at home. His incapacity for theological exposition almost exceeds belief. His remarks on the history of the Fall serve strikingly to show how an exposition of this kind becomes a direct preparative for mythical notions, and thus for denying the genuineness of the Pentateuch. In his hands it becomes a disgusting caricature. In a sense it could from this stand-point be no longer regarded as history. He thus observes on Gen. ii. 9,† “As the tree of life might be a tree

* *h. e.* Tuo nomine exempro prolato benedictiones apud plurimos orientis populos concipientur, his aut similibus verbis, benedicat tibi Deus, ut benedixit Abrahamo.”

+ “Ut arbor vitæ potest esse arbor, cujus fructus essent ἀλεξιτήριοι, s. medicati: ita arbor prudentiæ erit arbor venenata, quam vitare prudentium est, et cujus gustato fructu imprudens sit prudentior. Hujus generis plures arbores esse potuerunt, quemadmodum plures sunt medicatarum species (Plin. l. xii. c. 6.) meminit cujusdam Indica feus, quam ita describit; est et alia similis luic, dulcior pomò, sed interancorum valetudini infesta. Subjicit: edixerat Alexander, ne quis agminis sui id pomum attingeret, qua circumstantia hæc illustrari potest historia.”

“Amborum oculi aperti sunt, *i. e.* postquam illicitum fructum comederunt, animadverterunt, quod antea in animum non revocaverunt; nempe aut se sibi divinam iram

whose fruit possessed a medicinal virtue, so the tree of knowledge might be a poisonous tree, which the prudent would avoid, but those who were so imprudent as to taste it would thereby acquire prudence. Of this kind there may be many trees, as there are several species of medicinal ones. Pliny (ii. c. 6) mentions a certain Indian fig-tree, which he so describes; there is also another like it, sweeter than an apple, but of deleterious quality. He adds, that Alexander gave orders that none of his soldiers should touch the fruit, a circumstance which may illustrate this history." On Genesis iii. 7 he says, "The eyes of both were opened; that is, after they had eaten the forbidden fruit they perceived what before they had not called to mind, namely, either that they had incurred the Divine displeasure, or, from internal pain, that the fruit was injurious, and that they would not derive from it the advantage they had expected." On Genesis iii. 24, "Grotius thinks that here is a *ἐν δία δνοῖν*, and that a cherub and flame of a sword is said instead of a cherub, that is, a flaming sword; and by a fiery sword he understands the flames of the bitumen that abounded in the plains of Babylon, through which alone Paradise could be approached, and which was thus rendered inaccessible to Adam. I should rather believe that Moses meant that God sent angels to set on fire the bitumen of Babylon or a similar soil, and to employ it as a flaming sword to keep men at a distance." We might be tempted to believe that the author wished to turn the holy Scriptures to ridicule, by detailing the absurdities consequent on the historical exposition, and thus intimating that it was necessary to give them up. And, indeed, if this was not his conscious design, still there must have been in his mind an obscure feeling of the sort. We can hardly think that the few pretended traces of a later age and of historical contradictions, on which he based his attack against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, in the work entitled *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande sur l'histoire*

conciliasse; aut intestinorum dolore, fructus illius usum esse noxium, nedum ut ex eo emolumentum ingens, ut speraverant, ad se rediret."

"H. Grotius existimat hic esse *ἐν δία δνοῖν* et dici cherub et flammam gladii, ἀντί τοῦ cherub, i. e. flammans gladius; flammæque gladium interpretatur ignes ex bituminoso Babylonis agro accensos, per quos solos dabatur aditus in Paradisum qui proinde Adamo eo pacto clausus erat. Crediderim potius hoc voluisse Mosen; Deum, scilicet, angelos misisse, qui Babylonicæ aut similis agri bitumen accenderent, eoque quasi flammæo gladio ad arcendos homines uterentur."

critique, du V. T. p. Richard Simon, Amst. 1685, and the later retractation of which in his Commentary is not altogether unsuspecting, could alone have had the power to determine him to so weighty a decision. There must have been something else in existence which gave importance to those apparent reasons, which otherwise he would easily have disposed of. Be this as it may, one thing is certain, that after time had brought to light the consequences of such a method of exposition, it was absurd to adhere to it, and yet any longer to maintain the genuineness of the Pentateuch. Hence it was a matter of just astonishment when ROSENMÜLLER, who, as an expositor, stood on no higher ground than Le Clerc, and almost entirely copied him, came forward to vindicate the Pentateuch. But to present a more complete view of a writer whose commentaries have had so wide-spread and lasting an influence, we will give a few additional passages from his treatise *De Linguâ Hebraicâ*, prefixed to his Commentary on Genesis, which show that, taking his station on heathen ground, he looked far down on the sacred writers, while they, whose glory is internal, had in his eyes neither "form nor comeliness." Nor had he the gentle sort of imagination which, in the instance of Herder, reserved for the sacred writers a modest position in the neighbourhood of profane literature, as he had no perception of any standard by which to measure sacred literature, nor even the oriental. "Poetry," he remarks, "according to the genius of their language, they cultivated somewhat more; and many passages in their songs possess dignity and grace enough to show what they could have done if they had devoted as much attention to it as other nations. * * * p. 8. They despise all the rules of rhetoricians, even those which are not arbitrary but supported by the sure and common reason of all nations. They are destitute of what is necessary, and abound in superfluities, p. 9. Little regard is paid to the order of time and events by the Hebrews. Thus the account of the division of nations, in Genesis, chap. x., ought to come after ver. 9 of chap. xi. Chap. xi. 3, 4, 8, are also inversions of the narrative; as also chap. xxiv. xxiii. &c., &c. All that is base and degrading is to be avoided in those things which the imagery employed naturally suggests to the hearers. According to this canon, it would not be allowable to say that God is a man of war, that he is roused up as one that

sleepeth," &c. Remarks of this sort do not, as Le Clerc would have it, affect the form merely in its accidental appearances, but in its connection with the reality, and show how foreign *that* was to him, how entirely he was unaffected by it.

Le Clerc was followed by J. D. MICHAELIS, whose work on the Mosaic Law (*Mosaïsches Recht*) requires here to be particularly noticed, and then his Remarks for the Unlearned (*Anmerkungen für Ungelehrte.*) His influence has been far more extensive than that of his predecessor. The exegesis of the latter was almost universally regarded as that of a classical philologist whose authority was recognised only in his *own* department. Theological exposition looked down upon him, and went on its way unconcerned, though it showed itself incapable of any great achievements, and therefore could not paralyse the influence of the theological part of Le Clerc's Exposition. Michaelis, on the contrary, succeeded in making his Exposition nearly predominant, so that his exegetical results might be considered as almost universally received as those suited to the time when the danger showed itself. Whatever stood in opposition to it was ridiculed, and not altogether without reason, for it was unwieldy and decrepit. But we may confidently assert that Michaelis, by clearing the foundations of the genuineness of the Biblical writings, has injured them more than those who have more directly attacked them. He destroyed the kernel, and then vainly declaimed against those who attempted to injure the shell. His tendency in expounding the Pentateuch is apologetic throughout. In opposition to the attacks of the English Deists and French Atheists he aimed at evincing the excellence of the Mosaic law. But, since he had no perception of its real excellence, he deprived Moses of the praise which is really due to him, and attributed to him that to which he made no pretensions, and which would rather have rendered suspicious, than confirmed, his character as a divine messenger. "I dare confidently assert," he remarks, in his introduction to his work, "that in the Books of Moses we shall meet with some very unexpected and splendid specimens of legislative sagacity." To point out these specimens is the main object of his book. If we are to take the statements of this work as established, Moses appears almost as respectable a personage as Sir John David Michaelis. That such a man should be supported by miracles and prophecies is highly im-

probable. Others who, *as legislators*, stood far higher than he, even if everything is allowed him which Michaelis generously grants, were not so supported; and posterity took so much pains to deprive him of this imaginary praise as not to allow him to obtain what was justly due. In this connection Eichhorn's judgment on Michaelis is remarkable: "From a busy search after political plans and schemes he too readily attributes to the law-giver secret views and projects which never passed his thoughts, or a too refined connection is attempted to be traced in enactments which depend much more slightly on one another. It is well that perhaps Michaelis was somewhat too liberal in this direction; we can now more easily take away what is redundant; the poor tabernacle of Moses now stands there with its furniture, if any of the articles are too splendid they may easily be exchanged for coarser materials."* The political principles of Michaelis were not the growth of a Christian soil, but borrowed from the impious politics of his day. French writers were his teachers. In attributing those principles to Moses without reserve or hesitation, he dragged him down into a circle, where we might expect to meet any one rather than a man of God. The assurance with which he did this—thinking all the time that he was doing service to the cause of religion—must often excite a smile. The most egregious instance of the kind is the assertion, that Moses subscribed to the maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, and to such an extent that he frequently made use of religion as the means to an end. On this point he expresses himself without reserve in Part i., § 13. "In the legislative prudence of Moses I have remarked, in general, a certain kind of artifice which in our day is unusual, and, perhaps, is not likely to be again in vogue. Many a law is considered more sacred when, its real occasion being kept out of sight, it is placed in some relation to virtue and religion, and a moral meaning or direction is given to it. Thus it gains a title to respect, and when broken, men consider that the virtue is violated with which it is associated. The slight remains of the legislative prudence of the Egyptians which have come down to us shew that that people often employed such means. Where it could be done without fraud, Moses availed himself of a similar method." In the course of the work a number

* *Biblioth. für Bibl. Literat.* Th. 3, p. 847.

of instances are adduced in which Moses is said to have acted on this maxim. Thus, for example (Part iii., § 145),—"When the observance of a law was of material consequence, the sanction of an oath and of religion were brought to its aid. This was done by Moses against idolatry, of which the prohibition was a fundamental maxim of his polity, and by the Romans for the security of the tribunes of the people. It is a matter of course that this artifice must not be used too lavishly." Even for the most insignificant and lowest purposes he would let religion serve as a means. The religious importance which is ascribed to the enjoined purification of the camp could not be seriously meant; the object which, if plainly avowed, would not have made a sufficient impression, was merely the prevention of noisome effluvia; Moses speaks as if whoever dressed a kid in its mother's milk committed an act of impiety; but in this manner the astute lawgiver intended to accustom the stupid people to dress their food not with butter, but olive-oil, this being much more savoury. The prohibition of eating fat and blood under the pretence that they belonged to the altar, and were too sacred to be eaten, had for its real but concealed reason, that the use of fat in their cookery by a people liable to diseases of the skin would have been prejudicial, and likely to aggravate such complaints." (Compare Part iv., § 171, 205-6.) This example of mean political maxims attributed to Moses is, indeed, the coarsest and most glaring, but by no means the only one. Another, which is more refined, but nevertheless suited by itself alone, if it were well founded, to shake the divine mission of Moses, and, consequently, the genuineness of the Pentateuch, runs through the whole book. Michaelis is at once an opponent of the divine right and an advocate for the unlimited power of the magistracy. The latter, in his opinion, proceeds from the people's favour; but, then, as the representative of the popular will, it is to rule over all things, while every divine right is always limited and confined within a prescribed circle. This view, taken from modern impiety, he also attributes to Moses, and carries out the principle to an absurd and ridiculous extent. The lawgiver inspects the bed-rooms and the cooking apparatus. He cares so tenderly for his subjects as to enjoin them to dress their food not with butter, but with olive-oil, because it is more palatable. "This," Michaelis remarks, "many a reader in Germany will say is deli-

caety even to excess, but it might be useful for a people who were going to be led into a country like Palestine." The lawgiver forces health on his subjects by heroic means. Houses, for example, that were infected with leprosy he ordains shall be pulled down, out of concern for the health of the inhabitants. He shows the tenderest regard for weak nerves : the leper was not allowed to dwell in the camp, and was to veil his face that no one might be disgusted by so loathsome a spectacle, or take fright by being unexpectedly touched by the diseased. Such legislative tenderness would prove unmerciful even for those who received the benefit, by victimizing others. Who would not experience some disgust, and be shocked now and then, rather than feel the hands of the police for ever on their necks ?

On all occasions Michaelis evinces the most painful apprehension of getting off the ground that was common to himself and his opponents, not merely, perhaps, because he was afraid that they would not follow him beyond it, but chiefly because here he himself felt most at home. Yet, notwithstanding, in everything which could be settled only on the basis of vital piety he was preparing for his opponents an easy triumph. For all the acuteness he exerted could not eventually conceal the weakness of his defences on the ground of natural causes ; and that the supernatural ground was not tenable seemed settled by the concessions of the supernaturalist champion. Thus the opinion that God, when he declared (Exodus xxxiv. 24) that, during the journeys to attend the annual feasts, no enemy should invade the land of Israel, thereby pledged himself to reward faithfulness by faithfulness—he rejects, in terms which are too crude even for those who retain the deistical belief in Providence, " Could we indeed venture, so to interpret the words of Moses, as if he had promised a periodical miracle from God, that, for three weeks every year, all the enemies of the Israelites should be changed into stocks ? " We might fancy the " lord on whose hand the king leaned " (2 Kings 7) was another Sir John Michaelis. According to Michaelis, Moses only directed the people to rely on the supposed customary law of nations, according to which a regard was paid by one people to the religious observances of another, and a temporary cessation of hostilities was granted during the celebration of a festival. Thus he remarks (Part 2, § 74), in reference to the law of the Sabbatical year, that, according to it, whatever

appearance of religiousness it might have, its only object was to secure the laying up in store of the grain. Should God indeed have pledged himself to such a periodical miracle, which, after all, would not have been needed, if Moses had given no law of the kind, to which the people could not adhere?" What a crude notion of the common course of nature does this language imply! How inconsequential it is when a man who is so incapable of discerning the traces of God in Nature, will yet partially adhere to them in History! Thus he disputes the *divine* title of the Israelites to Palestine, and vainly labours with all the technicalities of a special pleader to prove their *human* title! Of the essential nature of the theocracy he had no perception. That by which the theocracy is said to have chiefly manifested itself, as in the decision through the medium of oracles, or the divine presence in a cloud, &c., belongs almost solely to the Mosaic age, and appears in its isolation so singular, so *ex abrupto*, that it would be lost as soon as touched by the hand of mythical interpretation. "The theocracy as to its main design was only an appellation which would more conveniently exclude idolatry." (Part i, § 35.) On Exodus xix. 5, where the Israelites are denominated a kingdom of priests, he observes—"The phrase seems to be taken from the Egyptians, among whom the priests had great privileges, possessed land free of tribute, and received, besides, their maintenance from the king." How can a writer who has so indistinct a perception of the nature of the people of God recognise the being of God as manifested in history, and dwelling among his people? The point of contrast between the Old Testament and heathenism which always strikes him is the most superficial of all, that of monotheism and polytheism. The highest object of the law appears to him the negative one of preventing idolatry; he entirely loses sight of its positive object, the production of a living knowledge of God. Owing to this low view of the nature of religion, it is quite natural that he regards its claims with an unfavourable eye. Thus he points out in the additions to the *Mosaisches Rechte* (in Ammon's and Bertholdt's Journal part iv., p. 356), that many among Abraham's servants were already circumcised; otherwise, for eight days all work must have ceased, and the cattle could not have been foddered. So he takes immense pains to find out dietetical, medical, juridical, and other ends, for all the laborious and burdensome ceremonial laws, in order

to show that the Levites might earn their income (which was much larger than they deserved as servants of religion) in the capacity of physicians, land-surveyors, and scholars.

It is remarkable that Michaelis, from this anti-supernatural point of view, leaves, in general, the miracles of the Pentateuch untouched, and only attempts an explanation on mere natural principles, where Le Clerc had led the way, as, for instance, in Exodus xiv. But this may be easily accounted for, if we consider that, to a natural explanation of the miracles, or even to the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, it was not so easy to make a gentle and unobserved transition from the ancient view. In this case he would have been placed under the necessity of openly opposing it, which he could not, and did not, like to do, owing to his education, and, perhaps, the remains of early piety, not to say that, during the prime of his life, he was in a measure still restrained by the spirit of the age.

But however close the connection of the deterioration of biblical exposition which we have described, with the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, yet still important causes must have come into operation, owing to which, exactly in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the transition from the one to the other began, and became more and more general. Without such causes the dangerous consequence would have been suppressed by the power of custom, or a reaction would have taken place within the department of exegesis. For the existence of such causes, which had long been silently preparing, the deterioration of exegesis itself leads us. For if this is not accidental, if it has its origin in a new spirit of the age, constantly spreading, and becoming more strongly marked in opposition to that of earlier times, then the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch is not only affected by an erroneous exegesis, but the spirit of the age must also stand in a direct relation to it.

The last age regarded the Past, in general, and, therefore, all historical tradition, with a filial piety. This sentiment was, on the whole, an effect of humility. In disparaging the Past, men felt as if they were injuring the roots of their own existence; they had no wish to be thrown entirely on themselves. As in all other instances, so in this, abuse and excess were mingled with the good. Though individuals were by no means wanting who practised historical criticism with an unprejudiced mind, yet, in general, there was an excessive respect for all which bore the name of history; men were

kept back from beginning to meddle with historical criticism by a secret dread of what it might lead to.

In the second half of the seventeenth century this reverence for history began gradually to diminish, first in England, Holland, and France (we need only mention Bayle and Hardouin), then, after the accession of Frederic II., also in Germany, where the love of negation being once awakened by that spirit of inquiry which is peculiar to the German nation, assumed an exceedingly dangerous form. In proportion as men, proud and self-confident, believed that they stood in a more exalted position in reference to the past, the greater liberties they presumed might be taken with its monuments. In no case did they suspect that possibly the destructive process might be carried too far. The consciousness of their inherent power was strengthened when they succeeded in overturning what a blind past had supported itself upon. Every time an old structure fell in ruins a shout of triumph burst forth. In addition, the conceited spirit of the age gradually lost that love which might have enlarged the capacity of individual minds for admitting what was not indigenious, and likewise the power of apprehension. What men could not apprehend they thought themselves justified in rejecting.

This universal alteration in the disposition of the times towards history must not be lost sight of when we examine into the causes of their altered disposition towards the sacred books, and especially the Pentateuch. As all particulars rest on a general tendency, the attacks on Homer, for example, were in part productions of the same soil as those on the books of sacred writ, as has already been noticed by other writers. Thus Schubarth remarks*—"Since the last half of the eighteenth century a gladsome fresh feeling of nature has continually diffused itself, by which men have believed themselves enabled to draw from their own resources all the materials and substance of life. As a matter of course, every thing traditional from which men have hitherto been wont to take counsel, illumination, culture, and edification, has lost very much of the respect and consideration hitherto paid to it. A more lively, daring, impertinent, and even reckless, spirit has been brought into action. And so we see, after men have first tried to free themselves from a bur-

* Ideen über Homer und sein Zeitalter, 236.

dosome restraint in reference to the sacred writings, the same lawless spirit has extended itself to everything traditional, in order to get rid of it, rather than estimate it at its full value and intrinsic worth."

But this general explanation is far from reaching the whole of the case in reference to the Pentateuch. The strength of the grounds of its genuineness being what it is, this explanation accounts at most only for the denial of it as a temporary phenomenon in some isolated cases; but it does not account for the obstinacy with which the denial is maintained, and its wide spread. In profane literature, the period of doubting at random soon came to an end; and if instances of the kind every now and then occur, and show that the root of the perverted tendency is not quite dead, this only applies to individual cases, and cannot indicate the universal prevalence of the principle. External evidences once more resume their rightful position, and in reference to the internal evidences, there is no longer the same audacity. Men strive now to understand before they venture to pass judgment. Where no better motive operates, pride, at least, for a change, strives to build up what pride had pulled down. Every writer who has been deprived of his rights will be reinstated in due time *in integrum*. The turn which the recent inquiries concerning Homer have taken is generally known. Even those who still remain sceptical are essentially different from the earlier opponents. Where the latter saw nothing but confusion and accident, there the former acknowledge a deeply hidden unity—an organic connection, altogether different from what has happened with respect to the Pentateuch, where the ill-judged assertion of its fragmentary character is continually repeated. The orations of Cicero that were impugned by Wolfe, have been acknowledged as genuine. Socher's daring judgments on the Platonic Dialogues were received with indignation; and even the sentence of rejection also which Ast passed on some smaller and less important ones, is considered to have been too severe. Instead of persisting in maintaining their absolute spuriousness, it is thought enough to allow that they were the immature products of the Platonic genius.* The eighth book of Thucydides has been

* See Ritter. *Gesch. der Phil. Th. 2*, s. 170. Ackermann, *Das Christliche im Plato*, s. 21.

denied to be his, on account of the supposed difference in the style from that of the other books. Niebuhr considers this conclusion as a mere cutting of the knot, as unskillful arbitrariness. "I am of opinion," he observes,* "that the great writer's perfect sense of propriety is to be seen therein, that, since the solemnity and dignity rose continually higher, till the catastrophe in Sicily, from the point where the grandeur of the history terminated, the narration passed into a lower key. An inferior writer would have thought that the same pathetic dignity ought to have been retained throughout. For the period towards the close of the war, and during the tyranny, Thucydides would have returned to his elevated manner. The period of the long suffering of the undecided conflict required to be described in a more subdued tone." How much more easy is it to account for the difference of style between Deuteronomy and the other books of the Pentateuch from internal reasons! How much less need is there of that refined talent of observation which Niebuhr here exhibits! It presents itself to every unprejudiced person at once. That it is notwithstanding rejected so stoutly—that it is so rudely asserted that this difference shows incontestably a distinct authorship—makes it very evident, that a certain bias must be in operation by which profane literature remains unaffected. If we examine into the universal disapprobation with which a slight tendency to historical scepticism, even in celebrated men like O. Müller, has been received, we believe it may be confidently maintained, that a criticism so ridiculously arbitrary as that of De Wette, if it had been directed against the genuineness of a profane writer, or against a portion of profane history, would now be considered as being quite out of date, or would have only sufficed to confer on its author the unenviable celebrity of a Hardouin. And even if he had succeeded in exciting some notice in his day, a work like that of Vatke, had he chosen to exercise his acuteness on Herodotus, for example, instead of the Pentateuch, would have fallen still-born from the press. It would have been considered as transgressing the proper limits of philosophical enquiry.

How little the universal tendency of the age to historical scepticism will suffice to solve our problem, is shown by the fact, that several who have been very decided in their opposition to the ge-

* d. Kl. Schriften, Th. i. s. 469.

nineness and credibility of the Pentateuch, have shown on other occasions a deficiency of historical criticism, and are ever ready to admit claims of genuineness and credibility beyond almost any critic of note in earlier times. The same Volney, for example, who, with the bold flippancy of a Voltaire, refuses every vestige of historical truth to the Pentateuch, and the 14th chapter of whose *Recherches sur l'Histoire Ancienne*, is entitled, *Du personnage appelé Abraham*, appeals to the pretended Sanchoniathon (from whom the criticisms of even an unenlightened age has long since taken the mask), as to an unquestionable voucher, and makes use of him as a touch-stone (*lapis Lydius*) by which the merits of others must be tried. "Let us hear," he says, "Sanchoniathon, who lived about thirteen hundred years before our era."* Later writers, such as Nicol. Damascenus, Alex. Polyhistor, and Artapanus, whose surprising accounts are evidently only echoes of Jewish tradition, and for that reason have no intrinsic historical value, appeared to him of vast importance, as fitted to furnish weapons against the truth of the sacred history. Not by mere accident it has come to pass, that exactly that German critic who has been most successful in concealing the theological bias that animated him—who could venture, with well-grounded hope, to designate the charge made against him of dogmatic prepossession as *naïve*—that GESENIUS, before the eyes of all Europe, must make it known, how easy it would have been for him to acknowledge the genuineness of the Pentateuch, if the question had been to be decided merely at the tribunal of historical justice. He ran first into the snare of a French marquis, who had been playing the trick of putting forth a self-fabricated inscription as a discovered relic of antiquity. Gesenius recognised in it an important memorial for the history of Gnosticism, and commented on it in his Essay, *De inscriptione nuper in Cyrenaica reperta*. Scarcely had he got over the smart which, after the exposure of the trick by Boeckh, Kopp, and others, the unavoidable confession of his blunder must have occasioned—scarcely had he prepared, by important palaeographical investigations, to cause this error to be forgotten, when he was involved in still greater perplexity. A similar catastrophe to that produced by a few lines now befel him with a

* Econtons Sanchoniathon qui écrivit environ 1300 ans avant notre ère. Tome i. p. 166.

whole book. What a contrast between the youthful Wagenfield, M.D. in Bremen, and the primeval Sanchoniathon! If it was a "*salto mortale*" from Wagenfield to Philo, how much more from Philo to Sanchoniathon!

Another very important proof that the exact solution of the problem must be sought for elsewhere than in the common field of literature, arises from the fact, that the judgment of historians (and equally of other lay scholars) of later times, on the Pentateuch, is so essentially different from that of theologians—a phenomenon which can only be explained on the supposition, that the theologian, more than any other man, keeps his eyes shut, till he can find out what bearing a work has on his theological prepossessions, and lets everything else, good or evil, be accommodated to these; while the historian, although he is not free from prepossessions, yet in general is not enslaved to them to such a degree as to allow himself to be misled, to violate the principles of historical justice, and to become a traitor to history. We deem this point of sufficient importance to specify some few instances of the difference of that position. That, in our own times, the authority of the Pentateuch would be universally acknowledged, if it merely had to do with historical criticism—if it merely had to pass through the ordeal of the tendency to historical scepticism in general—may be inferred more decidedly from the facts which we intend to bring forward, if we reflect that the theologians have made every effort to perplex the point of view taken by the historians who, from a want of a knowledge of the language, and by the extent of the ground they have to occupy, are in many ways dependent upon them, besides being under a certain influence from the theological prepossessions which depend upon the spirit of the age, as we shall hereafter point out.

The position which HEEREN has taken in reference to the Pentateuch justly claims our first attention. He has, with evident design, avoided expressing himself distinctly and fully upon it. But this shyness is a plain proof of his want of confidence in the investigations of theologians. Without allowing himself to be deceived by their assurance, he is disposed to wait and see how the matter will end. As far as the accusations come under his cognisance, he finds no fault. He is not misled by the loud "crucify him!" of the theologians. In all his works, not a single suspicion is cast on the historical statements of the Pentateuch. Where

he alludes to it most frequently—the volume of his “Ideen,” relating to Egypt—he treats it as an undoubted trustworthy authority. The principal facts of the Pentateuch are recognised by him in his History of Antiquity as historically accredited. (p. 40, 4th ed.) In the same work, he remarks, in his account of the sources of Egyptian history, that the Mosaic notices contain, although not a continuous history, yet a faithful delineation of the state of Egypt, as it was at that time. As a subject for further oral exposition, he points out “the importance and pre-eminence of the Jewish accounts, as far as they are purely historical.” Particularly worthy of notice is an assertion he makes in a review of Rossellini’s work on Egypt. “We cannot, however, close this review without expressing a wish that a learned Orientalist would subject to a critical and impartial examination, the section in pp. 254-270, and the sheet of the Atlas belonging to it, *Monumenti civili*, No. 49, representing the manufacture of bricks. If this sepulchral picture represents the bond-service of the children of Israel in this employment, it is equally important for exegesis and chronology:—for exegesis, because it would be a striking proof of the high antiquity of the Mosaic writings, and especially of Exodus, the narrative of which, in the first and fifth chapters, it represents with the greatest fidelity, even to minute details; for chronology, since it relates to the eighteenth dynasty, under the reign of Thutmes-Moeris, about 1740 years before Christ, and would give a fixed point for profane as well as for sacred history. According to the inscriptions which here, as well as elsewhere, stand above the figures, it is the tomb of an inspector of the royal buildings in Egypt, Roscéré by name.” In how many ways must not the genuineness of the Mosaic writings have recommended itself to persons who will allow these witnesses coming forth from the tombs to give evidence on its behalf, though the theologians would at once stop their mouths; like the negro who pushed back into the coffin, without ceremony, the man who was recovering from apparent death, saying, “I have a certificate of thy death in my pocket.”

From Heeren we turn to JOHN VON MÜLLER. This writer has always adhered to his acknowledgment of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. Even while his religious development was still imperfect, he held the same language. The genuineness approved it-

self to the historian before it did to the Christian. His native candour led him to acknowledge the internal grounds of genuineness, and what seemed to speak against it, he understood precisely, for that very reason, how to appreciate. Thus, in his *Universal History*, he says: "Every trait of the first book (*Genesis*) has its relation to circumstances and objects which are only in harmony with his (Moses') position. When the author makes mention of the patriarch of his own nation, the spirit of truth manifests itself; his whole style is striking and characteristic, and its minute peculiarities stamp it with the seal of authenticity. It was indeed the custom of remote antiquity to omit the relation of particular circumstances, and represent great events in a more elevated and striking manner, as proceeding from the will and act of the first cause; in order that the sense directed towards a practical effect, while it moved the soul with a stronger feeling of solemnity, being unburdened with minute distinctions, might simply impress the sentiment of dependence on the universal Ruler, and of resignation under his government, which speaks to us in the voice of nature." (Vol. i. p. 337, Eng. Trans. London, 1818.) The ceremonial law, in which theologians saw only a monument of refined priestcraft—a system of outward religious observances of an age in which the spirit of religion had been lost (see De Wette, *Krit. s. 279, &c.*)—appeared to him perfectly worthy of a divine messenger, as altogether in accordance with the spirit of Moses and the character of his age. "He ordained a great allegorical system of observances, consisting wholly in actions; so that, while the simple moral law only contained the renovated faith of the patriarchs, with the addition of warnings and examples, the ritual kept the people unceasingly employed in ceremonies, striking to the senses, and sufficient to satisfy the most restless activity. That he cleared up the hidden sense of various rites, and derived them by tradition from antiquity, is an opinion which is supported by many vestiges; yet he might have foreseen that intelligent men would not have lost their true sense without such aid." (Vol. i. p. 334, Eng. Tr.) And in another passage he removes with ease stumbling-blocks which theologians had thrown in the way. "The repetitions," he remarks (in his *Notes on the Books of Moses*, in Appendix to his brother, J. G. Müller's *Blicken in die Bibel*, vol. ii. p. 176), "are in the spirit of olden time." And again,

“As soon as we reflect on the greatness of the aim, the repetition is no longer tedious; everything shows why it is so.” On the ethnological list in Genesis x., which, though feeling inclined to retain as historical, the theologians explain as a ridiculous anachronism, *he* remarks (the historian not so credulous as they, taking every little discovery for granted as being true, nor so unscientific as they are, holding slight etymological combinations as sufficient to erect the structure of history, or to pull it down);—“The journeys are quite geographically true. With this chapter the whole of universal history may be said to begin.” (P. 458.) These *Notes* show, however, that his conviction of the genuineness of the Pentateuch cannot be traced to some prejudice accidentally existing, and nourished by a want of knowledge, but that it was rather the result of profound and incessant study. If the Pentateuch were really of such indifferent historical quality as the theologians assert, then it would be imperative on us to strike John Müller off the list of our great historians.

LUDEN also does not feel much inclined to receive the gifts of the Danai without examination. He takes no pains to conceal that the Pentateuch makes quite a different impression on him from what it does on the theologians; and although he does not venture to enter into a decided and absolute opposition to them, yet he carefully avoids making distinct concessions, anticipating that the question might easily take a different direction, which might cause him to regret having made these concessions. “If we consider,” he remarks (*Der Geschichte des Alterth.* Jena, 1819, s. 60), “how and when these writings in all probability originated, and if we bear in mind what relation the children of Israel thought that they bore to Jehovah, and how the history of their adventures corresponds to this relation, we may indulge scepticism on some particular events, but on the whole the course of their history is pretty evident.” “Their great increase in the course of more than four hundred years is in accordance with the nature of things; the severe oppression to which they were at last subjected, is very conceivable, and still more their longing after the never-forgotten land of their fathers.” (P. 61.) “The forty years’ sojourn in the wilderness was wise, and exhibits Moses in all his greatness.” (P. 62.) “The law which Jehovah gradually gave to the Israelites, through Moses, partly under awful and terrifying

circumstances, is most remarkable, and deserves to be deeply studied, not only because it is the oldest, or because it is distinguished by its internal connection, but also and principally because foreign (Egyptian) institutions are adapted with so much wisdom to the manners and national character of the Israelites." (P. 63.)

"But forty years in the wilderness, among signs and wonders, were not sufficient to educate the degraded, stiff-necked people, and to render them holy to the Lord. The sublime songs of Moses did not keep alive their enthusiasm for Jehovah; the record of their wonderful guidance (the oldest monument of written history) did not bind the people in fidelity to their God." (P. 64.)

WACHLER, in his *Manual of the History of Literature*, 2d ed. part i. p. 78, thus expresses himself: "Moses, the founder of the Hebrew national constitution, was a prototype to succeeding generations as a leader, lawgiver, poet, and historian. The five books distinguished by his name are, for the greater part, very ancient in their contents, and belong to the period of his renowned administration. Views respecting Divine and earthly things—political considerations—clear glances into futurity—gushings forth of deep feeling, are deposited in them." "The oldest poetry of the Hebrews was epic, and celebrated the creation of the world and the primeval history of the human race with an immediate reference to their national history. It received its form from Moses, who also gave the first example of the lyric." (P. 79.)

The statements of SCHLOSSER respecting the undeniable Mosaic origin of the principal portions of the Pentateuch will be given in another part of this volume.

LEO, who at first, in his Lectures on Jewish History, had fully submitted to the authority of the theologians, and was exhibited by them in great triumph as one of their adherents, for which they had so much greater cause, as he was really the first historian of any note whom they had succeeded in catching hold of, began, after a time, to see more and more with his own eyes, and observed, that, while eagerly tracking the vestiges of a pretended great priestly cabal in Israel, he had himself been caught in the snares of an actual priestly cabal in Germany. At last, he publicly renounced his allegiance, and resumed his position in the historical department. In his *Manual of Universal History*, vol. i. p. 570, he thus expresses himself respecting the Pentateuch: "After a tho-

rough investigation of what has of late been written on this subject, we have attained a firm historical conviction, that the essential portions of the book of the law, as well as a great part of what forms the basis of the Pentateuch and the historical details, (which, as to their import and design, are never to be entirely separated from the laws), proceeded from Moses himself, and that the formation of the whole into one collection was accomplished, if not by Moses, yet certainly soon after Moses, perhaps the greater part in his lifetime, and under his inspection; and that the different result to which some have been led by those critical inquiries, which, on the score of erudition, are very valuable, is entirely founded on this circumstance, that due regard has not been paid to the difference between the East and the West, between that refined reflexion and intellectualism practised in modern times respecting all natural dictates and doings, and the childlike simplicity of antiquity with all its phenomena and peculiarities of condition.

VON ROTTECK has given himself so entirely to the spirit of the age from which theologians have imbibed their prejudices against the Pentateuch, that we could not be surprised if he shared these prejudices in all their extent. This, however, is not the case. There is still a great difference between him and De Wette. For example, in his *Survey of the Historical Sources of the First Ages*, he remarks, "We cannot but be aware that in preference to all these objectionable accounts (respecting the formation of the earth and of man, by Sanchoniathon, Zoroaster, and in general all the Oriental, Chinese, Thibetian, Indian, and also Grecian historians and philosophers), the narrative contained in the first book of Moses, is distinguished, as well by a representation more consonant to reason and the eternal laws of nature as by unadulterated tradition; and therefore these Mosaic records, which moreover may be regarded on good grounds as the most ancient belonging to our race, gain approbation and respect at the tribunal of a merely philosophical criticism, apart from all religious considerations. A similar verdict must be given in reference to the primeval history of man. Here, also, the Mosaic narrative has so manifest a superiority above all profane writers, that we cannot refuse it, at least comparatively, a high degree of credibility." In his *Summary of the Sources of Jewish History*, he says, "We possess, respecting the history of no other people in this period, accounts

equally ancient, circumstantial and credible. The above-mentioned biblical writers (we say nothing here of inspiration) were for the most part eye-witnesses and parties in the events narrated, or at least were placed in a position which qualified them to collect and compare the ancient records, monuments, and traditions respecting the early national transactions. These traditions go back to the cradle, to the first origin of the Hebrew people, and we cannot hesitate about their credibility, as far as concerns the leading facts; the subordinate circumstances, and what may be called the drapery of the representation, stand on a different footing."

Among all the historians of modern times, who are either of importance, or have the reputation of being so, not a single one remains on the side of our opponents. They must content themselves with writers like MANNERT, who, in a *Manual of Ancient History* (Berlin, 1818), that is scarcely known, if not quite neglected, sometimes speaks as they do. As to men of this turn of thinking, what they are is sufficiently shown by such expressions as those at page 12, where the pre-eminence of man before the brutes is said to consist only in fingers, an upright walk, and language—"other animals also possess the rudiments of reason;" and page 6, where a violent attack against the reality of the Deluge is made in these words, "One is shocked at the thought that God's righteousness could destroy the innocent beasts, because guilty men had acted against his commands." The worthy man, it is to be hoped, has carefully avoided eating any meat, for the slaughter of beasts is, according to this view, a kind of fratricide—to eat them is a Thyestean entertainment. Men of this sort, I repeat, cannot be appealed to on such an occasion, even if they were still more richly endowed. Where every sense for the moral sublime is wanting, where there is a real aversion to everything divine, historical justice can no longer be administered in the department of sacred history—the historian then becomes involuntarily a spoiled theologian, especially if he was originally something of the kind. Neither can we acknowledge the competency of a philosophising historian. Let history be sold into the service of a philosophy, such as the Hegelian, and of course the consequence will be a friendly agreement of the historian with the pseudo-theologians. For, like the latter, the philosophical historian does not think with tender conscientiousness on what lies before him, unconcerned what sort of results it may

give, but makes it his sole business to bring his materials into conformity to his prepossessions, and these, according to the newest philosophy, do not allow the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch. But on this head we need not be apprehensive. That history will be conducted on better principles in future, such works, for instance, as RANKE'S on the Papacy, furnish us with a happy pledge.

We remark further, that the most distinguished chronologer has joined the ablest historians of modern times. IDELER, in his *Manual of Chronology*, Berlin, 1825, not only presupposes the Mosaic origin of the law, but maintains it in positive terms. Thus, for instance, he says, (Part i. p. 479), "During these forty years' journey through the stony and desert Arabia, their leader gave them a constitution which was to be completely put in practice on their entrance into the Canaan promised to them—the ancient residence of their nomadic ancestors. This constitution was decidedly calculated to form them into an agricultural people, as is clearly indicated by their calendar, which regulates the celebration of their feasts and holidays." The chronologer tests, as is fair, the authenticity of the Pentateuch by its relation to his science; and, as he finds everything here in order, as it must be, on the supposition of its authenticity, he pays no attention to the loud outcry of the theologians.

After having shown that the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch cannot be satisfactorily accounted for, by the universal tendency of the age to historical scepticism, we must, therefore, endeavour to point out the precise explanation of the fact; and this lies in the proneness of the age to Naturalism, which has its root in estrangement from God. Because men have no experience in their own minds of the presence of a living, personal, and holy God, they endeavour to blot out the traces of his being from the pages of history. For, since internally all goes on in a purely natural course, so it would seem all things outwardly have gone on in a purely natural course too.

For this tendency the honourable name of mental culture (*Bildung*) has been claimed, but certainly without justice. Naturalism can only be distinguished as an advance in mental culture, if in these modern times men had gained the intelligence that *that* which before, from want of knowledge of the laws of Nature, was

supposed to be supernatural, can now be explained by these laws. But since the extension of Natural knowledge has not reached this point, since what was before supernatural still remains so, the name of mental culture cannot be used without great impertinence. It only involves those who make use of it in a multitude of absurdities. They must, first of all, maintain against all evidence that the friends of the mythical system of the present age are superior in mental culture to the defenders of biblical truth. Then the history of the attacks on the Pentateuch, as on the Holy Scriptures in general, has a *partie honteuse*, which great care is taken to conceal, so that no suspicion of it arises from the representations given, for instance, by Hartmann. If the fame of mental culture is now to be connected with the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, those illustrious forerunners of it must also be acknowledged, who hitherto have been wont to be regarded as extremely rude and uncultivated, such as the *Libertini* in Calvin's time, the *canes, porci, nebulones*, as he calls them, who derided the Pentateuch,* or the author of the "*Catechisme de l'honnête homme*,"† who says (p. 10) —“The events narrated in the Pentateuch astonish those who have the misfortune to judge only by their reason, and in whom this blind reason is not enlightened by special grace,”—who, therefore, already possess that cultivated understanding, according to which De Wette from the first is certain of the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, because it narrates miracles and prophecies; or the vulgar *Edelmann*, to whom the Pentateuch is nothing but “fragments patched together, nobody knows by whom, in their present state,” probably by that “arch Jewish priest Ezra” (*Moses mit aufgedeckten Angesicht*, p. 9, &c.); or the two blasphemous and half-crazy nuns in a cloister of Tuscany, who, according to De Potter (*Vie de Scipio Ricci*, t. i., p. 115, ed. 2.), declared, when judicially examined, that they in nowise believed that Moses, and the other authors of

* See Calvin on Genesis vi. 14 (Noah's Ark.) “Hoc Porphyrius vel quispiam alius canis, fabulosum esse obganniet, quia non apparet ratio, vel quia est insolitum, vel quia repugnat communis ordo naturæ. Ego regero contra, totam hanc Mosis narrationem, nisi miraculis referta esset, frigidam et jejunam et ridiculam fore dico.” On Genesis xlix. 1. “Sed oblatrant quidam protervi canes: unde Mosi notitia sermonis in obscuro tugurio ante ducentos annos habiti?”

† See Lilienthal, *Die gute Sache der gött. Offenb.*, Th. xii. 441. *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiast. pendant le dix huitième Siècle.* T. ii., Paris 1806, p. 35.

the books which compose the Holy Bible, were more worthy of consideration than Plutarch, for example, or any other profane writer. Strange fathers and mothers these of mental culture! Harbingers of the rising sun of enlightenment!

In what manner Naturalism forms the peculiar animating principle in the attacks against the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is already evident from the violent attempts which have been made (before proceeding to extremities) in order to bring the Pentateuch in this respect into agreement with the reigning spirit of the age.

EICHHORN (who in very brief but significant terms lets us know his position in reference to religion; *Introduction*, part iii. p. 176 —“As for us who have dived into the causes of things, the name of God in these cases is often to us a *superfluous expletive*”) —labours to explain away every thing supernatural, every thing that presupposes the presence of a living, personal God. That he and his contemporaries did not shrink from the enormous sacrifices which were requisite for this purpose, shows how strong the bias was—how completely it accounted for the expedient which at a later period was caught hold of, when it was no longer practicable to conceal the nakedness of the one at first employed. Let us point out some few proofs how the dread of the hand from the clouds contented them as long as the grounds for the genuineness were still respected! The narrative of the faction of Korah Eichhorn thinks (*Introduction*, part iii., p. 303) occasions no difficulty as long as we bear in mind the nature of symbolical language. “In order to represent in the most frightful colours the awfulness of the unwonted punishment which was destined for Korah, namely, *the being buried alive*, might not the earth be said to open and swallow him up, and thus bring him down alive to the realms of death?” Equally easy it would be to divest the apparent miracle of Aaron’s rod that blossomed of all that was miraculous. “When Aaron had newly obtained the high priesthood, and his family the priestly dignity, by means of drawing lots with rods, and his rod, as a sign that it had decided successfully for Aaron and his family, was carried round the camp, crowned with blossoms, leaves, and fruit, and then, as a lasting evidence of the event against any future attack on his dignity, laid up in the sanctuary, was there anything improbable in all this?” The shining of Moses’ face, he thinks, could only have been deemed miraculous as long as the nature of

electricity was not known. Had Eichhorn, instead of Moses, been in a storm on Mount Sinai, on his descent he would have shone equally so, down to the toes, if he had previously thrown off his clothes. "But he (Moses) came down in the evening from the mountain, and those who saw him remarked only the shining of his countenance (because the rest of his body was covered by his clothes), the origin of which he and his contemporaries could not explain on physical grounds; was it not natural that Moses should impute it to what he was already convinced was a fact, to his intercourse with the Deity?" (P. 280.) The pillar of cloud and of fire is, in his opinion, nothing more than the usual signal given on marches, by means of the smoke of the caravan fires. (P. 298.) In reference to the plagues of Egypt, it is shown—"That Moses, by means of annoying natural occurrences that returned every year, effected the release of his nation from Egypt." (P. 253.) This he believes to be proved in the essay *de Ægypti anno mirabili*, from which we could have made some very curious extracts, if what has been already adduced were not sufficient to evince that a bias, which could mislead to so palpable a denial of the dictates of a sound understanding, would be also strong enough without, and against, all the reasons contained in the subject, to settle the question of the genuineness of the Pentateuch.

Yet with a frankness which proceeded from confidence in the potency of the spirit of the age, the true reasons of the attempt to invalidate the Mosaic records was avowed; and only in more recent times, when the predominance of this spirit had ceased to be universal, and men began to feel, that mere supposition could not serve for proof, they began to conceal this ground, and to put on an appearance as if altogether free from dogmatical prepossessions, and, guided merely by the principles of historical criticism, the authenticity of the Pentateuch was denied, contrary to all inclination, and necessitated solely by these principles. But in the latest times, when the spirit of the age had again acquired strength, and become conscious of this strength, (since it has succeeded, aided by the pantheistic tendencies of the times to constitute itself, an all-directing spirit, possessing the attribute of infallibility, and therefore above noticing the powerless opposition of those who have not kept pace with the age), the mask has once more been thrown aside.

In proof of what has been just advanced, we must here quote a few expressions. Corrodi, who, as we have already seen, took the lead among the deniers of the genuineness, says, after recounting various miracles, "Are not these evident traces of a later narrator who was no eye-witness of the events?" But miracles are the only reason for his scepticism. Hence he satisfies himself with maintaining the later authorship of the narratives; the law he allows to be Mosaic. Stäudlin, in his *History of the moral doctrine of Jesus*, vol. i. p. 118, remarks: "Although with regard to the historical portion of this book, suspicion is excited from the circumstance, that every part has such a colouring of the miraculous, and that many passages are of such a character, that they must either have been written long after Moses, or have been greatly interpolated, yet there are strong reasons for believing that the law at least was given, recorded, and arranged by Moses." As Diderot on his death-bed declared, that "incredulity was the first step to philosophy,"* so the reviewer of Fritzsche's *Vindication of the genuineness of the Pentateuch*, in Ammon and Bertholdt's *Journal*, part iv. p. 389, considers incredulity to be the basis of criticism; whatever cannot be explained by natural causes, must fall to the ground. "When the author, on Gen. xlix., remarks, 'I am of opinion that Jacob, illumined by a superior light, might have been able to foresee all this,' he removes himself from the position of the critic who seeks to assign the ground of an existing phenomenon, and assumes that of a dogmatist who cuts the knot." In the section on "The Spirit of Hebrew Historiography," (Introd. part iii. p. 745), to which no more suitable motto could be given than the author's own words, (p. 746), "The world is confessedly a mirror, and just as one looks into a mirror, so one looks out of it again," Bertholdt has rendered the whole "historico-critical" investigation respecting the Pentateuch that follows, quite superfluous; it appears to be a work of supererogation that is only undertaken on account of weak minds. The quintessence of this section is, that everything implying the presence of a living God is fiction. We call mythology, it is said, every historical narrative that partakes of the supersensual; but the mythical character is impressed with peculiar

* Le premier pas vers la philosophie c'est l'incredulité. *Memoires, corresp., etc. de Diderot*, t. i. p. 56. Paris, 1830.

force on those narratives in which the Divine agency enters into the history, in revelations and miracles. He openly represents unbelief as the basis of criticism. A knowledge which goes beyond the natural position of the Mosaic age must at once be denied, as to go beyond natural bounds is impossible; so it is settled at once, and without subjecting individual instances to trial, that such things cannot really *be* nor *have been*, (p. 773.) “As to the usual opinion, that all those passages and sections in the Pentateuch, relating to events that occur not till after the time of Moses, are to be regarded as prophecies, we must praise the good intention, but criticism must not take a bribe; its sole object must be to search out and bring to light historical truth.” De Wette is also quite as explicit (Beitr. ii. p. 10): by whose words, “many things take a different turn from what we imagine;” one is involuntarily reminded of 1 Kings xx. 40, “And as thy servant was busy here and there, he was gone.” Among the “maxims” which disclose his method of treating the Israelitish history, he says, (p. 15,) “A narrator who, *bona fide*, narrates things which (from the anti-supernatural point of view) are utterly impossible and inconceivable, which overstep not only experience, but also the Laws of Nature, and gives them as history, adduces them as forming part of the series of historical events—such a writer, though he may intend to narrate history as history, is no historian—he does not occupy a historical position—he is a poetical narrator; and such a narrator deserves no credit whatever; for though other facts narrated by him may appear probable and natural, yet they cannot be received as such in this connection with things of another world; for, like them, they also may be fictitious.” Against a criticism formed on such maxims, the Israelitish history cannot indeed stand; but one does not see the use of criticism at all, if these maxims be admitted; in this case, the light ridicule of Voltaire would be a much more suitable weapon than a ponderous criticism. In the three first editions of De Wette’s Introduction to the Old Testament, he remarks, at the very beginning of his investigations respecting the Pentateuch, § 145: “With this is connected the consideration that so many events contradict the laws of nature, and pre-suppose an immediate intervention and agency of God. If, to a cultivated understanding, it is a settled point that such miracles never really

happened, then it becomes a question whether they perhaps so *appeared* to the alleged eye-witnesses and actors ; but this also must be negatived," &c. ; and thus the result is already obtained, that the narrative was not contemporary, nor taken from contemporary sources." The spuriousness of the Pentateuch is thus relieved from all investigation, and must be maintained, however strong the reasons alleged to the contrary. In the fourth edition, we find these words, slightly, but very essentially altered. It is there said : " When to the cultivated understanding it is at least *doubtful* that such miracles have taken place." Here we have a specimen of the accommodation noticed above. Hartman bestows another specimen on us. He no longer (p. 358) alleges miracles in general as a reason for the mythical character, " but the frequent mixture of miracles without an object, or for the attainment of insignificant ends ;" although, according to his own entire religious position, even the sparing mixture of suitable miracles for the attainment of important objects, must furnish evidence of a mythical character. In a new edition of De Wette's Introduction, we venture to expect to see the third stage, the return to openness, occupied ; for meanwhile, as the Preface to his Commentary on Matthew shows, his confidence in the progress of mental culture, and his contempt for those who see in it only the spirit of the age, have increased surprisingly. Yet we need not wait for De Wette ; the third stage has already found its representative. Or is it perchance not simply the former frankness, when Von Bohlen says (Gen. Introd. p. 36) : " Criticism, as such, is always incredulous ;" and when Vatke (p. 9) remarks : " Very many reasons, sometimes the principal ones, by which a supposed ancient book is referred to a later age, are of a dogmatical kind." Why they attribute now a greater weight to these dogmatical reasons than formerly, proceeds from the fact that they are systematically ignorant of the ablest vindications of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. They do not read them, much less refute them. Thus not one of the three latest opponents of the genuineness—Von Bohlen, Vatke, and George—has read Ranke's profound work.

In reference to the mode of carrying out the maxim, that only what may be traced to natural causes can be considered as historical, and narrated by an eye-witness, a distinction may be noted. At first this principle was applied only to what palpably

surpassed Nature—miracles and prophecies. But De Wette had a perception that one could not very well stop there—that the application of this maxim to the criticism of the Pentateuch must furnish a far richer tribute. So he makes it a valid argument *against* the truth of the history of the Deluge, that Noah could by no means have foreseen that event, and *in favour* of the mythical character of the history of Abraham, that owing to his wife's barrenness it is not to be imagined he could hope to be the progenitor of a nation, and equally inconceivable the hope of the possession of the land of Canaan by his descendants. "For who could ever entertain such a fancy?" (*Beit. i.*, p. 63.) Then, again, he is certain that all the expressions in the Pentateuch respecting the future calamities of Israel did not proceed from Moses. "For Moses could not have indulged so melancholy a presentiment of the destiny of his people." And if this sort of argumentation were in a certain measure kept within the ancient bounds, inasmuch as it is only the rigid application of a judgment long ago pronounced on the prophecies, yet the expression (p. 62)—"Could Abraham, indeed, have been capable of a piety such as is ascribed to him in Genesis?" (compare p. 114)—manifestly goes beyond them, and opens the way to a fresh host of dogmatical ratiocinations against the genuineness of the Pentateuch. Nature is here viewed as far more fixed than it was in the earlier application of these maxims. God is far more absolutely confined to Heaven; the possibility is denied to him not only of a gross and palpable, but of a refined and inward, operation. Abraham's piety cannot be explained by the laws of natural development, consequently it never existed!

Meanwhile, as long as theism was to be retained, such scattered observations were all that could be attempted, and a consequential carrying out of the maxims could not be thought of. Even the denial of miracles and prophecies cannot from the theistical point of view conceal their origin from that bias, their evil conscience; they may twist and turn as much as they please, they cannot produce any plausible argument against the possibility of miracles and prophecies. If there is a God, he can also manifest himself; if he created Nature, it must unconditionally obey him, and can offer no resistance to his operation. And as to his secret and internal operation on Nature, how can any one deny its possibility, without giving up, at the same time, belief in Providence, and thus pass

over into the sphere of atheism or pantheism. For if Providence is not an empty name, not an unfortunate designation of Nature, as far as it is not understood, what else is it but the concealed and silent influence of the Almighty on natural causes?

In the present times, however, the difficulty is gradually lessening. The theism of such as do not recognise God in Christ is giving place to pantheism; or rather, that species of pantheism which had assumed the garb of theism is beginning to throw off its disguise. It becomes continually more self-conscious, and frees itself from its former foreign admixtures—from the pietist awkwardness which it could not at first shake off. The fundamental principle is now carried out to admiration. It is all over with miracles and prophecies; for who could have performed the one or announced the other? In the syllogism—"One God is in the heavens, who doeth whatsoever he will"—which has given so much trouble to deism, the major is maliciously denied. And thus everything else is lost which cannot be explained by the laws of fixed natural development. If things of this sort (miracles) were to happen, the becoming God (*der werdende Gott*) must needs anticipate his own becoming (*sein eignes Werden*), which is inconceivable!

Vatke's work represents this advance in alienation from God, and in carrying out the consequences of the system. When he says (p. 185)—"In these positive results of the criticism of the oldest Hebrew tradition which are here brought forward, we have advanced a step further than the common critical view, and maintain that a consequential carrying out of critical principles necessarily leads to it"—we must quite agree with him, it being supposed that among the critical principles that are advanced those in the interest of unbelief are to be considered. But it is a question whether these are not rather entirely to be given up. The author has not proved the contrary. He assumes with wonderful ingenuousness his pantheistic position to be correct, and since he tries the Pentateuch according to the principles of the Natural development of religion, laid down in the Introduction, he makes *all that* available as evidence of its spuriousness, in which the earlier believing theologians saw evidence for the Divine origin of the Mosaic religion. But still the difficulty always remains, that, even if we place at the end what meets us at the beginning, of the Israelitish

history, yet among no other people of the earth can anything similar be found; not one in the way of natural development has attained to such a religious proficiency. This difficulty the author endeavours to remove by lessening to the utmost the difference between the Israelitish religion and heathenism, which he does with greater ease, since he takes his own religious position as a rule. Thus he says (p. 103): "If we compare the moral life of the Hebrews and the Greeks, we shall find the great difference considerably softened which their religious views respectively present, and the preference lies not seldom on the side of the Greeks, as their civil government especially shows, in which the whole moral life is concentrated." As the whole critical scheme of the author is saturated with dogmatical assumptions, and therefore can only have weight with those who stand on the same religious and philosophical position as himself, we will give here a few specimens of the rigid consequence with which he carries out his principles. At p. 102, the admission of a primitive revelation, such as the Pentateuch teaches, and which even the nobler heathens (Plato, for example,) acknowledged, is excluded in these words: "It presupposes an altogether outward representation of divine revelation, and contradicts the idea of religion, and the relation of the human mind to it, which attains to perfection only through a long succession of intermediate steps. That which is perfect is not found till we come to the end of the development"—this maxim being necessary on the pantheistic position, yet otherwise absurd, is here directed against a primitive revelation, as it has been by Strauss against the personality of Christ. The admission of a primitive revelation presupposes a quite outward presentation of a divine revelation, for it makes a distinction between the revealer and the being to whom it is revealed; whereas, according to the illumination to which philosophy in our day makes pretensions, both are one. The legends respecting the religion of the Patriarchs deserve no sort of credit; for if we allow them any historical value whatever, we have no scope left for the series of developments which religion must pass through, ere it attains the altitude at which we may see it in the Mosaic age, if we withdraw a great number of pure elements, and insert a number of impure ones. (P. 184.) The uncritical legend has lent Moses a multitude of religious views, which the spirit of the Israelites had not, till after

a long succession of later centuries produced. If we do not admit this, we must leave the ground of naturalism, and of course, surrender our cause. For from the pantheistic position, it is impossible that a whole nation can all at once retrograde from a higher style of religious culture to a lower; and equally impossible that a single individual should elevate himself suddenly from a lower stage to a higher one, and as suddenly elevate a whole nation along with himself. To some individuals we must, indeed, grant a higher form of self-consciousness; but we must not, even on the supposition of Divine revelations (of such, namely, as proceed from the becoming God, more correctly and honestly, a constitutional religiousness), detach them from the connection of the general life of mankind; hence we must often fill up the intermediate members where the legend is silent; or when this, on other grounds, is improper, we must lower the representation of those individuals by the standard of their age. This will be the case with Moses, especially since, on the supposition that the tradition respecting his agency were only for the greatest part faithful, we cannot comprehend his appearance, nor the whole course of the Jewish history; he would have appeared when the time was not yet ready for him—a greater wonder, therefore, than Christ himself.” (Pp. 181-183.) The Decalogue, under the form in which it is presented to us, could not possibly have proceeded from Moses; for the prohibition of image worship “must have been the offspring of an age in which the thought of the abstract ideality of God was a living one. But this thought pre-supposes a prodigious abstraction in a far higher degree than has been commonly supposed, and cannot be compared with the imageless worship of other nations. We cannot give the Mosaic age credit for such a giant stride.” (P. 233.) Thus also the Tenth Commandment is to be struck out. “For that the criminal *desire* after the property of others should be forbidden, appears to us improbable.” (P. 239.) Probably the place of this commandment originally might have been occupied by a prohibition against eating raw flesh! (P. 240.) The command, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,” belonged probably to the times before the captivity, but surely was not given till centuries after Moses. For “the moral sentiments of men must have passed through many stages before that great commandment could be expressed in this simple universality.” (P. 425.)

It is easy to see, that whoever applies the principle of natural development to such an extent as is here done, will not find it worth the trouble to make any further use of the instances from miracles and prophecies, which could only be brought forward at an earlier period. A public which might be presumed to be so favourably disposed (and on the *favourably disposed* readers the author has throughout calculated—for gaining over to his views the *indisposed* reader he has done next to nothing ; the historico-critical opposition to the genuineness of the Pentateuch can derive no aid from his book) as to enter into these subtleties, as soon as its attention was directed to them, required no further reference to those appearances that lie upon the surface. His silence respecting miracles and prophecies is very significant. It shows how far the author and his party are from even thinking them possible. They are not worth spending a word upon them. The belief in miracles belongs to “a long ago exploded view of the world.” When finally this principle is carried to its utmost length, as in the two last instances, in the sense of the author, Revelation and all religious sensibility falls to the ground. Unbelief here manifestly becomes pedantry. The passages in the Pentateuch where false gods are spoken of as nonentities, must be expunged as being of later date ; for the question respecting the existence of heathen gods belongs to a more advanced stage of reflection. (P. 232.) In like manner, the blending the particular and universal in the Divine dispensations, as it is expressed in the announcement of all nations being blessed in Abraham’s seed, suits a far later period. Moses could not originate the question,—how the universality of the Divine Being could be compatible with his becoming the national God of a small people. “The ordinances respecting the local unity of the Divine worship, an organised priesthood with a system of revenues, a complicated form of worship, &c., cannot be explained by the condition of the people at that period. Had they really existed in the Mosaic age, they must rather have had a higher object and prophetic character.” If passages occur in the Pentateuch which decidedly affirm the universal sinfulness of mankind, they are to be expunged. For “the knowledge of the universal sinfulness of mankind could only have then existed in the germ, since the formation of an objective sphere of rectitude and morality goes far before the subjective of conscience ; and, parallel

with it, the idea of the Divine holiness, not till a later period includes the subjective. As the Christ of the New Testament is, according to Strauss, a product of the Christian Church, so is the Moses of the Old Testament, according to Vatke, a product of the Israelitish Church, for whose production she has laboured through a long series of centuries. He boasts that, according to this view, the prophets would gain considerably. (P. 481.) The view held, that hitherto the system of prophecy grew out of the law, is at once rejected, as contrary to the process of natural development. To set up the latter form (the outwardly objective) as the commencing point of the Divine guidance of the theocratic state, is to mistake the relation of the immediate and the mediate, of revelation and reflection, of inward and outward objectivity." (P. 227.) By all these operations, the author obtains, at the end of his inquiry, the result which from the first he had declared to be settled previous to all examination. "To sum up all, it appears that the result of the Mosaic agency was not a finished whole but the starting point and outbreak of a higher development; the elements of the national mind were not yet harmonized, not even in the conceptions of Moses; the conflict was still to be carried on, and only by degrees could the popular sentiments, worship and morals, approximate to the ideal principle." It is worthy of notice that the author has applied not only the standard of his own conceptions of God, but also his own conceptions of sin, fearlessly and unsparingly to the Pentateuch; in this respect, he keeps faithful to "*the great principle of subjectivity*," which, according to p. 6, is the grand principle of modern culture, and gives its peculiar character to the entire mental life of the present day, in religion as well as in morals and politics; the principle that "only *that* is to be acknowledged as true and valid which is matter of personal conviction"—an elegant version of the old saw,

"What the clown doth not discern,
'Tis quite against the grain to learn."*

We here receive confirmation of what our own experience teaches, that sin is not less a mystery than grace—that the Spirit who

* It is the same principle which is described by Jacobi as "the heaven-storming Titan-spirit of the age, which is only to be distinguished from the Nephilim and Club-law-men, that it substitutes spiritual instead of physical force."—*Reinhold's Briefic.* p. 244.

alone searcheth out the deep things of God, can alone clear away the darkness which covers the deep things of man. "In the Mosaic Age," (it is maintained in p. 187), "such a form of unbelief as the Pentateuch implies is altogether inconceivable. The guilt of the people could not lie merely in their will, but equally in the want of correct knowledge. That the people could have been fatally led astray by their lusts is inconceivable. Had Moses been able to impart to them clear and correct knowledge, they would have acted in accordance with it, and kept aloof from all idolatrous courses." Such argumentation has been already sufficiently refuted by daily experience; but the abettors of the great principle of subjectivity have neither eyes nor ears for experience. They acknowledge nothing but their own personal convictions to be true and valid. From the same point of view, in glaring contradiction to history, the assertion is made, (the foundation of which is, indeed, the forlorn-hope of all the adherents of the *becoming* God,) that it is impossible that a people can sink down from a higher degree of religious proficiency to a lower; and, (p. 197), in applying this assertion, he maintains that the Israelitish idolatry, after the time of Moses, can by no means be traced simply to the propensity of the people to sensuality, and the seductive influence of their neighbours; he assumes that the worship of Jehovah in the Mosaic times, not only in respect of the people, but also the lawgiver himself, (between whom and his contemporaries too wide an interval must not be placed), was coloured and obscured by much that was of Pagan origin. The historian will smile at such assertions—it will immediately occur to him, that from this position the historical truth of the French Revolution with all its horrors must be given up; for how little this is conceivable from a Pelagian point of view, is sufficiently apparent from the melancholy *non putaram* of so many noble minds among its contemporaries who at first exulted in the Revolution. But nothing can induce the Theologian to allow himself to be mistaken. The author has, however, not been the first to apply that maxim, but has only carried it out more consistently. REIMARUS, setting out from this maxim, has already remarked (*Übrige noch ungedt. Fragmente des Wolfenbutt. Fragm. herausg. von Schmidt, 1787*), p. 127, "I ask any one, if he had a brother who performed all such things by miracle, namely,

at whose word fire should fall from heaven—who could communicate his prophetic spirit to seventy others—who could controul the winds, &c.—would he, after all this, and even in the very fact, have the heart and the malice to rebel against such a brother?" That *he* really has a brother, who stands infinitely higher than Moses, and that his own example renders superfluous any further answer to the question, whether any one could have the heart and the malice to rebel against such a brother,—of all this he has not the slightest perception! In like manner, (p. 56), he says, it is inconceivable that Pharaoh could so often harden his heart; an argument which Von Bohlen has lately taken up afresh, and (p. 58) thinks that such a weak-headed king could only exist in popular tales. From the same point of view, De Wette discovers, in the later proneness of the people to idolatry, an argument against the origin and genuineness of the ceremonial law. "Why," he asks, (*Beitrag*, ch. i. p. 257), "did the people always addict themselves to strange gods? If their native worship had satisfied their sensuality, they would not have forsaken it. But a ceremonial and priestly pomp, as it is laid down in the books of Moses, must have sufficiently gratified the senses." By a somewhat keener observation of human nature, but of which self-knowledge forms the necessary groundwork, he might have known that along with the sensuousness which the Mosaic law gratified, there was another which remained unsatisfied; along with the sensuousness to which God condescends, there is another that degrades him. Or is marriage, forsooth, an infallible remedy against fornication? But to a very defective knowledge of nature what is most natural appears unnatural, and, therefore, unhistorical, and a proof of spuriousness.

We have hitherto pointed out how the dread of the supernatural and the unnatural led to a denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. But there are still other grounds for this aversion. Among these, the prevalent views of the age respecting sin and holiness are especially prominent. "*As is man, so is his God*," Göthe remarks, after many who have preceded him. (*Westöst. Divan. Werke. Stuttg.* 1827, p. 185). To an age which views sin as a necessary dowry of human nature, as a negative sort of good, as the condition of virtue—the holiness and righteousness of God must be an object of aversion. Men must try, at any rate, to get rid of a history in which these qualities are so conspicuous. Jehovah, the high

and holy One, who visits the sins of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation, changes himself into the wrathful God of the Jews, and, as long as the Pentateuch is genuine, and its contents historically true, this Jehovah is the God of heaven and earth, the enemy and judge of sin, even in the present generation. For that God is holy and righteous, is not a mere doctrine of the Pentateuch, (to subvert which it might be thought sufficient to charge it on the *rude conceptions* of the Mosaic age), but the doctrine has its foundation in the history; God's holiness and righteousness are revealed in a succession of acts, and must hence be real as long as these acts are allowed to have occurred. To what an extent this reason has operated in an age governed by the great principle of subjectivity appears very striking in the example of Göthe. What chiefly led him to the attempt to represent Moses as the Robespierre of the ancient world he tells us, p. 160, in his lament "on the unkindly quality of the contents." The thought that God had despatched his destroying angel against the Egyptians is revolting to him; according to him, the Israelites, at the instigation of Moses, had enacted "*inverted Sicilian vespers*." The alleged judgments of God among the Israelites themselves were executed by a band of Sicarii under the command of Moses. Aaron and Moses were not prevented by the justice of God from entering the promised land, but Aaron was secretly put out of the way by Moses, as was likewise Moses by Joshua and Caleb, who found it desirable "to put an end to the regency of a narrow-minded man, and to send him after so many unhappy mortals whom he had previously despatched." Thus the contents still remain harsh, indeed, but are no longer of a kind that could possibly disturb one's tranquillity. The history ceases to be a prophecy. Moses, that saturnine, self-enclosed man, who endeavoured to make up for the want of the talents of a ruler which Nature had denied him, by unrelenting cruelty (p. 167), has been dead for ages, and with him also his God is entombed, who was no other than the reflection of his own individuality!

The dislike to the leading characters of the Pentateuch has likewise promoted the denial of its genuineness. As long as that is allowed, it cannot well be denied that the near relation to God attributed to these persons was a reality. For this relation rests not on mere declarations, it is expressed in events, the reality of which,

on the supposition of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, cannot be doubted. But to such a relation the characters to whom it is ascribed do not appear suited in the estimation of the critics; and why? because they are not qualified to appreciate their essential qualities, *for like is only recognised by like*. They can take no account of the faith of these heroes of faith; the human weaknesses, which would otherwise appear only as subordinate matters, are alone prominent in their eyes—sufficiently important in themselves, they acquire gigantic dimensions in the hands of evil-disposed critics. From this point of view, the author of the Wolfenbüttel Fragments, after the example of the English deists, attacked the genuineness of the Pentateuch* and the credibility of its contents. His criticism on the Patriarchs closes with these words: “Behold, a succession of men, belonging to a race, who, by lying, deceit, dishonest traffic, oppression and exaction, with robbery and murder, and restless marauding, sought to amass riches.” . . . “I take it to be a manifest contradiction, that God could have communion with such impure souls, and that he could choose such an impure wicked race in preference to others for his peculiar people.” And that even a De Wette mainly views this subject in the same light is shown by his own language, (*die Krit.* p. 125): “It is very characteristic of the Hebrews, that they never hesitate to employ such means, and that their Jacob was distinguished by them as a cunning deceiver. The Greeks had their Odysseus, but what a noble, exalted personage compared with this Jacob!”

We must add, the incapability to enter into the spirit of the Pentateuch, or, generally, the whole of Sacred History. From that incapability, disorder, want of aim, contradiction, has been charged upon it, where the enlightened eye beholds order, purpose, and harmony. This incapability has been shown most glaringly in the investigations respecting the plan and structure of the Pentateuch. Its fragmentary character, of which the necessary consequence is spuriousness, has been represented as proved beyond all doubt. “As to our Pentateuch,” remarks De Wette, “after so many acute and

* Hartmann's assertion is incorrect, that the Fragmentist did not deny the genuineness of the Pentateuch, but only branded Moses as an infamous deceiver. In the fragment first published, on the passage through the Red Sea, the spuriousness of the Pentateuch is maintained as decidedly as possible. See *Fragments und Antifragmente*, Nürnberg. 1778, pp. 77, 78.

profound investigations in modern times, we may consider it as settled and acknowledged that the books of Moses are a collection of treatises by various authors, which originally were quite independent of one another." Appearances, which, correctly viewed, would incontrovertibly prove the unity of the whole, such as the interchange in the use of the Divine names, have been confidently employed for a contrary purpose, from the position of a contracted subjectivity that is incapable of understanding anything that is foreign to its own nature.

This incapability made itself felt in many other respects. Owing to it, for example, a great gap between Genesis and Exodus, and in the narrative of the journey through the wilderness, has been urged as an argument against the Mosaic authorship; whereas, as soon as it is acknowledged that the author intended to write a *Sacred History*—the history of the chosen race—this gap, or chasm, appears to be a necessary part of the plan. Owing to this cause also, completeness has been demanded in the detail of subordinate circumstances, and where these have been wanting, complaints have been made of inexactness which betrayed a non-contemporary author, mythical character, contradictions, &c.; while no sooner is the work judged of by its proper standard, than the whole appears in order—that the representation, as far as was practicable, should extract the kernel from events, a truth which De Wette, indeed, perceived when he said—"He did not mean to write a history of Abraham for our modern historical inquirers; he wrote as a religious man for like-minded persons" (p. 68); but this perception did not lead him to further conclusions. Owing, lastly, to this incapability, a multitude of crude religious representations have been attributed to the author, with which, if they really had existed, the genuineness of the Pentateuch would have been incompatible.

If we collect in one view all these dogmatical prejudices and incapacities, and reflect that men are slaves to the power of both as long as they are under the sway of the reigning spirit of the age, from which alone the spirit of God can free them, it will be no longer mysterious that the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch should exist and be so widely spread. To this let it be added, that a complete stagnation of inquiry, of the exegetical not less than the historico-critical, led to that pseudo-criticism by which the spuriousness of the Pentateuch has been prejudged. The

superficiality of VATER'S Commentary is now universally acknowledged. Besides his, no independent exegetical work on the Pentateuch has appeared, and performances like that of VON BOHLEN on Genesis will not influence against us persons who are otherwise well versed in such matters. The depth of the historico-critical labours of the age on the Pentateuch will hereafter be measured by such assertions as this, *that no prophet before the captivity quotes from the Pentateuch*—which would better suit the sprightly author of the *Dictionnaire Philosophique Portatif* (who asserts it at p. 275) than a German scholar.* Not one of the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch has hitherto given himself the trouble to become fully acquainted with the results of modern enquirers on Egypt; not one has thought it worth while to examine closely the assertion of those who have laboured in that department, that these results are altogether favourable to the authority of the Pentateuch.

If, with the prejudices and incapacities we have mentioned, we also take into account this neglect of all profound investigation, it will not surprise us that young men just beginning their literary course should express such an opinion as “that only dogmatical considerations have influence to call forth opponents to the results

* Let an appeal be made to the fundamental nature of the critical enquiries of modern times, only not to the mass of apparent contradictions which they have brought to light—the traces of a later age—and other things incompatible with genuineness, which are carefully noted. In an appendix to *Voltaire's Life*, by Condorcet, Berlin 1791, p. 430, the following story is told:—A Swedish traveller, in looking through Voltaire's library, found Calmet's Commentary, with slips of paper inserted, on which the difficulties noticed by Calmet were set down, without a word about the solutions which were given by Calmet. This, adds the Swede—who was otherwise a great admirer of Voltaire—was not honourable. Our modern critics have adopted exactly the same line of conduct. The author pledges himself to point out, in relation to every plausible objection, that it has long ago been the object of the zealous labours of the older theologians. But of that the reader will find nothing to remind him, if he has not carried his studies beyond Vatke and De Wette. Modern criticism deals especially in objections like those of De Wette (p. 64.) “For the operation of circumcision a certain surgical proficiency is required. Who possessed this in Abraham's camp? Moreover, the operation is very painful, and why should Abraham make this hard requisition on all his people? Could it signify greatly to him whether his shepherds were circumcised or uncircumcised?” In such objections the age has always been very fruitful. But who does not perceive that to make them requires neither knowledge, nor industry, nor profound study? How such arguments would be treated in profane history may be seen in P. F. G. Müller's *View of History*, Dusseld. 1814. With what ridicule would any one be greeted who should make use of this argument of De Wette's against Abraham's circumcising his household, to disprove the practice of circumcision by the Egyptians!

of the investigations of Vater and De Wette" (GEORGE *die Jud. Feste*. § 6), by whom also the appeal, *a male informato*, might be raised.

We will now endeavour to state the various views which have prevailed in our times relative to the Pentateuch; first, in respect of its Mosaic origin, and then of the historical character of its contents.

In reference to the *Mosaic* origin of the Pentateuch, there are three leading views: 1. One party denies it altogether, some very inconsiderable portions excepted. At their head stands DE WETTE, who, after retracing his steps a little in the right direction—in the last edition of his Introduction only—allows that the poetry in Num. xxi. is certainly Mosaic—that it can perhaps not be denied that many things are ancient and genuine in the Mosaic laws—yet they cannot be distinguished from those that are not so—that even the Decalogue in its present form could not proceed from Moses, for it exists in a double paraphrase. With De Wette are associated HARTMANN, VON BOHLEN, and VATKE, the latter of whom rejects even the poetry in Numbers xxi., which is acknowledged as genuine by De Wette. Whether GESENIUS is to be reckoned with this party, or with what other, is not quite certain. From an expression in the preface to the tenth edition of his smaller Grammar, 1831, "that it is still a point of critical controversy whether the Pentateuch proceeded wholly or only in part from Moses"—he appears now to retract the decision in which, at an earlier period, he concurred with Vater and De Wette. If only there were no miracles and prophecies, and the wrathful deity of the Jews, then there would be no difficulty in surrendering to the impressions which one receives as a historian and philologist! How vivid these impressions must have been in favour of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, is evident from the fact, that the dogmatic prepossessions which still clung to the author could not overpower them. The avowal of this is most honourable to his candour.

2. Others maintain the Mosaic origin of very important and comprehensive portions of the Pentateuch. At their head stands

EICHHORN, who, in the first edition of his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, asserted the genuineness of the whole, a few interpolations excepted; but, in the last edition, modified his views, and considered that the Pentateuch consists of some portions by Moses himself, and the rest by some of his contemporaries. These, he supposes, were formed into a whole, with many additions by a later editor, probably in the times between Joshua and Samuel (p. 334). The ground of this alteration, in his opinion, was, that, by mere exegesis, he could not, with confidence, remove the difficulties that the Pentateuch presented to his dogmatical prepossessions. His despair on this point is openly expressed in p. 255, where, in reference to the account of the Egyptian plagues, he says, "Had the agent, Moses himself, narrated the events, the manner in which we find them now represented would be an enigma." His denial of the Mosaic origin extends in general only as far as dogmatical prejudices come into play. Further, STÄUDLIN, who, without wishing to decide on the history, (which, on account of his position at that time, must have shocked him as much in a dogmatical point of view as it attracted him in a historical one), very zealously advocated the Mosaic origin of the law, first, in his two "*Commentationes de legum Mosaicarum momento et ingenio, collectione et effectibus*," Gött. 1796, 1797; then in his "*Gesch. der Sittenlehre Jesu*," i. p. 118; and, lastly, in his essay "*The Genuineness of the Mosaic Law vindicated*," in Ammon's and Bertholdt's Journal, Th. 3, s. 225, 337; Th. 4, p. 1. 113, where the discourses in Deuteronomy are defended as genuine. This candid writer acknowledges truly, that the origin of the dislike to the Pentateuch is to be found in something very different from historical or critical investigations. "The aversion to the Bible felt by many persons in the present day," he remarks, part iii. p. 281, "has indisputably extended to the criticism of the Bible." He has set a good example in making use of the results obtained in modern times respecting ancient Egyptians in reference to the question of the genuineness of the Pentateuch: here he made a beginning, though, to be sure, only a beginning, for he did not go back to the original sources, but contented himself with a careful examination of Heeren's "*Ideen*." The last mentioned essay especially contains much that is useful. That the author wanted profundity of conception appears, without doubt, from his remarks

in part iv. p. 19. "It is, indeed, striking, that circumcision was not put in practice during the forty years journey through the wilderness. Perhaps it was imagined, that circumcision, under such circumstances, would be injurious to health." Had the author recognised the significance of circumcision—its relation to the covenant, which made its impartation impossible to a generation rejected and thrown back upon the world, he would have left this very superficial ground of explanation to Le Clerc and others of his school. Then HERBST, who, on account of his "*Observationes quædam de Pent. quatuor librorum posteriorum auctore et editore*. Ellwangen, 1817," reprinted in vol i. of the *Commentatt. Theol.* of Rosenmüller, Fuldner, and Maurer, is quite erroneously classed, by some, among the advocates of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in its full extent. With all that he has objected to modern criticism, he cannot make up his mind to keep quite clear of its ground. His respect for the Protestant rationalist leaders is much too great. Whenever he mentions their names, he makes a profound obeisance, and humbly begs pardon for being so bold as on several points to contradict them. According to him (§ 17), the scattered Mosaic writings (he sticks fast to the *πρώτων ψευδός* of modern criticism, the fragmentary character of the Pentateuch), were formed into a whole by a later collector, and enlarged by additions so numerous and important, that Jahn's admission of mere glosses does not appear to be sufficient. To avoid the imputation of *studii novitatis*, he makes this collector to be Ezra. In this way, he can apparently support himself by the fathers, whose expressions on the relation of Ezra to the Pentateuch, as we shall show elsewhere, have a very different meaning from what is attached to them by him, as well as Vater, Von Bohlen, and others. The services of this author in the vindication of the parts which he recognises as Mosaic, are not very important. Everywhere, there is great superficiality in his explanations; as, for example, the difference of the language of Deuteronomy from that of the remaining books is accounted for by the interval which elapsed between their composition. We do not, however, doubt, that the worthy author (lately deceased) would have advanced beyond the position he has taken in this treatise, which, as the work of a young man, deserves acknowledgment.

Finally, BLEEK has given his contributions to the inquiries on the

Pentateuch, in two essays, the first in Rosenmüller's *Bibl. arcy. Repert*, bd. 1, Lpzg., 1824, the second in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1831, p. 488. The result, according to the latter (in which an important advance is observable), is, that the giving of the law in the Pentateuch is in its spirit and character Mosaic—not merely in reference to the more general moral commands, but also in what concerns the Levitical laws of sacrifice and purification, which form so important a part of it. The direct consequence is, that in this book we in general stand on historical ground. In those laws such relations of the Jewish people are plainly implied, as are brought before us in the historical passages, (p. 501). This result is the more remarkable, as it is deduced entirely and alone from internal evidences, and, therefore, from that very quarter where the enemies of the Mosaic origin think their own strength lies. How altogether different the state of the case becomes, when to the internal evidences, whose aid in favour of the Pentateuch was here first obtained, the external ones are added. A programmè by Bleek against Von Bohlen, which is said to be just published, has not yet reached the present writer.*

* It belongs to the operation of the great principle of subjectivity, that, in modern times, external evidences are treated with contempt, and the internal ones are alone regarded as of value. On this point, see KLEINERT's remarks in his *Aechtheit des Tes.* p. 86. Modern times have furnished some very notable specimens of what we may expect from such a misapprehension of the natural position of these two branches of evidence. Had Hamaker, Gesenius, and others, before committing themselves any further, requested from the French marquis permission to inspect the pretended stone in his possession, with the *Inscriptio nuper in Cyrenaica reperta*, the tables would have been turned, and the laugh would have been at his expense, not theirs. Gesenius would then have discovered, what he knew not till *post festum*, that the pretended Phœnician inscription was Maltese-Arabic jargon. Had Gesenius, instead of inquiring how the proper names in the pretended Sanchoniathon agreed with those in his Phœnician inscription, insisted on seeing the Grecian manuscript of Sanchoniathon, he would not have been obliged, after painful experience, publicly to confess that it was very dangerous to trust solely and alone to internal evidences. One wishes that this experience may be of benefit to his labours in biblical criticism, especially since from this department he has taken this bad practice into the field of profane literature. It would only be fair that those who, in relation to the sacred Scriptures, have supported their opinions merely by internal evidences, should first test their infallibility by examining some anonymous literary productions of our own day, in which evidences from internal grounds are in abundance at their service. How they would succeed, the author can anticipate from various experiments he has made in the journal of which he is the editor. The last is, that Professor Baur, who so confidently, against all external evidence, denies the Apostle Paul's authorship of the Pastoral Epistles and of that to the Philippians, and

3. Others vindicate the genuineness of the Pentateuch in its present state. Several among them, with the admission of certain glosses, others, of even more important interpolations, in which Jahn goes so far that he exposes several weak points to the opponents. That all these defenders of the genuineness, though differing in their confessions, theological views, and internal religious position, yet agree in being supernaturalists, will be understood from the historical development we have given above. The admission of the genuineness, except on this ground, is still conceivable in a historian, but not in a theologian, who cannot possibly keep theological consequences out of sight. At their head stands J. D. MICHAELIS, who, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 171. has very clearly shewn how the adversaries of Revelation have been forced to deny the genuineness of the Pen-

the Apostle Peter's authorship of the two Epistles that bear his name, with equal confidence attributes to the present writer an article on "The Future Prospects of our Theology," appealing to the palpable agreement of the ideas with the preface. After the author has assured him that the article was not his, the acute critic will now discover the difference of style, and all the other peculiarities which distinguish it from the preface. A very striking proof of the deceptiveness of internal evidence is given in "*K. L. Reinhold's Leben und lit. Werke*, von E. Reinhold, Jena, 1825." "Scarcely had the work, "*Kritik der Offenbarung* (published at Königsberg at Easter, 1792) appeared than it was advertised in the A. L. Z., with the addition, "Every one who has read only the smallest of those works by which the philosopher of Königsberg has laid mankind under everlasting obligations, will at once recognise the distinguished author." This opinion was also expressed in a review written in the strongest terms by the co-editor of the A. L. Z., Hufeland, Professor of Jurisprudence at Jena. A. L. Z., 1792, No. 190, 191. When Kant had announced in the same journal that the author was Fichte, theological candidate, who had come the preceding year to Königsberg, Hufeland, in the A. L. Z., 1792, No. 133, gave the explanation that all the adherents of the Kantian philosophy in Jena, among them eight academic teachers, with almost all the friends and opponents of this philosophy in Germany, had entertained the same opinion respecting the book, in consequence of its agreement, not only in style, but in the whole train of thought with Kant's writings. Fichte wrote afterwards another anonymous work, "*Beitrag zur Berichtigung der Urtheile über die Franz Revolution*." In a letter to Reinhold, he had no apprehensions of being known as the author, since "none of our critics would attribute the language of that work to the author of the work on Revelation." "That they will use this argument," he adds, "if any rumours should escape about the author through the publisher, I expected with confidence, and I have not been mistaken in our public. One might wish, or rather, for the sake of the incognito of well-meaning writers, one might *not* wish, that the uncertainty of this sort of inference should be known. As Kant was not the author of the '*Offenbarungs Kritik*,' I was blamed for imitating his style so exactly; now I shall be blamed for taking so much pains to disguise my own, and yet I could write five or six works on different subjects in which none of the common judges of style should detect the preceding, without my having taken the least pains about it in their composition."

tateuch. After his vindication the opposition to the genuineness, that not till then had obtained any importance, was first met in an able manner by JAHN, partly in his *Introduction*, partly in two separate essays in *Bengel's Archiv.*, vols. ii and iii. He was followed in later times by two esteemed writers belonging to his own church—the acute HUG, in the two treatises quoted at p. 48 and 422 (of this work), and MOVERS, in an essay on Finding the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah, a contribution to enquirers on the Pentateuch, in the *Journal for Philosophy and Catholic Theology*, No. xii., Cologne, 1834, p. 79, and No. xiii., p. 87, of which the most important part is the evidence of the acquaintance of Jeremiah and Zephaniah with the Pentateuch, in prophecies which were delivered in the time that preceded the finding of the book of the law. Belonging to the German Evangelical Church in this century, we have to mention, KELLE, in his (not very important) *Vorurtheilsfreien Würdigung der mos. Schriften*, 3 Hefte, Freib. 1811; FRITZSCHE, in his superficial “*Prüfung*,” Leipz. 1814; SCHEIBEL, in his “*Untersuchungen über Bibel und Kirchengesch*” (Inquiries on the Bible and Church History), Part i., Breslau, 1816, p. 61; KANNE, in his “*Bibl. Auslegungen*” (Biblical Exposition), Erlangen, 1819, where, in Part i., p. 79, there are strictures on Vater’s treatise; Part ii., p. 1, Strictures on De Wette’s *Beiträge*; and p. 72, continued Strictures on Vater. The author touches merely on single points, principally alleged contradictions and traces of a later age, and with many fanciful things there are also excellent remarks. ROSENMÜLLER, in the third edition of his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, is so timid with his supernaturalism, that he only once, where he was at a loss what else to say, ventures to remark, that the author possessed knowledge (*aliunde*) from some other quarter which was not explicable from his own consciousness; SACK, in his *Apologetics*, p. 156, who correctly perceived that the foundation of a vindication of the genuineness must be a refutation of the hypothesis of the fragmentary character of the Pentateuch, also pointed out some arguments, hitherto overlooked, against the mythical character, especially the internal truthfulness in the delineation of the persons introduced, such as no mythical representation could exhibit, as, for example, “the character of Moses from the first awakening of his sense of justice to the last decision

of his judicial office, stands there before us in most distinct verisimilitude;" RANKE, in his investigations on the Pentateuch, Erlangen, 1834, Part i., being the best of what has been hitherto written on the genuineness; DETTINGER, who, in his essay on Gen. iv. 1-6, and in the *Tübingen Zeitschrift*, 1835, Part i., p. 1, has, in a striking manner, shown that the charge of a want of connection and a legendary character, especially in reference to this particular section, proceeds from indolence and superficiality. *Lastly*, Licentiate BAUER vindicates the Pentateuch in his essay on the Mosaic origin of the giving of the law in the *Zeitschrift für spec. Theologie*, v. i. Berlin, 1836, p. 140. Of foreign writers there need to be noticed only those who stand in connection with the enquiries carried on in Germany. Besides the work of the Danish Bishop HERTZ, "*On Traces of the Pentateuch in the books of Kings*," Altona, 1822, there are only two works by PAREAU, to be mentioned, viz., *Instit. Interpretis V. T.*, Utr., 1822, and his *Disputatio de mythica sacri codicis interpretatione*, Utr., 1824. The latter work especially merits the most careful attention, which has been wilfully withheld in Germany.

The second point of difference relates to the historical character of the narratives in the Pentateuch. It exists between those who agree in rejecting every thing supernatural, and, with few exceptions, also in rejecting the genuineness of the Pentateuch. One party are anxious to redeem as much as possible for history those portions of the Pentateuch which do not clash with their dogmatical prepossessions. They lay down as a maxim, that every thing which goes beyond the common course of events is mythical, but every thing else approaches to accredited history, (MEYER, *Apolo- gie der gesch. Auffassung des Pent.*, Sulzb. 1811, p. 13), thus EICHHORN, BAUER, MEYER, BERTHOLDT, and GESENIUS, (at least in his practice, to judge from the style and manner of his isolated quotations from the Pentateuch). VATER prepared the way for passing to the other view, which, it is true, did not yet assume a distinct and consequential opposition to the historical character of the narratives in the Pentateuch, but who felt in general satisfied with the mere *perhaps* of a historical foundation, and constantly fostered the notion that nothing could be determined with certainty; in short, he took quite a sceptical position. But in its complete form, the direct negative was held by De Wette, who

maintained that the Pentateuch was not to be considered a historical source at all—that it presented no where any firm historical point—that the whole was mythical—that only the absence of metre had hitherto withheld from the Pentateuch all the honours of poetry. With DE WETTE coincide BAUER, VON BOHLEN, VATKE, and others.*

That the latter view is more consequential than the former, and that it can be discarded only by arbitrarily stopping short as soon as we enter mythical ground, is too evident to need being pointed out. But that the former view can nevertheless gain adherents—that it can maintain itself even after the latter has reached maturity, and after a striking exposure of its arbitrariness—that it can again and again be admitted as possible, in some instances, even with those who in principle are so strict and consequential, shows how firmly and deeply the historical character of the Pentateuch must be impressed, and serves therefore as an argument against the mythical interpretation in general. The reason of the formation and continuance of the view which only goes half-way, is thus stated by one of its advocates, MEYER: “These mythical expositors expressed it according to an obscure feeling; indeed the whole individual quality of particular incidents in these ancient legends, their relations, both in point of place and time, and their connection with some later, better accredited fact, are strongly in favour of believing, that by no means everything which we are necessitated to regard as a myth is a mere fable.” For this very reason, because it comes so directly into collision with all sound historical feeling, the completion of a consequential mythic view is to be regarded as a happy event; for universally every error

* How far the last named critic goes may be shown by such assertions as the following: That Genesis furnishes such scanty materials for history, that it gives no certain information respecting the nation, country, and genealogy of the Patriarchs (p. 181); that the relationship of Aaron to Moses is to be rejected as unhistorical (p. 217); that the Mosaic polity has an unhistorical character (p. 204); that Moses established no systematic worship, and set apart no particular priesthood for performing it (p. 218); that it is doubtful whether the Levites in ancient times were a tribe in the same sense as the other tribes (p. 221); that it is doubtful whether the most ancient names of the tribes are handed down to us (p. 223); of the holy times, only the Sabbath, and perhaps the new moons remain; the three principal feasts were formed later than the harvest feast; and received still later a reference to the most ancient history of the people, &c., &c. Only one thing more is wanting—that the author should go one step further, and with Voltaire (*Questions s. l'Encyclopedie*) call on his opponents to prove that such a personage as Moses ever existed.

must ripen and reach its consummation before the return to truth can commence; and we can more unreservedly rejoice in this event, because what the half mythical view allows to stand, belongs not to sacred but to profane history, so that, in a religious point of view, nothing is thereby gained or lost. The consequential mythical scheme might forsooth boast, and indeed not without justice, that it has taken cognisance of the injured rights of religion, and has therefore substituted a sacred poetry in the place of a common history! Compare, for example, such expressions as those of De Wette (p. 67), in reference to Eichhorn's opinion that circumcision was to have removed the cause of Abraham's being childless. "What would our old, pious, believing theologians say if they could witness this mode of proceeding? They indeed were theologians—we are not." And (p. 116), in reference to Isaac's obtaining a wife. "A Hebrew read this narrative with poetic feeling, with religious, theocratic associations, with a mythic faith. Would we read it otherwise? Would we wither and lay bare the tender idyllic blossoms by a dry, sapless, historical treatment?" If there were real earnestness in this attempt to substitute a sacred poetry for a common history, we must regard this consequential mythical view in another respect—as the forerunner of truth, as in the instance given above. If the mistaken idea be again restored to its rights, history must also gain thereby. If men are once religiously roused, moved and edified by history as poetry, their obdurate estrangement disappears, and the transition is prepared for the reception of history as history, since human nature, from an inherent want that will not be easily denied, cannot be satisfied with ideas and the ideal, but carries in its constitution a craving after historical realization, which alone assures it that God is not afar off, that he condescends in love, and that a holy life is possible in a world of sin. But though the chief advocate of the mythical scheme certainly at times makes an attempt to fulfil his promise (p. 103), as in the remarks on the offering up of Isaac (p. 108), and in his attack on the crude inference of the belief in angels, yet, on the whole, his efforts are in direct opposition to his promise, and tend to convert common history into common poetry. The good taste which the Greek and Roman poets infuse into their readers and admirers, we must bring with us to the Hebrew writers (p. 82) The myth of the curse of Canaan is very awk-

wardly contrived, a product of the national hatred of the Hebrews (p. 76); Abraham's intercession for Sodom does no great credit to the taste of the narrator (p. 92); the account of Lot's daughters is a mere fiction of a very disgusting and offensive kind (p. 94). In Part i., p. 259, mention is made of "Sacred Tales;" and (p. 279) of "Moral Tirades."

Among the adherents of the consequential mythical scheme, a difference again exists in this respect; that some, like DE WETTE, satisfy themselves with pulling down, and zealously protest against all rebuilding; others, on the contrary, as BAUER (*on the Passover and on Circumcision, in the Tübingen Journal of Theology*, 1832, Part i., p. 40) and VATKE, undertake this rebuilding. An extraordinary boldness belongs to this latter tendency, such as scarcely any one could be found to possess in the department of profane history. There, every one acknowledges, that without stones we can only build castles in the air. But these are at best but common-place historians. The philosophical historian, however, is in possession of laws, according to which history *must* develop itself. The necessity includes in itself the reality. What need, then, is there for special witnesses for the latter? In truth, they are only in the way, and there is reason to be glad when they are not forthcoming. For when they make their appearance, in general, they do not agree with the necessary laws, and we have the trouble of cutting, and shaping and fitting them, or of clearing them away altogether. For it is self-evident that we cannot venture to modify the laws by them. Every contradiction which is grounded merely on testimony is of no importance to scientific criticism and its priests. Common criticism can merely kill; philosophical criticism can also make alive; it has everything in itself, and proclaims, "*I am, and there is none beside me!*"

The opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch differ from one another in this respect, that some in the form and introduction of the Pentateuch attribute an important influence to premeditation and deceit; others endeavour as much as possible to avoid this supposition. Since the supposition of deceit is unavoidable from our opponents' point of view, as we shall prove hereafter, so it forms a testimony in favour of the Pentateuch that most of them endeavour to escape this consequence, or (which is a proof of their evil conscience) to conceal it. See De Wette, vol. i., p. 178; vol. ii.,

p. 405; also Vatke, with whom the supposition of a deceitful forgery, however much he seeks to escape it, sometimes is made use of, as in p. 220. Jeremiah is said to have accused the priests of it. With a less refined openness Gramberg (*Gesch. der Religionsideen*, vol. i., p. 63), and Von Bollen admit the supposition of deceit.

Lastly, quite a swarm of differences is presented to us when we take into consideration the views of our opponents on the relation of the various books to one another, and the time of the composition of each (the view maintained by De Wette, that Deuteronomy was the latest of all, the topstone of the mythical structure, which at one time seemed to have won universal acceptance, begins now to yield to the exactly opposite opinion, that Deuteronomy is the most ancient among all the books of the Pentateuch, v. George, ch. i., p. 7), as also the time of collecting and introducing the whole. The great principle of subjectivity here celebrates its triumph—no two distinguished critics are unanimous in solving the most important problem. It is a war of all against all. We felt at first inclined to present the ridiculous spectacle of this conflict in detail to our readers, in order that, from the confusion of the positive results of modern criticism (in which union exists only as long as it is maintained by a common dogmatical bias), they might infer what is the boasted certainty of their negative results. But we are seized with an invincible disgust, and cannot bring ourselves to enter the field of arbitrary criticism, and collect all the whimsicalities of opinion that lie scattered there. But any one may supply our lack of service, if he will take up some of the most noted works of this class and compare them with each other. The impression they would give him, we conjecture, would be like that which one receives on entering a synagogue.

The result obtained by this review of the attacks on the genuineness of the Pentateuch is by no means consolatory for its defenders. If these attacks have their deep and firm root in the spirit of the age, and those who pay it homage (even if all their non-dogmatical arguments are destroyed, and the genuineness be evidently proved) will still continue the conflict, then, at the end of a toilsome and exhausting course, we may exclaim, "I have laboured for nought, and spent my strength in vain." But if, on one side, the view is gloomy, it is cheering on another. Not all

have unconditionally sold themselves into the service of the spirit of the times—many are not indisposed to leave undetermined the correctness of the dogmatical prepossessions of both parties, and wait to see who will gain the victory on the field of historical criticism. These *homines bonae voluntatis* are those from whom the faithful labourer may expect his reward. Yet one circumstance in our times is cheering. Originally the attacks against the Old and New Testament went hand in hand. Assailants and defenders alike thought that both must stand or fall together. The Wolfenbüttler fragmentist, for instance, regarded the whole of the Sacred History as a compact phalanx, and proceeded on the supposition that the disproof of the passage through the Red Sea, involved that of the resurrection of Christ, and the disproof of the resurrection that of the passage through the Red Sea. Bauer wrote a mythology of the Old and New Testament. De Wette avows that the principles of mythical interpretation carried by him through the Pentateuch, must, of necessity, also be applied to the New Testament. And how could he come to a different conclusion? The connection between the Old and New Testament is so intimate, so palpable, that even a child cannot help perceiving it. Continually the latter presents allusions to the former. Must the forty years temptation of the children of Israel in the desert be mythical, and is the forty days temptation of Christ its antitype—historical? Are the angelic appearances of the Old Testament mythical, and those of the Evangelists historical, though the angels retain, even to their very names, the Old Testament character? Are the miracles of the Old Testament mythical, and those of the New Testament historical, which, almost throughout, have among them a special type, and in their symbolical meaning rest almost entirely on the Old Testament? Truly such a transition from fiction to truth—such a mimicry of the human by the Divine, is the greatest absurdity that can be imagined. But, for a while, the strong bias that existed on this subject succeeded in veiling from itself, and others who were animated by the same bias, what was supported by the clearest evidence. The sense of religious want was newly awakened; but in many minds not with that strength which would enable them to break altogether with the spirit of the age: the religious want made it impossible for them to give up the New Testament, and their attachment to the spirit

of the times, to receive the Old Testament. For a time this seemed to do well enough ; all warning voices were disregarded ; or even scoffed and abused. Then appeared *Strauss's Leben Jesu*, and the internal connection of what had been arbitrarily separated by inclination could no longer be mistaken. The critical treatment to which Strauss subjected the gospels, is so completely like that employed by De Wette on the Pentateuch, that we can scarcely see how it is possible to abandon the one and yet wish to retain the other ; besides, Strauss has very diligently attempted to show how the Old Testament element is so strong in the New, that whoever has once given up the Old Testament, must also decide to let the New Testament fall to the ground. So that the present is exactly a favourable time for the vindicators of the Old Testament, and, especially for those who exert themselves to free the foundation on which the whole stands or falls, from the rubbish under which it has been buried. For those, in whom the reception of the New Testament has had a deeper root and has been a work of faith, will now, since the great alternative is laid before them, being free from the former indifference and dislike to the Old Testament, lend an ear as willingly to its vindicators as formerly to its adversaries. However much individuals may struggle against the fatal necessity, the matter will soon be placed on its ancient footing, so that only one great distinction will remain, that between the believers and the opponents of Scripture.

It is greatly to be wished that the opponents and the defenders of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, could agree on certain principles of carrying on the controversy. Unless this is done, the consequence will soon be, that the writings on each side will only be read by their respective partizans, and as soon as these partizans have consolidated themselves, will become altogether useless.

First of all, it should be openly admitted on both sides, that the result of the inquiry is settled before the adduction of critical arguments. It is vain deceit if this be concealed. We have already seen that on the rationalist position the acknowledgment of the genuineness is impossible, even if the strongest arguments are alleged in its favour. The denial of this has been rendered impracticable by the numerous and open confessions on the subject. But equally, and we honestly avow it, on the believing

position, the genuineness is settled before the critical examination of particulars. The Pentateuch is borne witness to by our Lord and his Apostles, and their testimony is sealed by the Holy Ghost to those who, with believing dispositions, study the contents of these books. The critical examination is not intended to call forth faith in the divine origin of these books which presupposes their Mosaic origin, but only to give a reason to itself and others of the faith that already exists.

The right also should be granted by both parties to each other, that the combatants of each one should show for those who stand on the same religious position, without having a developed consciousness respecting it, how the one or the other position imperatively demands the denial or acknowledgment of the genuineness. Let the believing theologian listen patiently when the anti-supernaturalist critic proves to his followers, from the miracles and prophecies, down to the command, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," that they cannot, in these books, find their account; when he points out to them, that, by admitting the genuineness of the Pentateuch, they must give up their whole idea of God—they must call forth again their long-forgotten scorn before the majesty of the holy and righteous God, &c. Equally let the anti-supernaturalist theologian keep himself quiet, when the believing critic points out to his followers, that all attempts to invalidate the testimony of Christ and his apostles are vain, and only undertaken from the bias of inclination—that the entire chain of Divine revelation is broken when a single link is arbitrarily taken out—that they withstand the Holy Ghost when they interpret the books in which traces of his agency are so visible, as if they were a mere human production.

But, on both sides, let it be maintained with all strictness to preserve the bounds of Biblical criticism; the conflict, of which the decision belongs altogether to another forum, is not to be carried on in this ground; and, on this account, let whatever has merely an internal importance to the individual be separated from that which can lay claim to universal validity. Let it be distinctly avowed that nothing relating to the former is intended for opponents.

This very moderate requirement has hitherto been grossly violated by all anti-supernaturalist critics, while, by those on our side, Ranke, for instance, it has been openly declared, that the criticism of the Biblical books must not take belief in the Divine origin of

Christianity for its starting point, and in his whole work he never leaves the ground of historical criticism. The vouchers for the justness of our complaint we have already given. At present, we would only examine with this reference the section that relates to it in De Wette's *Introduction*, the work which is acknowledged as a representative of the anti-supernaturalist criticism. The dogmatic element in it is far more prominent than the miracles and prophecies. When, for instance, he says, "The following narrations are according to the ideas of the covenant of Jehovah with Israel, and his communion with them, the election of this people and the rejection of other nations, the earlier establishment and pre-signification of the theocratic institute and events connected with it, in which, if not every thing is invented, yet it is more or less altered," &c., this statement borrows its importance solely and alone from the dogmatic assumption of the non-reality of these ideas, which first requires a foundation and legitimation by enquiry on the principles of historical criticism, so that we are arguing here in a complete circle. Also the assertion, that "the causes of events in the Divine plan of government are very distinctly pointed out, but human motives and the natural concatenation of events imperfectly," can only serve to support the mythical scheme, on the dogmatical assumption that no higher causality interposes. To the same class belongs the remark on the poetic-prophetic method, "that while the human mind partly seeks to re-establish a higher connection of the present with the past, and partly to gain a support for real prophecies for the future," where it is taken for granted that no such connection existed—that no such foundation was given. Not till the spuriousness of the Pentateuch has been thoroughly established by a process of genuine historical criticism, would there be any propriety in such a remark. Under the same head we must class the references to popular legends, names of places and persons, &c. If the events really happened as they are narrated, they must then occasionally refer to popular legends and names of places and persons, and so of several other things. Never is any attempt made to separate dogmatic grounds and historic reasons from one another. They are mingled together in sad confusion: from the very outset, all pretension to a well-trained understanding is denied to those who still adhere to the genuineness of the Pentateuch filled with miracles.

De Wette himself, in his survey of the attacks on the Pentateuch, divides them into the dogmatic—as those of the Clementines, Nazarenes, and Ptolemy—and the historico-critical. In this classification, there is an implied acknowledgment of the illegitimacy of his method of argumentation. It is not essentially different from the method of the dogmatic opponents, who are rejected by him; for even they did not refrain from mingling historical with dogmatical reasons; so, for instance, in the Clementine Homilies, ii., c. 49, it is argued that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, because it contains an account of his death—an argument which, by the bye, would much more conclusively prove the spuriousness of Sleidan's work, *De Statu religionis et reip. Car. v. Cesare*. For, while in the Pentateuch the narrative of Moses' death and burial is not given till after it has been expressly and fully stated that he had finished his work, and transferred it to the Levites, from which it would be at once understood that the following narrative did not proceed from him—there is at the close of Sleidan's history, without any similar intimation preceding it, this sentence—“*Octobris die ultimo Joannes Sleidanus, J. U. L., vir et propter eximias animi dotes et singularem doctrinam omni laude dignus, Argentorati decedit, atque ibidem honorifice sepelitur.*” (According to the edition of *Franc.* 1610, which lies before me.) But the same words are in the edition that appeared in the edition by the original publisher, Richelius, which Freytag transcribes in his *Apparat.* b. iii., t. 247 (compare p. 248), and probably was inserted in all the editions after 1556, the year of the author's death. Without doubt, he who added these words thought it unnecessary to distinguish himself from the author, since every body knows that no one records his own death and burial.

Besides, it is self-evident that we can only consider our just demands as complied with, when the opponents exclude everything that stands in connection with the different grounds of religious conviction, and recollect that the whole idea of the Divine Being is still *sub judice*—the justice of God, for example, not less than his power to work miracles.

From the explanation already given of the grounds which have called forth the denial of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, it

follows that the vindication of it is a far more comprehensive undertaking than that of any work of profane antiquity. Some special points require here to be considered. The Pentateuch can only be a genuine work if it is a sacred one; so that, in the vindication of its genuineness, its whole theology must be kept in view. If the four pages in Kant's *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, (p. 176), contain truth, in which, borrowing from Bolingbroke, he endeavours to demonstrate that the Jewish faith, in its original construction, was only an abstract of statute laws, on which a political and not a religious institution was founded—then it is all over with the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The result is the same, (which is closely connected with this), if the symbolical character of the ceremonial law cannot be established, nor shewn that it differs only formally from the moral law. For in the true religion a shell cannot exist without a kernel; the ceremonial law, if it proves to be merely this, cannot be of God; cannot be from messengers armed with his power. A single objection, like that so often repeated, that the theology of the Pentateuch is so crude that God often appears in it as the author of sin—who, in an immediate and supernatural manner, hardens the heart of man—makes it wicked to his temporal and everlasting destruction—would, if it could be established, spare the opponents of the genuineness all farther trouble. (*V. Wolfenb. Frag.* p. 58.) For such an objection relates not to the idea of the Divine Being as far as it is still *sub judice*; for all agree that God, as the holy and the merciful one, cannot be the author of sin. Such childish representations of God as Le Clerc, in his "*Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande*," p. 82, attributes to the author of the Pentateuch—as, for instance, that Moses asks God after his name (Exod., iii. 13) as if there were several Gods, which must be distinguished by different names, cannot agree with the genuineness. How much less, then, acts such as those maintained by the fragmentists as having been performed! If one leaves out the supposition that God had commanded it by a special manifestation, and considers the act in itself naked and bare, any one must then say that it would be nothing but deceit, falsehood, thievery, robbery, and barbarous, inhuman cruelty. It is not enough that we barely satisfy all the specific objections, we must be able positively to prove, at the same time,

that the law, and the whole character of God, as historically represented, is infinitely exalted above any thing that reason, left to itself, has ever produced or ever can produce. Only when the miracles come into this connection—only when the lawgiver himself is the greatest miracle, so that they (the miracles) appear more natural in connection with him, than that which is *natural* in the common sense of the word, the appeal to analogies from heathen antiquity loses all significance. To enter into the subject thoroughly on the theological side, is so much the more necessary, as it has been so much neglected by former advocates. Only J. D. Michaelis has engaged with some fulness upon it; but that his performances are only in a slight degree satisfactory, may be already inferred from the earlier remarks on his Exposition. If any thing of solid value is to be gained in this department, theological Interpretation must assume a new form. *Biblical Introduction*, if it would attain its object, must be fitted, in reference to the chief topics, to be a substitute for a commentary.

As to the course of the inquiry, after answering the preliminary question, on the relation of the genuineness to the history of the art of writing, the first object is to prove that the Pentateuch, by its unity of design and plan of references and language, is one intimately connected whole, that could only proceed from one author. (To this part belongs the inquiry respecting the different names of the Deity.) Then we have to point out that Moses in the work itself is marked as the author. If this be granted, all the attempts are foiled by which an accommodation has been sought between genuineness and deception, and all internal evidences, all external testimonies, which were primarily applicable to particulars, obtain, at the same time, an importance for the whole.* We have, for this purpose, to examine what relation the whole later development of the nation and its literature bears to the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The traces and testimonies must naturally here be far more numerous than in any writing whatever of profane anti-

* "Let it be granted," says Vater (in his Essay on Moses, appended to his *Commentar über der Pentateuch*, iii., p. 583), "that all the passages quoted contain plain evidence that the authors had similar passages before them from the Pentateuch, what would follow? *Everything, in a book which is a connected, united whole.* But as regards the Pentateuch *nothing*, since this evidently and most plainly consists of many isolated portions."

quity. For the Pentateuch must have been (its genuineness being assumed) the foundation, not less of civil than of religious life. (To this part belongs our essay on the relation of the Pentateuch to the kingdom of Israel.) It is then to be shown how the internal character of the Pentateuch does not stand in contradiction to its genuineness, but rather imperatively demands it. Thus, first, the philological,* then the historical; and, lastly, the theological character of the Pentateuch will be the subject of discussion. As an appendix, which is designed only for those of the same way of thinking as the author, it will remain to be shown that the testimony of Christ and his Apostles, as well as the relation of the Pentateuch to the whole of Divine revelation and the Sacred Scriptures, is in favour of the genuineness.

Although the author could scarcely withstand the temptation to undertake those parts first to which inclination and outward circumstances first led him, yet he would have followed the arrangement above marked out, if he had not been prevented by a cause not depending on himself. These contributions were intended to contain the investigation of the genuineness of the Pentateuch in its fullest extent, but he does not know the end at the beginning, nor when the second volume will follow the first. Under the most favourable circumstances, it will take some years of toilsome labour to accomplish what the subject requires. It appeared to him unsuitable to begin the investigation with that on which so much has been done by Ranke's work. He believed he might therefore yield to his inclination, especially if he attempted by the Introduction to bring the scattered topics into one view. He had still the advantage before his eyes, that investigations like these on the external testimonies, if they are given at once in their full completeness, may easily become wearisome to the reader.

The tone of this book will not suit many persons. They will charge it with uncharitableness, harshness, and undue warmth of temper. The author at first, after mature consideration, reluctantly penned the passages which might give occasion to this complaint; he has since repeatedly looked them over to see whether

* On this point, the author may refer to his own Essay on the genuineness of the Pentateuch and its language in Tholuck's *Literarischu Anzeiger*, 1833, No. 45 and 46.

milder expressions might not be used, but he could not venture upon any alteration. Had he felt no more than a critical interest, he should have thought it his duty to use severe language against the attempts of his opponents. But since not only criticism, but, according to his deepest convictions, religion also is endangered by these attempts, the fate of which is, and will be, inseparable from its written documents, and since these attempts, as they lead to irreligion, proceed also from it, he should deem himself criminal if he permitted this conviction to have no influence on his tone. Fair opponents will measure him according to his own standard ; they will direct their attacks not against the tone, but against the whole religious position of the author, of which it is the necessary consequence. Yet the author is not greatly concerned whether this be done or not. His only anxiety is, that he may hold fast a good conscience—that he may not need to fear the account which he must hereafter render of this work to his Lord and God, who has given him the ability to execute it, and whose blessing upon it he implores.

1836.

THE
SAMARITAN COPY,

AND THE

EXISTENCE OF THE PENTATEUCH IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.



THE earlier vindicators of the genuineness of the Pentateuch regarded the existence of the Samaritan Copy as one of their strongest arguments. In the absence of historical testimony for the time when the Pentateuch was first known to the Samaritans, they thought it in their power to prove by a train of reasoning which, by its certainty, would completely make up for the want of direct evidence—that it was to be dated from the settlement of the supposed mixed people (2 Kings xvii. 24), who received it, they alleged, immediately from the kingdom of Israel. Thus they traced the stream upwards. If, moreover, the Pentateuch existed in the kingdom of Israel, it must have had the highest authority at the time of the separation from Judah. For its later introduction from the kingdom of Judah cannot easily be imagined, if we consider the religious animosity that existed between the two kingdoms. Its high authority in the time of Jeroboam could rest only on the firm conviction of its Mosaic origin. What a strong external argument it is for this origin, when we see the whole nation at that early period so firmly convinced of it, that Jeroboam durst not venture to reject the venerated work in a straightforward manner, but endeavoured to accomplish his object in a more underhand way. These statements have been advocated, not only by EICHHORN, JAHN, ECKERMANN, FRITZSCHE (*Aechtheit der B. Mos.* p. 83–97), KELLE (*Vorurtheilsfreie Würdigung der Mosaischen Schriften*,

s. 59), CELLERIER (*de l'origine authentique et divine de l'ancien Testament*, Genève, 1826, p. 13, &c.), and ROSENMÜLLER, but especially by STEVDEL and MAZADE; by the first, in an essay entitled, *Einige Zweifel gegen die Annahme, es könne aus dem Samarit. Pentateuch kein Beweis für das Alter des Pentateuch geführt werden* ("Some doubts on the opinion that no evidence can be adduced from the Samaritan Pentateuch for the antiquity of the Pentateuch") in Bengel's *Archiv*. iii. 626; and by Mazade in a separate work, *Sur l'origine, l'age et l'état critique du Pent. Sam.*, Genève, 1830. How plausible this evidence is (it has only one vulnerable side, and to any one who does not find that out it must appear irrefragible), is clear from the fact, that some of opposite views have been obliged to acknowledge its weight, namely, OTMAR and BERTHOLDT; the latter of whom has allowed himself to be driven by it as far back as the age of David, for the date of the Pentateuch. The more determined of the opponents, however, seek for pretended marks of a later age, and endeavour from other grounds to show that it could not possibly have existed in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes. In reference to the time when the Samaritans first became acquainted with it, their opinions are very discordant. Several, particularly GESENIUS (*De Pent. Sam.*), DE WETTE (in his *Beiträge*, i. p. 214, and in his *Einführung*), and BLEEK (in ROSENMÜLLER'S *Repertorium*, i. p. 63), maintain that it was introduced when Manasseh and other Jewish priests passed over into Samaria, and cotemporary with the building of the Temple on Mount Gerizzim, an event which (with extraordinary want of critical judgment, following the uncritical Josephus in preference to the cotemporary book of Nehemiah, composed, as they admit, centuries before Josephus), they place in the time of Alexander, without considering what has been remarked to the contrary by earlier scholars, as PRIDEAUX, MILL (in his *Dissertatio de causis odii Judæos inter atque Sam. Dissertatt. sel.* p. 428), SCHULZ (*De implacabili Judæorum in Sam. odio*. Wittenb. 1756, p. 48), JAHN, and others.* According to

* The opinion in favour of Nehemiah, which SEIFFERT expresses in the *Königsberger Weihnachtsprag.* of 1828, and KLEINERT in the *Dorpat. Theol. Beiträgen*, bd. i., appears to have met with more acceptance. At least, DE WETTE, in the second edition of his *Archæologie*, p. 49, has withdrawn his former view.

VON COLLN, on the other hand, (*A. L. Z.*, 1828, *Ergänzungsblatt*, No. 13), the Pentateuch is said to have reached the remains of the Ten Tribes by means of Josiah, when he destroyed the monuments of the idols in Samaria. HARTMANN (p. 810) supposes that the Samaritans obtained the Pentateuch from the Jews during the Babylonian exile.

Before we enter on the investigation itself, we must expose a fundamental error, common to both advocates and opponents, which renders it impossible for either to attain their end, and turns the whole controversy, as to its main points, into unprofitable jangling. *Who were the Samaritans?* The unanimous answer given in modern times, (that is from the time of the renewed interest respecting the Samaritans towards the end of the 18th century, till the papers in THOLUCK'S *Lit. Anzeiger*, 1833, p. 303, which serve as a foundation for our present work,*) not merely in relation to the present controversy, but uniformly is, that the Samaritans were a mixed people, consisting of the remains of the Ten Tribes, and the heathen colonists, whom the Assyrians brought into the land amalgamated by intermarriages. This view is carried to an extreme by DE SACY. "It is probable," he says, "that the Israelites, who dwelt among the Ten Tribes, formed the greatest part of the population, so that in a little time their worship and civil laws founded on the books of Moses, became common to all the foreign colonists."† GESENIUS calls the Samaritans, in plain terms, *apostates*.

Most of the older scholars held a different opinion. Though in some, as LIGHTFOOT on Matth. x. 5; LAMPE on John iv., and others, the germ of the later erroneous view may be found, yet, generally, they considered the Samaritans were, originally, a heathen people, who had gradually adopted the Mosaic system of religion. "*Samaritani*," says Mill, "*origine erant Gentiles, in coloniam missi in Samariam, ejectis inde et abductis Judæis, quam etiam Judæis licet reducibus possidebant; hinc*

* In the latest times the same view meets us. Thus the complete identification of Ephraim and Samaria is maintained by EWALD. *Psalmen*, p. 311.

† "Il est vraisemblable, que les Israélites, demeurés dans les dix tribus, formaient la plus grande partie de la population, en sorte, qu'en peu de temps leur culte, leur lois civiles, fondées sur les livres de Moïse, devinrent communs à toutes les colonies étrangères." *Mém. sur les Samarit.*, p. 7.

feri non poterat, quin sua et popularium suorum agros ab alienis possideri aegerrime ferrent Judei." Thus, also, SCHULTZ, (p. 64); RICHARD SIMON, (*Hist. crit. du V. T.*, p. 64); and RELAND, (*De Samaritanis*); and centuries before all these, ELMACIN, (quoted in HOTTINGER, *Thes.* p. 45.)

If we examine into the grounds for both these views, it is evident that the former could have prevailed in modern times, only because no one took the pains thoroughly to investigate it, which is so much the more surprising, since the Samaritans, for a long time, had been a favourite subject in theological journals.

The only circumstance in favour of an Israelitish element among the Samaritan people, is the assertion of the later Samaritans themselves, that they are descended from Israel; and what forms the only reason for this view is, at the same time, to be regarded as the cause of its spread in later times. Every statement made by the remains of the λαὸς μωρὸς, in Sichem, has been eagerly received, and a readiness to prefer them to the Jews has been shown on all occasions, even where it led to downright absurdities: thus, BERTHOLDT, (*Einleitung*, iii. p. 871), maintains, that in the Samaritan Joshua, that paltry book of fables, many things are narrated more purely and credibly than in the Hebrew, and that its claims are of equal value; EICHHORN, too, (*Einleitung*, Part ii., p. 641), in perfect seriousness, asserts, that the Alexandrian translation of the Pentateuch was originally made from the Hebrew Samaritan text by the Samaritans, and, at a later period, received through the Jews from them. He appeals for the truth of this statement to the Samaritan tradition as completely outweighing the Jewish.

That the Samaritans, as early as the time of Christ, put in their claim to descent from Israel, we see from John iv. 12, where the Samaritan woman calls Jacob the Father of the Samaritans. HEGESIPPUS relies certainly on some such popular statements, when he (Eusebius, iv. c. 22), numbers the Samaritans among *the sons of Israel*, (υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ); and CHRYSOSTOM, when on John iv., he remarks, οἱ κατοικοῦντες οὐ Σαμαρεῖται ἀλλ' Ἰσραηλῆται ἐλέγοντο. AMMONIUS, in the *Catena Patrum*, on John iv., says expressly, ἐκ γένους ὄντες τῶν Μηδῶν καὶ Περσῶν ἔθνους ἐπεφήμιζον ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ Ἰακώβ. In their Joshua they frequently call themselves "*sons of Israel.*" See Reland, *de Sam.*, in his

Dissertatt, ii. p. 62. Also, BENJAMIN of TUDELA, reports in his travels, that they give themselves out to be of the tribe of Ephraim. In a manuscript in the University of Oxford, by the Samaritan Abulhasan of Tyre, containing a controversy with the Jews, one section is entitled, “*Refutatio Judæorum qui Samaritanos non esse Israelitas dicunt.* ;” (v. *Catal. codd. msc. Orient. Bibl. Babl.*, p. ii., *Arab. compl. conf. Nicol, ed absolr. Pusey, Oxon.* 1835, p. 3.) In their letter to Job Ludolph, (Reland, i. c.) they state that they are sons of Israel—are all descended from the sons of Joseph the Just, of the tribes of Ephraim and Manassch, and, according to their priests, through Phineas from Aaron. And so this account has come down to the present time.

But the testimony thus given by this people of themselves can prove nothing, since from their very midst, opposite and far more trustworthy testimonies can be produced. At the time of the return from the captivity, the Samaritans were not so eager to claim this relationship. In their letter to the king of Persia (Ezra iv. 9, 10), they describe themselves as the people “whom the great and noble Asnappar brought over and set in the cities of Samaria.” And if we are reminded that it was for their interest to leave their Israelitish element unnoticed, yet it is impossible to get over the passage in Ezra iv. 2, where the Samaritans say to the Jews, “Let us build with you, for we seek your God as ye do, and we do sacrifice unto him since the days of Esar-haddon, king of Assur, which brought us up hither.” Here the Samaritans had the strongest inducement possible to lay stress on the Israelitish element, if it really existed; this would have been a far stronger claim for taking part in building the temple than the only point they did urge. But at a later period, when, trusting to the greater darkness in which the lapse of time had concealed the origin of the people, men ventured to make use of this artifice, they brought forward the truth as soon as it appeared more advantageous than the falsehood, which in the latest times had been held by the people themselves for truth, though, perhaps, never by the more intelligent. JOSEPHUS casts it in their teeth, that whenever they saw the Jews in prosperity, they called themselves their relations, saying that they were descendants of Joseph; but as soon as the Jews were depressed, they averred that they had nothing to do with them, since they were connected by no bond of

kindred or friendship, but were foreign colonists, of a totally different descent.* To this account of Josephus, which he repeats in b. xi. 8, § 6, in almost the same words, history gives a voucher. When Alexander granted important privileges to the Jews, they gave themselves out for Jews, in order to participate in these privileges; yet without succeeding in convincing Alexander, which is worthy of notice, since it implies how destitute they were of proofs to support their assertions. On the other hand, when the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes began, they abjured all relationship to the Jews, saying that they were colonists of Medes and Persians. Josephus xii. 5, § 5. In the letter to Antiochus Epiphanes, they describe themselves as being *οἱ ἐν Σικιμοῖς Σιδώνιοι*, Sidonians, that is, Heathens. They appeal for their heathen origin to public documents, *πολιτικαὶ ἀναγραφαί*. Influenced by the conviction, that the God to whom they had devoted themselves was one who had never given witness of himself among them, with whom they had not become united, as Israel had been, since the beginning of their national existence, they say that their fathers had founded *ἀνώνυμον ἐν τῷ Γαριζεῖν ὄρει ἱερον*. This sanctuary, which hitherto had no *presens numen*, was henceforth to be dedicated to *Ζεὺς Ἑλλάγιος*. This account is confirmed by ii. Macc. vi. 2, according to which Antiochus sent, “to pollute the temple in Jerusalem, and to call it the temple of Jupiter Olympus, and that in Gerizzim of Jupiter the defender of strangers, as they did desire that dwelt in that place;” † a passage of which the concise mode of expression has given rise to singular mistakes. Besides, Michaelis, *Suppl.* p. 1857, (see GAAB *Handb. zum philologischen Verstehen der Apocryphen*), who explains it, “as the inhabitants of the place were hospitable,” instead of, “he let them call it the temple of Zeus, the protector of strangers, as at that time the inhabitants were really

* *Οἱ πρὸς μεταβολὴν καὶ συγγένειαν, ὅταν μὲν εὖ πράττοντας βλέπωσι τοῦς Ἰουδαίους συγγενεῖς ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡς ἐξ Ἰωσήπου φύντες καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκεῖθεν τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες οἰκειότητος, ὅταν δὲ πταίσαντας ἴδωσιν, οὐδαμῶς αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγουσιν, οὐδ' εἶναι δίκαιον ὀνοῦν αὐτοῖς εὐνοίας ἢ γένους, ἀλλὰ μετοίκους ἀλλοεθνεῖς ἀποφαίνουσι ἐαυτούς.* Antiq. ix. 14, § 3.

† *Μολῦναι τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶν καὶ προσονομάσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸν ἐν Γαριζεῖν, καθὼς ἐτύγχανον οἱ τὸν τόπον οἰκοῦντες, Διὸς Ξενίου.*

strangers," or, "according to the condition of the inhabitants of the place."

But if a doubt still remains, whether these last testimonies respecting themselves were not, in some degree, compulsory, and, should any persons be disposed still to attribute some weight to the expressions of the people respecting their Israelitish origin (for which there is so much the less ground, since their expressions do not serve to confirm the modern views of the Samaritans to their being a mixed people, but rather tend to support their pure Israelitish origin and their absolute identity with the Ten Tribes—the assertion of an Israelitish origin at one time, and a heathen origin at another, is contradictory, so that, even according to the modern view, they cannot be freed from the reproach of gross falsehood)—yet we shall certainly learn to give up a tenacious adherence to the pretended historical tradition, if, on looking somewhat more closely into the national character of the Samaritans, we perceive that a disposition to falsehood forms one of its leading features, and that this is shown particularly in that department to which these expressions belong—in whatever might serve to place them on a level with the Jews, and therefore to satisfy that tendency which is most intimately connected with their existence, and may be considered as the national characteristic, evincing itself to be such by surviving every thing else, and still operating in the weak and pitiable remains of a nation on the verge of extinction. We would here adduce some few instances of mendacity employed for such an object ; others will be found in another connection in their proper place. It is generally known and admitted, that the Samaritans have changed the true reading *Ebal*, in Deut. xxvii. 4, for *Gerizzim*, in order to secure reverence for their own sanctuary. (EICHHORN, p. 647). For the aggrandizement of Mount Gerizzim in opposition to Mount Zion, the legend about the holy vessels, said to have been buried there, has been made use of. The legend is very ancient ; the earliest traces of it appear as far back as the time when the claims to an Israelitish origin were first asserted. In reference to the time of depositing these vessels, and the persons employed in the business, it has been variously reported. No sooner has one form of the story been shown to be palpably false, than it has been vamped in a different fashion. At first, Moses was made the prime agent ; and indeed, if he had

buried the sacred vessels on Mount Gerizzim, a final blow would have been struck at the boasting of the Jews. According to Josephus,* an impostor gained entrance among the Samaritans by promising, that he would show them the sacred vessels which had been buried there by Moses. But this fiction, which the impostor found made to his hand, and turned to his own advantage, was too gross; it was in manifest contradiction to the Pentateuch, according to which, Moses never crossed the Jordan. To support it, the monstrous assumption must be made, that Moses, to accomplish this important business, entered the promised land some time by stealth; and so, at a later period, it was thought enough to maintain, that the secreting of the vessels was effected under the high priesthood of one Ozi, 360 years after the entrance of the Jews into Palestine. In this form, the story is found in ch. 42 of the *Chronicon Samaritanum*, (v. RELAND, *De Monte Garizim, dissertatt.* i. p. 151). The history of Ozi is given there immediately before that of Eli. The main object, which was to give the delusive impression, that the Jews before the times of David and Solomon had embraced a shadow instead of a goddess, was also, by this form of the legend, fully attained. But there was still another end, which offered, beside, a special secondary advantage; as it would not only include snatching an advantage from their adversaries, and appropriating to themselves their *hidden* honours, but also vindicate their possession at the same period of those *manifest* ones, by which Judah attempted to justify her haughty contempt of the Samaritans. Thus also it was maintained, that the holy vessels had remained in possession of the Ten Tribes, who were identical with the Samaritans, until the time when they were carried into captivity; that then the high priest Abijah hid them in Mount Gerizzim, but took the book of the law with him into captivity. In this form, we find the story in the same *Chronicon Samaritanum*. See Lampe on John iv. (vol. i. p. 746, Basil.) where the proposal of Reland to read in Josephus Ozi, for Moses, through a mistaken notion of the origin of the whole tradition, if we may so call a wilful deception, is properly rejected. The worship on Gerizzim, the Samaritans maintain, was founded by Joshua,

* παραγεγομμένοις δείξειν τὰ ἱερά σκεύη τῆδε κατορωρυγμένα, Μωϋσείως τῆδε αὐτῶν ποιηταμένου κατὰ Θεσιν. Antiq. xviii. 4, § 1.

and first, under the priesthood of Eli, whom, as well as Samuel, they regard as a magician, the Jews separated from them (v. RELAND, *Sam. d.* p. 65, 87, 88.) To deprive the Jews of every distinction, they aver, that Salmanassar expelled the Jews as well as the Israelites from their native land, and gave it to a people from Persia. Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Persians, granted their return to the Jews and Samaritans or Israelites, and the former went back to Jerusalem, and the latter to Gerizzim. (v. RELAND.) They represent their priests to be descendants of the celebrated Phinchas. They evade the demand for evidence, by an artifice to which they are much given. They pretend that they had been deprived of the genealogical register kept by the Levites in the time of Hadrian. (v. *Chron. Sam. c.* 38, Reland p. 64.) The Samaritans boast with the greatest confidence of the possession of a copy of the law, at the end of which stand the following words:—"I, Abishua, son of Phinchas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the priest, completed this copy in the court of the tabernacle, in the thirteenth year of the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan." Huntington, when he visited the Samaritans, got hold of the manuscript, and looked it through. When he had come almost to the end, without finding the words, the Samaritans took the alarm, and began, of their own accord, to assure him that the words were really once there, but had been expunged by some evil-disposed person. Soon after that, they repeated the same story, without fear or shame, in a letter to Job Ludolph. (v. EICHORN, p. 599.) And even to the present day they keep up the same pretence, only taking good care never to put the manuscript into any one's hands. See FISK'S *Life*, and *Correspondence d' Orient*, by MICHAUD; and PENJOLAT, vol. vi. p. 253. After these specimens, it cannot be doubtful who is right,—the honest SCHULZ, who, in his "*Leitungen des Höchsten*," vol. iv. p. 369, assures us that he had learnt to know the Samaritans, whom he met in Antioch, to be liars and hypocrites; or BRUNS, who, in his essay on the Samaritans in Stäudlin's *Beiträgen*, p. 79, from partiality to his favourites, accuses him of falsehood. It is obvious that such a mode of proceeding must by degrees ruin the character of any people.

Thus it appears, plainly enough, that the arguments to support the view of the Samaritans as a mixed people, which are derived

from themselves, are quite unsound; the historical evidence obtained from this quarter is worth nothing; so that, even supposing no important counter-evidence to be forthcoming, we can only speak of it as a *possibility*.

If we enquire now for the testimonies of Jewish origin, we shall find among them, on nearer examination, not one which favours the existence of an Israelitish element among the Samaritans. The invitation to join in the Jewish worship, which Hezekiah sent to the remaining members of the Ten Tribes, is nothing to the purpose. For it happened in the time between the invasion of Salmanassar, after which many Israelites returned to their desolated land, and many who had been left behind came out of their hiding places; and the invasion of Asarhaddon, by whom first the carrying away of the Ten Tribes was completed, and the new heathen colonists were brought into the land (v. Part i. p. 177, where also another assertion is refuted, that, under Josiah, the land was inhabited by Israelites, who offered on the high places). Josias destroyed the high-places of the new-comers, and slew the priests of the high places, because he considered the land of the Ten Tribes, though no longer inhabited by them, to be still a part of the Holy Land, and held himself bound to purify it from idolatrous defilement. MAZADE, too (p. 43), appeals to Jeremiah xli. 5, according to which, eighty men of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, came to Jerusalem, in order to present their offerings to Jehovah on the site of the destroyed temple, where, as it appears, Gedaliah had erected an altar. But if we more closely examine this narrative, it will appear that these eighty men were dispersed Jews, who now, when Gedaliah's government promised them security, returned from their neighbouring places of refuge to Jerusalem. To mention only one thing, how otherwise can the circumstance mentioned in verse 8th be explained, that Ishmael spared the lives of ten of them, on receiving a promise of giving up to him their stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey, that were concealed in the vicinity of Jerusalem?

The strongest positive proofs for the purely heathen origin of the Samaritans from the writings of the Old Testament—the facts that the new colonists, in 2 Kings xvii., appear as the only inhabitants of the land—that, according to v. 2, they requested an Israelitish priest from the king of Assyria, because there was no

one in the land who could furnish them even with the crudest notion of the way and method of worshipping the God of the country, have been adduced in Part i. (on Daniel.) We may add, that the prophets who lived after the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, represent its members as completely carried away, and destined to return at a future period. See Jeremiah iii. 30. 31; Zach. x. The fact, also, of the absolute refusal of all participation in rebuilding the temple, presupposes the purely heathen origin of the Samaritans. The Samaritans, if we admit their Israelitish origin, do not make the slightest allusion to the strongest of all reasons, to justify them taking a part in that work. They can only allege that they sought the God of the Jews, and had offered sacrifices to him from the days of Asarhaddon, the king of Assyria, who had brought them thither. The chief men of the Jews answered them, "You have nothing to do with us to build an house unto our God, but we ourselves together will build to the Lord God of Israel." Ezra iv. 3. Evidently this answer would have been quite unsuitable, had the Samaritans consisted for the greater part of the descendants of the Ten Tribes. That the temple belonged to the God of Israel (not simply of Judah) would have rather served to support their suit. Had members of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes expressed such a wish, it would have been joyfully granted. If such persons had turned to the Jewish worship, they would have been received with gladness. The example of Hezekiah shows, that no means were left untried to induce them to return. The reunion of Israel and Judah is one of the most deeply cherished expectations of the prophets. If we proceed downwards to the times after the writings of the Old Testament, the oldest non-canonical book at once presents us with a testimony in favour of our view. Jesus, the son of Sirach, says, at the close of his book, ch. l. v. 25, 26, "There be two manner of nations which my heart abhorreth, and the third is no nation. They that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwell in Sichem."* It is shown here very plainly how careful we should be with our criticism in books of which the explanation lies still in so imperfect a

* 'Εν δυσιν ἔθνεσι προσώχθισεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου, καὶ τὸ τρίτον οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθνος. Οἱ κατήμενοι ἐν ὄρει Σαμαρείας, καὶ Φυλιστιεῖμ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁ μωρος ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν Σικίμοις.

state as the Apocrypha. (The Comment of Breitschneider on Jesus the son of Sirach, with all its prolixity, does not satisfy the most moderate demands). All the Greek manuscripts have ἐν ὄρει Σαμαρείας, and this reading is supported by the evident allusion to Amos iv. 1. Yet most critics, as DRUSIUS, GROTIUS, CALMET, (who remarks with great naïveté, “*Les exemplaires Grecs sont tous corrompus en cet endroit*”), and BREITSCHNEIDER, are disposed to read instead ἐν ὄρει Σηείρ; but the remark of Breitschneider, following the course of the earlier opponents against the received reading, seems much more to confirm it; (Σαμαρείας, he says, *aperte mendosum est, quum λαὸς ἐν Σικίμοις sint iidem Samaritani, qui igitur bis nominarentur*), for it shows that the existence of the reading Σηείρ in the Latin version explains itself sufficiently from the same error, and a critical conjecture occasioned by it. But the exposition will show, that Σαμαρείας is absolutely to be preferred, even if Σηείρ had equally strong external evidence in its favour. When Jesus the son of Sirach names three things, as he does here, as the object of his aversion or his love, his attention is always peculiarly directed to the third, and the two first serve only as a foundation, or as the lower round of the ladder by which he ascends to the topmost. This is evidently the case in ch. xxv. 1, 2. “An old adulterer that doteth” is what the author has chiefly in view, for there is a longer reference to the same in v. 3–6. Thus also in ch. xxvii. 1. So we have also here not a simple succession of objects, but a climax; still more hateful than blacksliding Israel with their worship of the calves—more hateful than even the Philistines with their open enmity against God and his people, is to me that hypocritical race of the Samaritans.* This expression stands very appropriately just at the end of the whole, after the wish for the welfare of Israel, from which the false seed is here excluded; so that to assert, as LINDE does, that both these verses are misplaced, is evidently wrong. Paul’s anathema at the end of the first Epistle to the Corinthians (xvi. 22), on those who do not love the Lord

* Compare ch. xlvii. 21. γενέσθαι δίχα τυραννίδα, καὶ ἐξ Ἐφραὶμ ἄρξαι βασιλείαν ἀπειθή, v. 23. Ἱεροβοὰμ ὃς ἐξήμαρτε τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ Ἐφραὶμ ὁδὸν ἀμαρτίας, v. 24. Καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν αἱ ἀμαρτίαι αὐτῶν σφόδρα, ἀποστῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν, v. 25. Καὶ πᾶσαν πονηρίαν ἐξεζήτησαν, ἕως ἐκδίκησιν ἕλθῃ ἐπ’ αὐτούς.

Jesus Christ, in connection with the wish for blessing and grace on all those who are in Christ Jesus, is analogous to it, though in a higher sphere; and in a lower sphere, the formula in an Arabic manuscript of the Samaritan Pentateuch is analogous. "*Deus flammis aeternis addicat animam Samaritani qui ad Judaeos defecerit*" (v. De Sacy, *De Versione Sam. Arab. Pent.* in Eichhorn's *Bibl.* x. p. 32). The passage in Jesus, the son of Sirach, is in several respects confirmatory of our view. 1. The inhabitants of the mountain of Samaria, the Israelites, are here represented as perfectly distinct from the people who dwell in Sichem, the Samaritans. 2. The climax is conceivable only on the supposition of the entirely heathen origin of the Samaritans; (i.) Israel that acted as if it were Not-Israel (*Nichtisrael*); (ii.) Not-Israel that openly acted as such; (iii.) Not-Israel that acted as if it were Israel. 3. In the οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθνος and ὁ λαὸς ὁ μωρός, there is a plain allusion to Deuteronomy xxxii. 21, וְאֲנִי אֶקְרָאתָם בְּלֹא עַם בְּנֵי נֶבֶל אֲבֵרֵם, "I will move them to jealousy with [those which are] not a people; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation." Jesus, the son of Sirach, could only consider this prophecy relating to the heathen, as being fulfilled through the Samaritans, in whom he saw a punishment for Israel, if he held them to be heathens. Ch. xlviii. 15 is also to be considered, according to which the Israelites had been completely carried away, and only the smaller part of the covenanted people, Judah, were left behind. The passage in 2 Maccab. vi. 2 we have already quoted. Josephus is everywhere consistent in maintaining the purely heathen origin of the Samaritans; see *Antiq.* x. 9, § 7, where the entire carrying away of the Israelites, and the occupation of the whole land by heathen colonists, erroneously attributed by him to Salmanassar, is asserted (ix. 14, § 3; xi. 8, § 6; xii. 5, § 5). The name of Cuthæans, generally prevalent in his time, and commonly used in the Talmud, is an evidence of the same thing (xi. 4, § 4, &c.).

If we turn now to the New Testament, to see how far our Lord and his Apostles participated in the prevailing Jewish view, we are met at once by the passage in Matt. x. 5, 6, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." However low the current estimation of the Samaritans might be, it is plain from remarks such as those of Lücke (v. Joh. i. 511) on

this passage, that our Lord, in sending out the Twelve, indulged the existing prejudice. As a matter of course, the declaration of our Lord, which he made in conversing with the Canaanitish woman (xv. 24, "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and ver. 26, "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs,") must likewise be taken as mere accommodation. The correct view is to be found in most of the older expositors, as for instance in Calvin, who remarks that the command of our Saviour is founded on the covenant which God made with Israel: *tunc ipsos solos deus in sua familia cenesbat, quum alii essent extranei*. Israel had a claim by grace on the benefits of the Messiah's kingdom; that is, after the promise had been given to that people by grace, that covenant which came to a full completion by imparting these benefits—the Divine justice required this impartation; God, the Holy One of Israel, would have violated his attribute of holiness had he not made his promise good. With respect to the Heathens, however, a participation in these blessings was an act of pure and absolute grace. This relation between the two occasioned the different position which our Lord assumes to them. To do justice to his covenant, the Gospel of the kingdom was first announced, and the kingdom offered, to the Jews. During the days of his flesh, the Saviour satisfied himself with prophetic intimations of the wider extension of his salvation in after times. What he did in particular cases towards this extension, urged by the faith of persons out of the Israelitish pale, must be regarded as prophesying by action, as an embodying of verbal prophecy. If our Lord here places the Samaritans on a level with the Heathen, as not the objects of the apostolic commission, and sets in opposition to them "the house of Israel" as its only proper object, so that it might be said of the former, what the Apostle says of the Heathen, Eph. ii. 12, that they were "without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world;" he expresses, as plainly as possible, that he regarded the Samaritan assertion of their Israelitish origin as mere pretence. That the Apostles were not appointed merely for Judah alone was already shown by their being twelve in number, representing the twelve tribes. The injunction of our Lord to his disciples not to enter into any city of the Samaritans, proves

that he did not consider this people as forming a part of the δωδεκάφυλον. This same view of the Samaritans is also plainly implied in our Lord's words in Luke xvii. 18, "There are not found that are returned to give glory to God save this stranger;" the Samaritan is here designated *a stranger*, (*ἄλλογενής*) one who was not of the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

But in relation to the subject before us, the passage in John iv. 22, is of peculiar importance, where the Lord, in conversing with the woman of Samaria, says, "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews." How unintelligible this passage is according to the modern view of the Samaritans, is most clearly shown by Lücke, when he broadly asserts that Jesus passed through Samaria in order to scatter among the Samaritans the seed of the Gospels—"perhaps also in order to wean his disciples gradually from the prevailing prejudice against a people *who had an equal right to the Messiah's kingdom*, and were not without susceptibility for it." According to him, the meaning of this declaration was: the Samaritan religion compared with the Jews, is unintelligent, because among them the idea of the Messiah is far less distinctly formed than among the Jews. But the idea of the Messiah is in this statement imperceptibly substituted for the salvation of the Messiah; and it is only in reference to the latter that the ὅτι, "for," is admissible. Add to this, that the relatively inferior development of the idea of the Messiah among the Samaritans (though, as this narrative shows, they were not far behind the Jews in this respect, but had, on the contrary, drawn largely from their fulness), was not at all suited to form the basis of a general reproach of unacquaintedness with the object and nature of religion, of ignorance in reference to the universal relation of men to God. Would the Lord have said the same things of the Patriarchs, whose ideas of the Messiah were certainly inferior in distinctness to those of the Samaritans, who had enlarged the former revelations by what had flowed to them from the Jews? Lampe admirably remarks on the design of the whole expression *—"Before the true light arose upon her, it was needful to convince her of her own darkness, and to humble her on ac-

* "De tenebris suis debebat convinci, antequam vera lux ei exoriretur et humiliari propter suam indignitatem, antequam redemptor mundi ei innotesceret."

count of her unworthiness, before the Redeemer of the world made himself known to her." The Samaritans thought that, in order to partake in the God of Israel, it was enough to reverence him; the Lord here deprives them of that fond notion; he denies that they possessed any real knowledge of the great object of religion—God; and since this real knowledge is a necessary consequence of the revelation of God, he denies that they had any glory of God among them, any occupancy of their temple and of their hearts by the fulness of his presence; he marks them as being like the Heathen "without God in the world." The reason of this—that their religion was entirely subjective, and therefore tantamount to none at all, and their devotion self-derived, an *ἔθειλο-θρησκεία*, "will-worship," is expressed in the words, "for salvation is of the Jews." If it be certain that the salvation of the Messiah did not proceed from the Jews and Samaritans jointly, but from the Jews alone, which the Saviour had already indicated by the *ἡμεῖς*, "*we*," by which he placed himself and the Jews on one side, and the Samaritans on the other, it is equally certain that the Samaritans did not belong to the kingdom of God to which this salvation descended—not to the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, from whom the blessing, the *σωτηρία*, was to go forth over all the families of the earth; and if this be certain, the Samaritans could not have a share in the operations of the Divine grace, by which alone a true knowledge of God can be obtained, for these operations are a privilege of the members of the kingdom of God. If this sense of the passage be undeniably the correct one, it stands in direct opposition to the pretensions of the Samaritans. The Saviour would never have denied all essential knowledge of God to the Ten Tribes, would never have excluded *them* from a participation in the kingdom of God, and from belonging to those *ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστός*, "of whom Christ came." In Israel, even during the most corrupt times, there was always a nucleus, an *ἐκλογή*, a *λεῖμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος*, Rom. xi. 5. Among the Samaritans this was wholly wanting. Whatever of true piety was found among them, was always within the limits of the fear of God, *δεισι-δαιμονία*, and was merely a modification of heathen piety, with which it always remained on a level till Christ broke down the wall of partition. This serves to explain the vacillation of the Samaritans, their inability to suffer for their religion, their incli-

nation to everything which savoured of free thinking, so that every unbelieving tendency which arose among the Jews found a ready acceptance with them, and they ever went just as far as the most enlightened among the Jews, but certainly no further, since they were afraid of thereby putting weapons into their adversaries' hands against themselves. They spoke the truth not quite unconsciously, when in their letter to Antiochus Epiphanes they stated, in wonderful agreement with our Lord's expression, that their fathers had built *ἀνόνημον ἐν τῷ Γαριζέν ὄρει ἱερον*; the feeling was active within them, that the God, about whom they troubled themselves so much, was, with all their boasting of his nearness, at a distance from them, that he was no *Θεὸς ἐναργής, ἐπιφανής*, that he had merely a traditionary name, not one which was expressive of his living presence.

But, if we enter deeper into the meaning and significance of Christ's conversation with the Samaritan woman, his language in the 17th and 18th verses ("Thou hast well said, I have no husband; for thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband, in that saidst thou truly,") furnishes also evidence in favour of our view. It redounds not to the honour of orthodox expositors that STRAUSS (*Leben Jesu*, Part i. p. 519) first called attention to the symbolical meaning of the whole transaction with the Samaritan woman, which has nothing in common with the wild allegorical exposition of the section as it is found in Origen, Augustine, and Bede, and which does not shake but confirm the historical truth of the transaction, without which indeed it can hardly be defended against its adversaries. Also here the injurious influence of neglecting the Old Testament, with its figurative character, its symbolical actions, is shown, which has prevented the deeper understanding of so many discourses and acts of Christ, particularly those recorded by John. The Samaritan woman is a representative of the Samaritan people, and on that account is designated by the quite general term *Σαμαρείτις*. What our Lord said to her, was said to the people, as represented by her. Jesus sits at Jacob's well—the Samaritan woman comes to draw water—what more admirable material image of spiritual relations can be imagined? Salvation comes from the Jews—Jesus is the dispenser of salvation—it goes through him from the Jews to the Samaritans. The words, "Give me to drink," from a comparison with

verse 10, appears to refer more to Christ's spiritual thirst after the water of faith in the Samaritans, than to his bodily thirst after the water drawn by the woman. The living water that he especially desired he would himself first give, and then drink of the fountain he had created. If he had been concerned about earthly water, he would not immediately have relinquished this desire, after he had led the woman from corporeal to spiritual things. The object of Christ could not have been to call forth instant success among the Samaritans. Had that been his intention, how could the Lord, in v. 35, say that the Apostles would be first sent forth as reapers into the fields, which were already ripe for harvest? How could it be explained that the Lord was satisfied with this single visit—that he never again made an attempt to prosecute the work he had begun — that he expressly forbade his Apostles to enter the land of the Samaritans, for the purpose of publishing the gospel there? All this leads us to the conclusion, that the event had a prophetic character, that it was a shadow of things to come, a type and image of what should result from the exaltation of Christ, when he would draw all men to him. As, then, everything which is to happen from the exaltation to the second coming of Christ, became indicated, portrayed, represented by his first appearance, which pointed in no respect to something purely future, but throughout gave a visible pledge to faith. But on the supposition that the salvation of the woman was the highest and best object of Christ, the method and way in which he conducted this interview can barely be understood or justified. How was it that, instead of impressively turning her attention on herself, he entered so deeply with her into the question on the relation between the Jews and Samaritans, of which the solution lay far beyond her horizon? How came he to lavish on her that sublime aphorism, "God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth?" How came he to meet her with the open avowal that he was the Messiah, while on other occasions he was so solicitous to obtrude on no one the recognition of his Messiahship? If the act was a symbolical one — if it bore a prophetic character — then the confession and acknowledgment of Jesus as the Messiah must be introduced. The necessary conclusion of the event was this — we know that

this is truly the Saviour of the world, the Christ. How deep this recognition went was almost a matter of indifference; Christ must have seen the state of the heart in those who confessed him, and called that forth hastily which he otherwise would have allowed to develop itself agreeably to nature, and slowly. But especially the 16th–18th verses (“Jesus saith unto her, go, call thy husband, and come hither. The woman answered and said, I have no husband. Jesus said unto her, Thou hast well said, I have no husband. For thou hast had five husbands, and he whom thou now hast is not thy husband: in that saidst thou truly”), serve to confirm our mode of interpretation. It would otherwise be extremely difficult to point out the true object and meaning of the expression, “Go, call thy husband.” For the woman, considered as an individual, this command could only be intended to lead to the statement that follows of her domestic relations, and, by this proof of a higher intelligence, to prepare her for acknowledging the Messiahship of Jesus. But this cannot have been the only object. Our Lord never reveals his supernatural power and insight in an unimportant and indifferent manner. According to our mode of interpretation, the matter stands thus: the request of the woman—“Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not,” taken spiritually, and referred to her people, could only be realized when “a woman compassed a man” — (Jeremiah xxxi. 22. Compare *Christologie*, part iii., p. 567) — when want should come into contact with fulness—weakness with strength. Whenever now a soul repeats this request, “Give me this water that I thirst not,” the answer of Christ still is, “Go call thy husband.” The woman answers, “I have no husband.” By the Divine guidance the higher relations of her people are portrayed in her inferior relations, and on this very account she is chosen by Christ as the national representative. She had had five husbands, and he whom she now had was not her husband; he had not thought her worthy to be united to him in wedlock. And thus, also, her people. They had, in earlier times, entered into a five-fold spiritual marriage with their idols; this marriage was dissolved; the people sought for a marriage with Jehovah, but this was refused, because they did not belong to Israel. Thus interpreted, the expression, “he whom thou hast is not thy husband,” corresponds exactly with

“ye worship ye know not what,” in ver. 22; and ver. 19, which, according to the common interpretation, appears quite unconnected with what goes before, now comes into closest connection with it, and serves, partly as a commentary, partly as a continuation of the idea. “Call thy husband.” “I have no husband.” I, the Messiah, after removing the barriers which hitherto have excluded Samaria from communion with the true God, will become thy husband. Those persons who are ready to reject at once all deeper investigation of God’s Word, as insipid and trifling, will perhaps be a little more cautious if they take into consideration the remarkable agreement of “thou hast had five husbands,” with 2 Kings xvii. 24. In that passage we are informed that the king of Assyria brought colonists from exactly five nations—from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and caused them to settle in the towns of Samaria; and each of these five nations had their peculiar Deity, or, according to the language of the ancient east, their husband. (Ver. 31.)* This similarity of the relations of the people and of the woman is indeed too remarkable altogether to be disregarded without levity. As to the inferences from the word, “He whom thou now hast is not thy husband,” we may refer to what has been already remarked on ver. 22. That the expression, “thou hast had five husbands,” implies the purely heathen origin of the Samaritans is quite evident.

Let us proceed now from our Lord to his Apostles. How is it to be explained, that John, in this narrative, has, instead of Sichem, the term Σιχάρ or Συχάρ? The two current explanations are both inadmissible. We can neither admit with RELAND (*de Monte Gerizim*, p. 145), and others, that Sichar, originally a Jewish misrepresentation, in allusion to the word רש, *falsehood*, by degrees became so much in use that the nickname supplanted the real name; for if this were so, the nickname would certainly occur in other passages; nor with LÜCKE, that the alteration was accidental, for all analogy is wanting. Nothing remains, then, but to admit that the term Σιχάρ belongs to John himself; that, by a slight alteration, he made the name expressive of the fact.

* Οἱ δὲ μετοικισθέντες εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν Χουθαῖοι—ἕκαστοι κατὰ ἔθνος ἴδιον θεὸν εἰς τὴν Σαμάρειαν κομίσαντες—πέντε δ' ἦσαν—καὶ τοῦτους καθὼς ἦν πατρῶιον αὐτοῖς σεβόμενοι. κ. τ. λ., Josephus Antiq. ix. 14, § 3.

This is not so very different from John's peculiar style, as many may perhaps suppose. We only need to recollect his designation of himself, as the disciple "whom Jesus loved," *ὁν ἠγάπα ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, an evident allusion to his name John, (Jesus being = Jehovah), in which he perceives a prophecy which was fulfilled in his relation to Christ; such passages, also, as xi. 51, xix. 36. Moreover, he had a large number of Old Testament analogies before him, of places where the *nomina vana*, as Curtius calls all those names which do not correspond to the thing, were changed into *nomina realia*. Thus Hosea calls *Bethel* profaned by the worship of the calves, *Bethaven*, iv. 15, v. 8, x. 5. See Amos ver. 5; Gesen. *Thes.* p. 51. So in 2 Kings i. 2. *בעל זבול*, *Dominus habitationis celestis* = בעל השמים, is changed into בעל זביב, *the Lord of flies*, a Walter Havenought, or a John Lackland; the singular explanation *Deus muscarum averruncus*, which assumes that the Philistines believed that they needed the Divine aid merely against flies—that their religious sentiment was only developed to meet this emergency (see LE CLERC on the passage, and GESENIUS, *Thes.* p. 225), ought, long ago, to have been consigned to oblivion. Thus, in 2 Kings xxiii. 13, the *Mount of Olives* is, by a slight alteration, called הַר הַמְשֹׁחָה, *the Mount of Corruption*, in a connection which mentions the idolatrous worship carried on there. Thus the name of Saul's youngest son, Eshbaal (*a man of Baal*), is changed, in 2 Sam. ii. 8, into ISH-BOSHETH (*a man of shame*), (see MOVERS on *Chronicles*, p. 157). If John had merely had to narrate the journey of Jesus through Sichem, he would doubtless have used the common name; to have done otherwise would have been Jewish—but thus the proper name—the name Sichar, the compendium of ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε—serves as a preparation for what follows; the arrogance of the Samaritan woman, and the repulse given to it by Jesus; as Hosea comprehends everything which he had to say against the worship of the calves at Bethel, in the name Bethaven; as the author of the Book of Kings, by the mere alteration in the name, expresses his judgment on the conduct of the King of Israel, and exposes all his folly. But if John marks the whole Samaritan character as false and deceitful, it is impossible that he could have thought the assertion of an Israelitish origin to be correct.

Paul says, in his speech before Agrippa, Acts xxvi. 6, 7, "And now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers: unto which promise our twelve tribes (*τὸ δωδεκάφυλον*), instantly serving God night and day, hope to come." From this passage it is plain, that the twelve tribes, *τὸ δωδεκάφυλον*, were equivalent to Jews, *Ἰουδαῖοι*, that Israel continued to exist in Judah, not in the Samaritans. The Gospel was first preached in Samaria, in consequence of the dispersion of the believers by the persecution in Jerusalem. Peter and John were sent to them, in answer to whose prayers they received the Holy Ghost. Acts viii. 14, 15.

One marked difference, however, existed between the Heathen and the Samaritans, which was even impressed on the Jews, with all their glowing hatred against the Samaritans. Lightfoot, on Matt. x. 5, quotes a passage from the Talmud, in which the question is discussed, whether the Samaritans are heathen; one party maintains, the other denies it. To the Apostles, whose mental vision was not darkened by passion, this difference was very clear. Peter, in reference to the Samaritans, had no scruples; but a Divine communication was needed to remove his scruples respecting the Heathen. Acts x. 28. Our Lord's language, in Acts i. 8, agrees with this: "Ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Here the Samaritans occupy the middle place between the Jews and the Heathen.

But this difference, which comparatively cannot be considered very important, is not at all founded on the Israelitish descent of the Samaritans, but rests only on the relation in which the Samaritans, for several centuries, had already stood to the God of Israel. Although, according to the leading features of their character, their religion was but subjective, yet it is not said, that the God of Israel had left himself wholly without witness among them; and exactly because their relation to him was not purely one-sided, they formed a connecting link between Israel and the Heathen.

If we have succeeded in establishing our point, (and the non-Jewish physiognomy of the Samaritans (v. RAUMER'S *Palästina*, p. 115) may be adduced in its favour), it cannot be denied, that the foundation of the evidence from the existence of the Samaritan

Pentateuch is shaken. The notion of its transference from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes to the Samaritans is now out of all question. It can only be made a question whether the Samaritans obtained the Pentateuch from the Israelites who were carried captive, or from the Jews. That the latter view is to be rejected, on the ground of the animosity that existed between the Samaritans and the Jews, can only be maintained from a misapprehension of the origin of the former, and an incorrect conception of that animosity.

The primary cause of the animosity of the Jews towards the Samaritans was the unfounded claim they made to belong to the people of God, so that, instead of longing, *as individuals*, to be received into their communion, (in which case, that would not have been refused to them which was forced on the Idumæans), they maintained that, *as a people*, they had a right to a participation in the kingdom of God—that they formed not a less self-subsisting part of it than Judah—that they stood, in every respect, on an equality with them, and, latterly, in a far higher position. The chief cause of the animosity of the Samaritans against the Jews was, that the latter would not acknowledge the justice of their pretensions. Hence, it was a necessary consequence, that the Jews avoided borrowing anything from the Samaritans, which must have been so much more easy for them, the less there could be found among the Samaritans to excite their cupidity; and the Samaritans eagerly borrowed from the Jews, as far as they could do so, without furnishing them thereby with weapons against themselves. In proportion as they conformed themselves to the people of God, so much more plausible became their pretensions to belong to them. But they felt more inclined to borrow in proportion as their religious character became weaker and more dependent, with which their origin was closely connected, and the more insignificant their intellectual culture, and especially their theology, which had only one point peculiar to themselves, the justification of the worship on Gerizzim, which they tried to effect awkwardly enough. Nothing could allay the animosity of the Jews; but that of the Samaritans diminished as soon as they were met with a degree of friendly recognition.

The correctness of this view is supported by all the facts of history. The opinion of those who assert that the Samaritans

stood entirely aloof from the Jews in religious matters, is contradicted by their desire to take a part in rebuilding the temple. There is also the fact, that they were eager to receive the priest Manasseh, and to invest him with the highest priestly dignity ; that in Judea any thing similar should occur to a Samaritan was an utter impossibility. Such was the secret respect they had for the Jews, that no individual who came from among them was too bad for them. Josephus says (xi. 8, § 7), “ If any one was guilty at Jerusalem of eating forbidden food, or of violating the Sabbath, or of any other such offence, he fled to the Sichemites.”* These very numerous Jewish deserters, whose chief residence was the civil and religious centre of the nation, constituted the principal channel through which much that was Jewish flowed to the Samaritans.† A second channel was opened by the meeting of the Jews and Samaritans in Egypt, especially at Alexandria (v. Eichhorn i. 451.)

So absolute was the dependence of the Samaritans on the Jews, that they had not the capacity to invent the falsehoods by which they endeavoured to conceal their origin and justify their worship, and in general to maintain their national reputation, but almost entirely availed themselves of Jewish traditions, with some slight alteration. On this subject HOTTINGER has observed, in his *Exercitationes Antimorinianæ*, p. 72, *Quæcunque antiquitus in honorem legis Mosaicæ aut reipublicæ Judaicæ commemorat, ea sacrilege statim sibi vindicant Samaritani*. HODY, likewise, in his work, *De Bibliorum textibus origg.* p. 123, says, *Sic alia, quæ referunt Judæi de seipsis splendida sibi ipsis arrogare solent Samaritani, qualia sunt, quæ habes apud Josephum de Alexandro M. Hierosolyma veniente : quæ eadem narrant Samaritæ de urbe sua Neapolis. Sichein*. The striking passage from the Samaritan Chronicle of Abulphatac is then quoted. We discover the sources of the variously told Samaritan tradition of the burying of the holy vessels mentioned in Macc. ii. 4, compared with

* Εἰ δὲ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρά τοις Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας, ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις παρανομίας ἢ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου ἁμαρτήματος παρά τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε.

† Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμα ἔχοντες, κειμένην πρὸς τῷ Γαριζεῖν ὄρει καὶ κατοικημένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους, Joseph. Antiq. xi. 8, § 6.

other Jewish accounts in RELAND, *De Gerizim*, p. 157. The Samaritans have merely taken the slight trouble of altering the name of the person who found them, and the place where they were concealed.

And their conduct has been the same in reference to doctrines, as to historical traditions. We find also those Old Testament doctrines in a finished form among the Samaritans, such as that of the resurrection, and the Messiah, which, in the Pentateuch, are only presented with such slight intimations that they could hardly be drawn from that alone. What remains, then, but to suppose that the Samaritans received these doctrines from the Jews—a supposition which is confirmed by the striking agreement of their dogmatical expressions with those of the Jews, especially the Alexandrian. The name Messiah, founded on Ps. ii. and Daniel ix., which was already current among them in the time of Christ, appears as a testimony against them. That they felt this will account for their not having ventured to write the name in full, in the letter to their supposed brethren in England, but putting merely a m ; and in general their whole mystery-making with the doctrine of the Messiah rests for certain upon this ground. See GESENIUS, *De Samarit. Theologia*. p. 42. The scruple about pronouncing the holy name Jehovah passed over to them from the Jews, and likewise the substitution for it of $\text{שׁמַיִם} = \text{שׁמַיִם}$, (v. RELAND, *De Sam.* p. 32, as well as the Jewish fable of the *Shem-hamphorash*, in ch. ii. of the Samaritan *Chronicon*, RELAND, p. 31). Moses receives a command from God to consecrate Joshua, and to impart to him the name *per quod profligarentur exercitus et gentes innumerae*. In ch. xvii. of the *Chronicon* (v. RELAND, p. 37), it is narrated that the precious stone on the breast-plate of the high priest, on which the name of Judah was engraved, changed colour after Achan's transgression. The same fiction is found among the Jews (JOSEPHUS, iii. 9), and passed from them not only to the Samaritans, but even to the Mahometans. The Samaritan liturgies contain the Rabinical fable of the inscription of the Law on tables of stone with a fiery finger. (GESEN. p. 28.) The designation of God as Lord of the World, is borrowed from the Jews, directly or indirectly through the medium of the Arabians. (RELAND, p. 34.) Everything among the Jews which was of a free-thinking tendency was

eagerly received by them. Thus they adopted the Sadducean doctrine of angels : angels were not separate personalities, but mere powers proceeding out of God and returning to him. (RELAND, p. 22.) Gesenius indeed asserts, *Relandum in doctrina de angelis subtilius egisse, quam verius*. But Reland has never asserted that the Samaritans doubted the existence of angels, but only their personality, and the passages quoted by Gesenius prove nothing in favour of the latter. But if the personality of angels is acknowledged by the later Samaritans, this only shows that in their reassumption of this doctrine they copied the example of the Jews, among whom, in later times, the Sadducean view is treated as absolutely heretical. As they never took a greater licence than was set them an example by those of the Jews who went farthest, they might be disposed to retrace their steps, since here they were forsaken by their guides. In rejecting the account of the *partial* denial of the resurrection by the Samaritans, Reland and others have been far too precipitate. The later decided adhesion to this doctrine by the Samaritans does not amount to proof. As the denial of the resurrection found acceptance among the Jews, it is from the first highly probable that it also spread among the Samaritans, and was maintained by them as long as it had partizans among the Jews. The strong tendency of the Samaritans to a free mode of thinking, and, at the same time, their great dependence on the Jews in indulging it, appears from their anxiety, after the pattern of the Alexandrian Jews, to remove or soften everything anthropomorphic or anthropopathic. (GESENIUS, p. 7.)

The Samaritans possessed a threefold translation of the Pentateuch, a Greek, a Samaritan, and an Arabic version. Not one of these versions is an independent production of their own ; all three serve to show their dependence on the Jews.

The Greek version is cited by the Greek scholiast in a multitude of passages, which are quoted by Hottinger, p. 30, under the name of τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν. Its existence is also pledged by the assertion of EPIPHANIUS, that Symmachus prepared a new edition of his version, in opposition to the *Samaritan* version. (Compare MONTFAUCON, *Prelim. in Hex.* p. 19). But though there are reasons for admitting the existence of a Samaritan-Greek version, we have not equal evidence of its independence.

The Fathers speak of different versions of Symmachus, and it is most probable that he altered his translation only in a few passages, at a later period. (Montfaucon, p. 54.) Thus it is with the alleged double translation of Aquilla. Theodotion commonly follows the Septuagint. There are many probable reasons, which are given in EICHHORN (i. 558), for believing that the Samaritan-Greek version was formed in the same way, and that it is only the Alexandrian version, altered in a few passages, bearing the same relation to it as the Samaritan original text to the Hebrew. In Origen's time, a complete Greek-Samaritan version, different from the Septuagint, could hardly have existed, or Origen would not have omitted it in his Hexapla. But that, at that time, the Samaritans had long made use of a Greek version, cannot be doubted; the need of such a one was not less pressing for them than for the Jews; or rather it was more so. Moreover, if we compare the scattered fragments of the Samaritan version with the Alexandrian, they appear evidently to be related to the latter; the differences are so trifling, that, like those of the Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuch, they appear only as various readings; explanations of unusual expressions, by more common ones, attempts to bring the translation nearer to the Hebrew text, supposed emendations, &c. (v. specimens in EICHHORN). But probability is raised to certainty by a passage in the Samaritan Chronicle of Abulphatae, quoted by HODY, p. 123. Ptolemy Philadelphus, it is there said, had sent for Samaritan learned men, as well as Jewish, to Alexandria, and had commissioned both to translate the Torah from their text. After their task was completed, he gave the preference to the Samaritan version, and thus that which the Jews had prepared from their text was suppressed. The essential identity of the Alexandrian version, and the *Σαμαρειτικόν*, is assumed in this account. This the Samaritans cannot deny; but they now make the desperate attempt to invert their position, to claim for themselves the honour of completing the whole translation, and assert that it was borrowed from them by the Jews. That this attempt has succeeded with some, is one of the numerous examples of a glaring want of critical sagacity in a critical age. EICHHORN (p. 452) is of opinion that it cannot be decided by external evidence whether the Alexandrian

version belongs to the Jews or to the Samaritans; both parties claim the credit of it, but both have indulged in such palpable falsehoods, that neither can be taken on their word; but the internal evidence is in favour of the Samaritans. The Jews, without knowing it, may have in their hands a version executed by the Samaritans. This view must appear preposterous, if we only consider what must strike us at first sight—the position of the Jews to the Samaritans, and the dates of the witnesses for the Jewish and the Samaritan origin—the latter are far more than a thousand years after the former; for Abulphatac wrote about A. D. 1352! But if we besides take into account the whole historical character of the Samaritans, as we have already described it, not a word can be said in their favour. We would here produce a few fresh examples of that character, which will illustrate the point now under consideration. For a long time, the Samaritans were not in possession of an Arabic version of their own; and hence they made use of the version of Saadiah Gaon; but it appeared to them scandalous to own their poverty. They invented, therefore, the falsehood, that the translation was not by Saadiah Haggai, but by a noted Samaritan teacher, Abulhassan of Tyre. This make-shift was kept up as long as it could be of any service. The Samaritan Arabic translator openly confessed, that this was a false allegation; the translation was by a learned Jew of Faïoom, “*quem Deus tormentis excruciet*,” (v. De Sacy, *De vers. Sam. Arab. Pent.* in Eichhorn’s *Bibl.* x. p. 5). But he says not a word about his copying this version, said to be full of errors, from the Doctor of Faïoom, “*quem Deus tormentis excruciet*,” where he differs from it, he launches out in the scholia most unmercifully against this Jew. (DE SACY, p. 8.) The Samaritans steal even from one another, a remarkable instance of which we have in this same Samaritan-Arabic version, which, in the manuscripts, is attributed to two different translators. De Sacy expresses the result in the following terms: “*Id igitur solum superest, ut vel Abusaidum, vel Abilberecatum dicamus in alienam messem falcem immisisse, sibi que laboris non sui gloriam vindicasse.*” (P. 15.)

The Samaritan version is evidently founded on the Chaldee of Onkelos, and, in all probability, originated in the fondness for imitation excited by the existence of the latter. The agreement be-

tween the two is so evident, that WINER (*De Pent. vers. Samarit.* p. 64)—(with whom De Wette agrees, while Bertholdt (vol. ii. p. 609) admits an extensive use of Onkelos)—can dispute the use of Onkelos by the Samaritans, only on the erroneous assumption, that the religious animosity of the Jews and the Samaritans rendered a connection between the two translations impossible. It would have been far more to the purpose, if, by such an undeniable fact, he had been led to an examination of the current view of the relation the Samaritans stand in to the Jews.

That the Samaritan-Arabic translator was led to his undertaking by the Jewish-Arabic version of Saadiah, is evident from his own confession in the preface; and a comparison of the two will show that he made frequent use of the latter. (v. DE SACY, p. 58.)

From the versions we ascend to the original text, for which we reserved the last place in the discussion, partly for this reason, that in various quarters every expedient has been tried to invert the existing relations of the Samaritans to the Jews, so that to set the matter in a clear light, and make it perfectly certain, we must be acquainted with the literary character of the Samaritans in all its other bearings. If this is accomplished, no one can be in doubt for a moment. The Samaritan Pentateuch agrees in more than 2000 readings with the Alexandrian version, where it differs from the Hebrew Masoretic text, (v. Bertholdt, ii. 528). Those who are most favourably disposed towards the Samaritans (*Eichhorn* the last, vol. ii. p. 641), maintain, that the Alexandrian version was executed from a Samaritan manuscript, an allegation which has been already refuted, as well as a Samaritan origin of the Septuagint. The more moderate, as BERTHOLDT (vol. ii. p. 531), STEVDEL, and others, assume a recension of the text common to both, and handed down from earlier times. But this supposition cannot be entertained, because the peculiarities common to both plainly bear the impress of their origin from an Alexandrian style of thinking. To this must be added, that the Samaritan Pentateuch very frequently has in the text the conjectures which stand in the margin of the Masoretic manuscripts as K'ri; now, if the Jewish origin of these cannot be denied, a presumption arises that the remainder were borrowed from the same source. But how little reason there is for inferring an original difference between the

Samaritan and the Jewish text from these variations, the passage in Deut. xxvii. 4 sufficiently shows, where every one allows that the true reading Ebal has been changed into Gerizzim. From this one instance, we may safely conclude, that their position in reference to the letter of the Scriptures was quite different from that of the Jews—that they took the same liberty with the text which the Jews took in their translations, marginal remarks, &c. In addition must be noticed a large number of manifestly designed alterations, as in Exodus xii. 40, for the removal of an apparent contradiction, the altering of the whole chronology in Gen. v., &c. If, then, we keep in view the religious and theological dependence of the Samaritans, which, during their whole national existence, could not produce any thing truly original, there can be no doubt, that, in the instance under consideration, they merely made use of what was presented to them, and that indeed with a total absence of critical skill, since what seemed, for the most part, as merely uncertain probabilities to the original possessors, and incapable of proof, they received without hesitation into the text. That they were peculiarly attached to the Alexandrian Jewish theology was quite natural, since it promised greater indulgence to their propensity for free enquiry than the stricter Palestinian, and their rationalizing tendency found here ample gratification.

How dependent the literary and religious character of the Samaritans was (whom Chrysostom charged with ἄμικτα μινύειν), appears from the fact, that other nations with whom they came in contact exercised an unconscious and involuntary influence over them, without their troubling themselves how the new elements would agree with the old. In reference to the Greeks, Cyril remarks on John i. (vi. 568), “Judaism is not strict among the Samaritans, but their worship is mingled with heathenish and Grecian customs.”* And in reference to the Mahomedans we can still detect this influence from their writings. Reland (*De Samarit.* p. 12) remarks “*existimamus ex commercio, quod iis cum gente Mohammedica intercessit, aliquid novi in ritus sacros et in religionem irrepsisse;*” he gives examples, especially expres-

* Οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβὴς παρὰ τοῖς Σαμαρείταις ἐστὶν Ἰουδαϊσμός, μέμικται δὲ πως ἔθεσι ἐθνεῖσι καὶ ἐλληνικοῖς τι ἐκείνων λατρεία.

sions from the Samaritan Joshua, which undeniably are taken from the Koran (v. p. 68). Several Samaritans apply designations to the Pentateuch which the Mahomedan School-Theology invented in reference to the Koran, "*esse sermonem divinitus demissum, non creatum,*" v. *Catal. codd. Orient. Bodlei*, P. ii. p. 490.

How quickly the animosity of the Samaritans towards the Jews subsided, as soon as they were met in a kindly manner by the latter, appears plainly from the narrative in John, chap. iv. To the Galileans who, without any such approximation, travelled through Samaria, at the time of the yearly feasts, the Samaritans showed nothing-like friendliness, v. Luke ix. 59, 53; SCHULZ, p. 70. But the Samaritan woman at once felt herself honoured when Christ entered into friendly conversation with her. Although he earnestly and decidedly disowned the pretensions of the Samaritans, yet she acknowledged him readily and without reservation as a prophet, when he gave evidence of his prophetic gift. The Samaritans, who came at her invitation, begged him to stay longer, and when he showed that his commission extended not merely to the Jews, but to themselves also, they forgot at once their protest (made in self defence) against a Messiah from the Jews, and acknowledged him as the Saviour of the world. The Samaritan leper, mentioned in Luke's Gospel) not only consented to be healed by Christ, but was also (though the ἀλλογενής) the only one of the ten who expressed his thanks for the cure.

From the preceding discussion, it is easy to estimate the force of the principal argument for dating the Samaritan Pentateuch before the captivity—namely, the religious animosity between the Jews and the Samaritans. It could be no hindrance to their borrowing it; on the contrary, their hostile position towards the Jews would rather impel them to it. The want of the original documents of the Israelitish religion supplied their enemies with an argument against them; the possession of these records gave a kind of legitimacy to their pretensions. What STEUDEL adds as an appendix to this argument appears untenable. "The Pentateuch," he says, "contains so much that would be inconvenient to the Samaritans, that we must wonder how it

could escape mutilation, if its authority was not more ancient than the time of Ezra." If it is settled that the Pentateuch, in the time of Ezra, was received by all the Jews as the work of Moses, it would be perfectly natural for the Samaritans, who were neither disposed nor qualified for critical inquiries, to receive it as such, and treat it with all due reverence. Only the acknowledgment of the Pentateuch, on the part of the Jews, occasions a difficulty to the opponents of its genuineness—its acknowledgment on the part of the Samaritans is a mere consequence of the former.

A second argument for the derivation of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the Ten Tribes, is borrowed from the fact that the Pentateuch is the only one among the Sacred Books of the Jews which the Samaritans receive. This shows, it is urged, that their reception of the Pentateuch belongs to an age when no other Sacred Book existed—that it had already taken place when the two kingdoms were divided. But those who adopt this view are involved in a difficulty from not being able to explain why at least the books of Joshua and Judges were not received along with the Pentateuch, which yet there are very cogent reasons for believing were in existence at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms; and certain traces that the former was in use in the kingdom of Israel.

The difficulty, as far as regards the former book, would certainly be in part diminished, if the current opinion were correct, that the Samaritans had the book of Joshua as early as the Pentateuch, and that it always formed a component part of their canon, as is expressly maintained by DE WETTE, § 17 a., and VATKE, *Bibl. Theol.* 1, p. 564. It might then be either assumed with BERTHOLDT, Part iii. p. 871, that the inhabitants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes had not the book of Joshua in its present form, but only possessed the separate original documents from which it must have been compiled, and that these, at a later period, were also among the Jews formed into a whole; or it might also be said that the Samaritans had received this book in its present form from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, but had taken greater liberties with it in the way of enlargement or embellishment. But nothing can be more untrue—nothing less to the honour of our critical age, than the current

opinion respecting the Samaritan Joshua ; and assertions like those of Bertholdt, that the Samaritan Joshua was tantamount to the Hebrew, appears truly ridiculous. The Samaritan Joshua is nothing more than a miserable cento, strung together in the middle ages, from our book of Joshua, and from the books of Samuel and Judges, which are made use of, like the former, only more sparingly, with a farrago of Samaritan fictions and oriental legends. In the Samaritan Joshua, Arabic phrases occur which are undeniably taken in part from the Koran. Reland asserts that these may have been added by the Arabic translator. (P. 15.) Certainly it might be so if there were only proofs of the earlier existence of a Hebrew-Samaritan Joshua ; but there are not. According to the statement of Reland, indeed (ch. i.), it is said to be, *versio Arabica antiqui codicis, qui lingua Hebraica conscriptus erat*. But what is there to prevent us from supposing that the author designated in this manner the *Jewish Book of Joshua* ? And if he had spoken, which he did not, of a Hebrew-Samaritan original, what should after all induce us to give him unlimited credence ? He deserves it neither from the character of his nation, nor from his own. In his own book there is no lack of intentional fiction and conscious falsehoods. Will any one appeal to the statement of the Samaritans in their epistle to their pretended brethren in England, that they *no longer* possess the Hebrew Book of Joshua, but only the Arabic version ? (v. EICHHORN'S *Repert.*, Part ix., p. 29) and infer that, therefore, they must have had it at an earlier period ? But that "*no longer*" was occasioned by the supposition expressed in the letter from England that the Chronicle had a Hebrew-Samaritan original. And what makes this reason entirely untenable is, that the Book of Joshua, of which the Samaritans speak, is the Chronicle of Abulphatach. This was sent by them to Huntington. They had indeed no longer the *Chronicon Samaritanum* (v. SCHNURRER, p. 45). But nobody ever attributed a Hebrew-Samaritan origin to the Chronicle of Abulphatach. Thus, then, every argument fails in favour of a Hebrew-Samaritan Joshua. But on the other hand, besides the reasons already adduced (the traces of Mahomedan influence), what follows is not in favour of it. The Fathers of the Church knew nothing of a Samaritan Joshua, any more than the Jews. Moreover, among the sources of his work which

Abulphatach, who wrote about the year 1352, mentions, the Hebrew book of Joshua is *not* to be found, v. *Catalog. Bodlei.*, p. 5. Therefore, as all existing materials were supplied him by the High Priest, it could not, at that time, have been extant. Lastly, if the Book of Joshua had been contemporary among the Samaritans with the Pentateuch, it must, if not exactly canonical, have been distinguished from the other Scriptures, and have possessed a deuterocanonical authority. Against that, facts show that they took no pains whatever to preserve it; that they not only suffered the pretended original to be lost, but were satisfied with possessing the Chronicle of Abulphatach and the Arabic Book of Joshua. From the statements of Abulphatach respecting his sources of information, it is very clear that they possessed, besides the Pentateuch, no writing of more than common dignity. A trace of the canonicity of Joshua among the Samaritans, in a certain sense, BRUNS thinks he has found in the letter of the Samaritans to their brethren in England. "When they," he remarks, "say that they have nothing *besides the Law and the Book*, غير التوراة والكتاب, no other book can be meant than the book of Joshua, which among them seems to be held in the same estimation as the apocryphal books of the Old Testament among the Jews. But *Law and Book* are here rather to be considered as identical, both a designation of the Pentateuch, and tantamount to *Book of the Law*. Besides the connection, there is another manifest reason for taking the words in this sense. The Samaritans had at that time, as we have already shown, no longer the book of Joshua. What at first gave rise to those singular mistakes in reference to the Samaritan Joshua, was a certain vanity in those persons who first published the supposed discovery. Yet they (RELAND especially) kept themselves within certain bounds. But afterwards the partiality for the Samaritans went beyond all the dictates of sound judgment; in some, as BERTHOLDT for instance, who certainly never had given himself the trouble to become better acquainted with the Joshua of the Samaritans—the attempt is evidently made to lower the canonical Joshua by this means. Only DE SACY has maintained moderation. In his *Mémoire* (in Stäudlin's and Tzschirner's *Archiv.*, i. 3, p. 46), he remarks, "It is probable that they had historians, but we know none of their works, excepting two poor Chronicles (the Samaritan Joshua and Abulphatach), which

are full of the most ridiculous blunders and the grossest anachronisms; both are written in Arabic."

Thus the problem, how to explain the fact that the Samaritans confined themselves to the reception of the Pentateuch, cannot be solved by those who advocate the transmission of the Pentateuch to the Samaritans from the kingdom of Israel. But what exception can be reasonably taken against the solution given by the opponents of the date of its reception before the captivity? The Samaritans confined themselves to the reception of the Pentateuch, because in the remaining books there was too much that was anti-Israelitish, and hence that was anti-Samaritan also, as they wished to be the successors of the Israelites. Against this solution STEVDEL objects, (p. 634), that the Samaritans might very well have received the books of Joshua and Judges, which contain nothing objectionable to them—nothing which favours the pre-eminence of Judah, or the aggrandisement of Jerusalem, and which are in nowise connected with David and Solomon. But let us only consider, that the advantage the Samaritans would have gained by the reception of these two books, would have been counter-balanced by a far greater disadvantage. Had the Samaritans added the books of Joshua and Judges to their canon, it would have too plainly shown that their protest against the remaining books proceeded merely from the feeling of self-interest. But the case would be different if they retained alone the work of the great lawgiver (to which even the Jews assigned the pre-eminence above all their later books), and rejected the rest as not invested with sufficient Divine legitimation. Fancy only an individual to whom the Pauline theology is unacceptable. Yet such an one might willingly retain the Epistle of James. But in order to cut off the suspicion of wilful partiality, he would reject the other dogmatical writings of the Apostles, and confine himself to the mere discourses of Christ. Let it also be urged, in addition, that the Samaritans could not feel satisfied if those writings contained nothing which spoke directly against them. Their patriotic legends took their rise probably not just at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms; they began as early as Joshua. Now, by the reception of the two books just mentioned, they would have narrowed the scope for their falsehoods. They could then no longer

have maintained any thing else for which they could not have brought proof from that quarter.

A third argument taken from the writing of the Samaritan Codex, which is older than the Samaritan Square character, that was introduced by the Jews at the time of the captivity, or at the latest by Ezra, can be answered only in a very unsatisfactory manner by the opponents of the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch, because they acknowledge that distinction of the antiquity of the Square character to be correct, and that it makes the cause very suspicious. But by the turn which, in later times, the investigations respecting the Hebrew writing have taken, this argument has, at least for a long time, and perhaps for ever, become useless. According to KOPP (*Entwicklung der Semitischen Schriften*, in vol. ii. of *Der Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*); and HUFFELD (*Beleuchtung dunkler Stellen der alttest. Textgeschichte; Studien*, 1830, Part ii. 279), the Square character came into use not till centuries after the captivity, by means of a gradual transition from the Phœnician or ancient Hebrew, which is said to have been preserved to us on Aramæan monuments; EWALD (*kl. Gramm.*, p. 50), places the introduction of the eastern branch of the Semetic writing in the place of the western, in the last century before Christ, and the first after Christ. And even those who do not acknowledge the correctness of this result (MOVERS, *Über die Chronik.*, p. 33), remit so much of the strictness of the earlier view, that nothing more can be gained for the antiquity of the Samaritan Pentateuch from that quarter.

Other grounds are so weak, that they are scarcely worth mentioning. For instance, that the Samaritans would not have been anxious to join in rebuilding the temple, if they had not already been in possession of the Pentateuch. Or when it is argued against the introduction of the Pentateuch through Manasseh, from the silence of Josephus, who, in the history of those times, everywhere shows the greatest ignorance. We entirely pass over other things such as may be found in KELLE, whose entire argumentation for the genuineness of the Pentateuch, stands nearly on the same level as that of BOHLEN against it.

For the Jewish origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, a tolerably plausible reason may be adduced. The worship of Jehovah among

the Samaritans in the first century of their existence was extremely crude; they revered Jehovah only as one among many deities; and that this combination of the worship of Jehovah and that of idols was unnatural, never entered their heathenish conceptions. In reality, they remained what they were before—Pagans. And thus things continued till the time of the author of the Book of Kings, that is, towards the end of the Babylonish captivity, 2 Kings xvii. 41. Such a state could scarcely be compatible with their having possession of the book of the law. It would be something altogether different if history informed us of two parties among them—of a conflict of the good and evil principle, as it existed in Judah and Israel. But unconsciousness, in reference to such contrarieties, is scarcely conceivable in a people, among whom the book of the law had been publicly recognised, in which these contrarieties are set forth as strongly as possible. Later accounts show that a great alteration had passed over them. The traces of idolatry had altogether vanished; the high places formerly established through the whole land had been abandoned. A national sanctuary, dedicated to Jehovah, constituted the religious centre of the whole nation; the most burdensome of the Mosaic ordinances, that relating to the Sabbatic year, was observed among them in the time of Alexander; those persons who passed over to them from Judah, because they had been accused of violating the Mosaic ordinances, found refuge among them only on asserting their innocence of the charge.* If the Pentateuch was not introduced till after the Babylonish captivity, this alteration is easily explained. Moreover, the Samaritans had then an inducement for its introduction, which could not have been felt so strongly before. The denial of their request to take a part in the rebuilding of the temple—the declaration that they had no portion or inheritance in Israel, must have roused them to make every exertion, in order to render their claims plausible and valid, that none of the required conditions might be wanting for taking a part with the people of the covenant. But among these, the possession of the Book of the Covenant would hold the first place, since the Ark of the Covenant had been already lost to Judah.

* *Εἰ δὲ τις αἰτίαν ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμίταις κοινοφαγίας, ἢ τῆς ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις παρανομίας, ἢ τινος ἄλλου τοιοῦτου ἁμαρτήματος, παρὰ τοὺς Σικιμίτας ἔφευγε, λέγων ἀδίκως ἐγκεκλησθαι.* Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. 8, § 7.

Such being the state of the case, though hitherto the existence of the Pentateuch among the Ten Tribes has been inferred from the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, we ought now rather to take the reverse method—we must, in order to make it moderately probable that the Pentateuch was transmitted from the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, or more correctly from the Ten Tribes in the Assyrian captivity to the Samaritans—(which is at least exceedingly probable, for the reasons already given in favour of a Jewish origin, and also since the only connection of the Samaritans and the Ten Tribes, the sending of the priests from the Assyrian captivity, related in the history, is too loose—the introduction of the book of the law by means of it is too little in unison with the condition at that time of the rude people, to satisfy whose religious wants far less was required, and oral instruction in the most external points of the Mosaic religion sufficed)—first prove on sure grounds that it had existed in the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and obtained legal authority. This, however, can be done so completely, that one does not see how the defenders hitherto of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, could make their chief argument to be the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, to which they subordinated the testimonies for the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel as constituting inferior evidence.

We drop the Samaritan Pentateuch altogether; but from *its* point of view the evidence must rather bear the superscription, “The genuineness of the Pentateuch evinced from its existence and legal introduction in the kingdom of Israel.” Among the separate reasons the Samaritan Pentateuch would then also obtain a place, though with justice a very subordinate one, since owing to its fundamental errors it cannot be denied that it could only furnish possibilities and probabilities. Lastly, it must be acknowledged that for conducting that chief proof, which to him appeared subordinate, STEVDEL has furnished some excellent materials, in the treatise already mentioned; also HUG in Part vii. of the *Freiburg Journal (Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sam. Pent.)* With what precision this can be executed, it is hoped the following representation will show.

TRACES OF THE PENTATEUCH

IN

H O S E A .



THE three first chapters have been explained in the Christology, and, as far as the allusions to the Pentateuch have been there discussed, we content ourselves with referring to that work.

Through the whole of the three first chapters, the relation of the Lord to Israel is represented under the image and symbol of the marriage union. Apostacy is described as whoredom and adultery, and the same representation is carried through the remaining chapters, though not with equal prominence. Everywhere it is evident, that the prophet assumes that the people were familiar with the ideas necessary for understanding this figurative language. He often so unceremoniously transfers the material to the spiritual, that very few expositors can entirely enter into his meaning. Thus, in chap. iv. and the following, most expositors have referred a number of passages to outward unchastity, which relate to what is spiritual. These representations will be perfectly explicable, if we observe, that their germ already exists in the Pentateuch, whence they could, more easily than in any other way, pass into the popular mind, so that every one possessed a key for understanding them. In Exodus xxxiv. 15, 16, it is said, "Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, and they go a whoring after their gods, and do sacrifice unto their gods, and one call thee, and thou eat of his sacrifice; and thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring (זנה) after their gods." Leviticus xx. 5, "Then will I set my face against that man, and against his family, and will cut him off, and all that go a whoring

after him, to commit whoredom with Moloch, from among their people." Ver. 6, "And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits and after wizards, to go a whoring after them." Numb. xiv. 33, "And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms." But if the connection of this representation in Hosea with that in the Pentateuch can be considered only as highly probable, when we compare the general outlines in each, it becomes a certainty when we observe, that, in the particulars of the representation, Hosea had in view passages in the Pentateuch both those which speak of literal as well as of spiritual whoredom. In chap. i. 2, "The land hath committed great whoredom [departing] from the Lord," יִאֲרִי answers to the אֲרָרִי of the Pentateuch. But the allusions to Leviticus xix. 29 are particularly plain, "Do not prostitute thy daughter to cause her to be a whore, לְהוֹנִיחָהּ, lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land become full of wickedness." According to the whole connection, a warning is here given against religious criminality, the prostitution of their daughters in honour of the idols. The הִלָּל forms the opposite to the pretended sanctity. Literal whoredom is here, therefore, only the consequence and reflection of spiritual impurity, and it is so much the easier to transfer the passage to the latter. This is done in Hosea iv. 10, "They (the princes) cause to commit whoredom," (הִלָּל) compare ver. 13, "Therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom;" ver. 18, "Their drink is gone; they cause to commit whoredom (הִלָּל) continually; her rulers (shields) with shame do love, Give ye." In the hopes of scandalous gain, the chiefs prostitute their subjects; that is, they seduce them to idolatry, despising the law according to its spiritual meaning. Lastly, ver. 3, "Thou committest whoredom, and Israel is defiled." In reference to these last words, MANGER remarks, "*Phrasi desumta a muliere per scortationem et adulterii usum polluta, quomodo pollutio cum scortatione idololatrica infra quoque, c. vi. 10, conjungitur.*" Israel, that is, the other tribes, especially Judah iv. 15, appears as the daughter who is prostituted by her ungodly Father Ephraim, contrary to the law. "*Ephraimo distincte vitio datur, quod ex hac tribu regia, quæ Jeroboamum aliosque principes idololatriæ auctores tulerat, ista labes ad reliquos fuerat derivata atque per eos universa natio contaminata.*"—MANGER. The reference to the

passage we have quoted from Leviticus is in these three passages, so much more certain, because the Hiphil of הנה only occurs in the Pentateuch and these three passages of Hosea, with the exception of 2 Chron. xxi. 13, where there is evidently an allusion to Leviticus, ("Thou hast made Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem to go a whoring"), so that there is no passage out of the Pentateuch in which הנה can be found, excepting such as are founded upon it. The reference to Leviticus would, it is true, be lost if the assertion of several critics were correct (v. GESENIUS, *Thes.* p. 423), that הנה in the Pentateuch is used transitively; but in the three passages of Hosea and the Chronicles intransitively. But this assertion cannot be maintained on account of the evident reference to Leviticus. Besides, the assumption that Hiphil here loses its characteristic meaning is quite arbitrary. In the Chronicles, the transitive meaning is as clear as day; and just so in Hosea iv. 10 in relation to ver. 13, "Therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your daughters-in-law shall commit adultery." Wherefore, since ye have given them the tone, ye make them commit whoredom against the law. Moreover, the allusion to Leviticus is confirmed by our finding in the same passages allusions to other parts of the Pentateuch; אָזְזוּ in chap. v. 3 will be noticed afterwards. In chap. iv. 10, "They shall commit whoredom, and not (*increase*, Auth. vers.) *break forth*;" אָזְזוּ alludes to Gen. xxviii. 14, "And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt *break forth* (marg. read.) אָזְזוּ to the west and to the east." They wished to grasp prosperity while they promoted the adulterous connection with idols; but on such persons that blessing could not rest, which is promised alone to chaste marriage with the Lord. The farther they wished to break out by their own power, within so much narrower bounds would they be enclosed. Chap. iv. 14. "For themselves are separated with whores" (are among their number), "and they sacrifice with harlots, קדשיות (the dishonoured ones)," alludes to Dent. xxiii. 17. "There shall be no whore, קדשיות , of the daughters of Israel, and no whoremonger, קדשיות , of the sons of Israel." The land, contrary to the law, was full of *spiritual* whores. The allusion is so much more direct, since the corporal unchastity in the קדשיות and קדשיות of the law, was the consequence and reflection of the spiritual; there were those who prostituted themselves in honour of their gods;

and, on the other hand, spiritual whoredom always completed itself in the corporal. When the prophet, in ch. ii. 14 (12) and ix. 1, describes the gain, which was supposed to be obtained from connection with idols, as אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (Christologie, iii. 88, also iv. 18, where the words “they love—give ye,” express the strong desire of the procurers after base gain), he alludes to Deut. xxiii. 19, where “the hire of a whore,” אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה is marked as “an abomination (רֵעִי) to the Lord.” How shameful to love (אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) what the Lord abhorreth! In the Pentateuch the word זִמָּה denotes crime generally, but, in a special sense, impurity under aggravated circumstances, incest, prostitution of a daughter, &c. Thus Lev. xx. 7 (14), “If a man take a wife and her mother, it is wickedness, זִמָּה, they shall be burnt with fire, both he and they; that there be no wickedness, זִמָּה, among you.” (Compare xviii. 17, xix. 29, אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, for which GESENIUS in his *Thes.* quotes Lev. xvi. 43, is not found there, or in the whole Pentateuch.) To these passages Hosea vi. 9 alludes; “and as troops of robbers wait for a man, so the company of priests murder in the way by consent; for they commit lewdness, בִּי עֲשֵׂה זִמָּה. That זִמָּה has here the same meaning as in the Pentateuch, appears from the following verse, where whoredom is spoken of; otherwise the use of בִּי could not be accounted for. They are to be thought like those (that we have here a *decurtata comparatio* is shown not only by the בִּי in the first clause, but also by the latter בִּי, which De Wette must paralyse by a mere *ja* of affirmation, and STUCK metamorphoses into בִּי, or explains it by *itaque*) who waylay the unarmed traveller, who commit murder on the road to Sichem; for they are soul-murderers, addicted to unnatural vice, which, according to the law, ought not to be in the midst of Israel; they are given up to spiritual adultery themselves, and are patrons of it in others. Since the special meaning of זִמָּה is not indicated by the word itself, it requires so much the more a distinct foundation for it. Now a comparison of it with the passages that we have referred to in the law, gives the key to its meaning. Ch. v. 2, literally “and as to slaughter, they make a deep remoteness.” Luther, “they deepen themselves with slaughter in their course,” which is properly supplied in the gloss they offer much, and make their idolatry (by which they estrange themselves from God, as an adulteress estranges herself from her husband) so deep, that there is no deli-

verance or hope for them. He will not call it sacrificing, but a simple slaughtering: this is founded on Numbers v. 12. This passage treats of the Divine judgment by which adultery was to be brought to light. Sacrificing, says the prophet, which according to their notion must be the highest proof of conjugal fidelity, is rather the lowest step of conjugal infidelity; it is peculiarly spiritual adultery. The opinion that the prophet had the passage we have mentioned in view, rests on the following grounds. 1. The word זָנָה occurs there four times, and elsewhere only in Prov. iv. 15; vii. 25. It was a technical term for denoting conjugal infidelity. 2. The phrase זָנָה יִשְׂרָאֵל , in Hosea v. 3, favours it. The זָנָה , in that passage, is used to denote the moral impurity of the adulteress. It occurs not less than six times, as is generally used in the Pentateuch, of sexual impurity; see, for instance, Lev. xviii. 24, 25, where, after an enumeration of a considerable number, it is said, "Defile not yourselves in any of these things; for in all these things the nations are defiled which I cast out before you. And the land is defiled; therefore do I visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants;" see ver 28. The word זָנָה , in v. 3, leads also to the special meaning of זָנָה .

We now follow the order of the chapters. Ch. ii. 1 (i. 10). "Yet the number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered," alludes literally to the promises in Genesis xxii. 17, xxxii. 13. That this allusion presupposes that those promises were generally known in the kingdom of Israel, has been shown in the *Christologie*, p. 49. The expression (i. 11), "appoint themselves one head," probably refers to Deut. xvii. 15 (v. *Christologie*, p. 58), ("Thou shalt in any wise set him king over thee whom the Lord thy God shalt choose—one from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee; thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother"). And thus, "they shall come up out of the land," corresponds verbally with Exod. i. 10, "Get them up out of the land." That ch. ii. 13, furnishes evidence that the three principal festivals, the New Moon and the Sabbath, were celebrated in Israel, and also the בְּיָמֵינוּ , or the sacred assemblies to which Lev. xxiii. relates, is pointed out in *Christologie*, page 87. In reference to the declaration respecting

“bringing” again “into the wilderness” (ii. 14), v. p. 95, verse 17 is borrowed from Exod. xxiii. 13, “make no mention of the names of other gods, neither let it be heard out of thy mouth,” (v. p. 109). Verse 18 alludes to Lev. xxvi. 3, &c., (v. p. 110). Chapter iii. 1, alludes to Deut. xxxi. 18 (v. p. 120.) Chapter iii. contains a number of allusions. The prophet reckons the same sum for Gomer (ch. i. 3), the female whom he purchased from servitude, which, according to Exodus xxi. 32, was to be given for a man-servant or a maid, thirty pieces of silver (v. *Christology*, Part ii., on Zech. xi. 12.) The law in Exod. xxi. 6, Deut. xv. 17, which commanded that men-servants or maid-servants should have their ears bored as a sign of servitude, is alluded to by the use of קָנָה , in the sense of reducing to servitude. This phraseology, which otherwise would be altogether unintelligible, pre-supposes that the law was in force for the kingdom of Israel, as is proved for Judah by Ps. xl. 6. At the same time, there is an illusion to the passage in the Pentateuch, where the redemption of Israel is represented as a purchase from a house of bondage.

Ch. iv. 4, “Yet let no man strive, nor reprove another (this would be vain and useless, ‘*quod ipsum desperatae nequitiae argumentum est*’); for thy people are as they that strive with a priest,” receives light only from comparison with the Pentateuch. The prophet alludes to Deut. xvii. 8, “If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, . . . then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose. And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and to the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire, and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment. And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place shall shew thee. Thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left. And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest (that standeth to minister there before the Lord thy God), or unto the judge, even that man shall die, and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel; and all the people shall hear and fear, and do no more presumptuously.” The allusion was so much the more important, since the prophets occupied the place of the Levitical priests in the kingdom of Israel; that the Levitical priests in the law were

considered only as the servants and representatives of God, is apparent from the circumstance that the judge is associated with them. If we paraphrase the words "as they that strive with the priest" by "like those who are marked in the law as rebels against the priest," the objection of MANGER, who entirely passes over the ב —"quod propterea reprehendi minime posset populus, si quidem sacerdotibus, quales hi nunc erant, spurii et perditii, restitisset"—falls to the ground. The threatening in ver. 5, "Therefore shalt thou fall in the day, and the prophet also shall fall with thee in the night, and I will destroy thy mother," is only an application of what is said in the Pentateuch of the lot of the $\text{מִיִּרְיָה בְּהָרָה}$. The reference to the Pentateuch is acknowledged not only by LUTHER and TARNOV, but by GROTIUS (*similes sunt iis qui publica (more correctly divina), decreta contumaciter oppugnant, cui crimini capitis poena constituta est, Deut. xvii. 12*), and by RIVETUS, who admirably paraphrases the passage—"frustra aliquis istos homines objurget, aut cum iis contendat, nam voluntarie peccant, et superbe committunt quidquid committunt; ac proinde tam rei sunt, quam ii, qui non obtemperant sacerdoti dei (Deut. xvii. 12), i. e., non tam reprehendendi, quam ultimo supplicio afficiendi." Indeed, the Septuagint has followed this interpretation, if their translation be not unmeaning; $\acute{\omicron} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \lambda\alpha\acute{\omicron}\varsigma \mu\omicron\upsilon \acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, *populus meus est sicut contradictionem patiens sacerdos, i. e.* This relation subsists among them—my people stand to the organs of God, as in the law those who contradicted the priest; compare such passages as Matt. xiii. 19, 45. All other explanations are so decidedly opposed by the structure of the language and by fact, that they are not worth mentioning and refusing. Let it be considered that the passage not merely proves the prophet's own acquaintance with the Pentateuch, that the people, if they were to understand what was addressed to them, and the prophet certainly wished to be understood, must have the key to his meaning in a knowledge of the Pentateuch. The prophet must have been able to assume with certainty that every one would see the reference to the Pentateuch, since without this there would be the risk of a dangerous misunderstanding, as if he wished to defend the cause of the spurious Israelitish priesthood.

Verse 8, "They eat up the sin of my people, and they set their heart on their iniquity;" that is, the strong desire after the sin-

offerings makes them (the Israelitish priests) on good terms with sin; indulging this feeling, they eat as it were sin itself; or, not satisfied with sin-offerings, their desire goes forth to sin itself; their advancement among the people, from whom they knew how to draw their own profit, with reference to the double meaning of *הַטָּמֵא*—is illustrated only by Lev. vi. 17, and vii. 1, according to which, the meat and trespass-offerings were to be eaten by the priests. See particularly ver. 19, *הַפֶּהוּן הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֶתֶּם יֹאכְלֶנָּה* (the *הַטָּמֵא*). This passage at the same time furnishes evidence that in the kingdom of Israel the trespass-offerings were presented according to the prescriptions of the Pentateuch, and that the Israelitish priests were in possession of the rights granted in the Pentateuch to the Levitical priests.

In chap. iv. 10, "They shall eat and not have enough," is an expression taken from Lev. xxvi. 26, where it is said, in threatening the Divine judgments on the rebellious, "When I have broken the staff of your bread, . . . ye shall eat and not be satisfied." *אֲכַלְתֶּם וְלֹא תִשְׂבְּעוּ*. Ch. iv. 13, "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills under oaks and poplars and elms." This agrees exactly with Deut. xii. 2, "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations that ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, and under every green tree." In both passages, there is the same series of places for worship forbidden by the law; the difference is merely, that, in Hosea, the expression, "under every green tree," is individualised. The impression to be expected rests mainly on this—that the passage alluded to was known to the people, so that what was in direct contradiction to the word of God merely required a verbal reference to the passage concerning it. Hosea iv. 15, "Neither go ye up to *Beth-aven*." (*Domus Dei per superstitionem ibi receptam in domum vanitatis erat commutata.* MANGER). This presupposes an acquaintance with the name *Beth-el*, as it is designated in the Pentateuch. The name *Beth-aven* stands in contrast with the sanctity of the place, and that is founded on events which are narrated in Genesis. To commit whoredom, and to go to *Bethel*, which had been long since changed into *Beth-aven*, though once it had been consecrated by the manifestation of the true God, was a complete contradiction, as if the prophet had said, "Are ye resolved to do the first—leave alone the other." (See 1 Kings xviii. 21).

“Nor swear the Lord liveth,” compare Deut. x. 20. “Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God; him shalt thou serve, and to him shalt thou cleave, and swear by his name.” Deut. vi. 13, 14, “Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name. Ye shall not go after other gods, of the gods of the people which are round about you.” They separated the oath from the true fear of God, which, according to his law, is its root. (“*Postquam Moses præceperat, &c., se omne præceptum observasse opinabantur, si modo postremam ejus partem probe tenerent.*” STUCK). They joined together whoredom and swearing, which, according to the law, were to be totally dis severed from each other. Therefore the command respecting the latter was no longer repeated. Open impiety would be better than hypocrisy—a mere outward sanctimoniousness which served only as an opiate to the conscience. This expression of the prophet could only be taken in its full significance by those who perceived the reference to the Pentateuch. Hosea iv. 17, “Ephraim is joined to idols; let him alone.” The *הֵי־תִלִּי* alludes to Exodus xxxii. 9, 10, “And the Lord said unto Moses, I have seen this people, and behold it is a stiffnecked people. Now therefore let me alone *הֵי־תִלִּי* that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them.” The “let him alone” (whoever thou art who wishest to admonish, ver. 4), is followed by “leave me alone,” on the part of God. As free course must be given to the people to act out their real character, so it is with God. Hosea v. 6, “They shall go with their flocks and with their herds to seek the Lord, but they shall not find him; he hath withdrawn himself from them.” With *בְּנֵאֲנִי יִבְבְּקֶרֶם יְלִבִּי* compare Exod. x. 9, *בְּנֵאֲנִי יִבְבְּקֶרְנֵי נִלְךְ*. Outwardly, they went out as fully to the Lord as Israel when they went out of Egypt: but they were destitute of the fundamental condition of acceptance with God—*faith*; and thus the same God, who then delivered Israel from their distresses, now withdrew himself from them in their misery.

Hosea v. 7, “Now shall the new moon devour them with their gifts” (portions) *אֶת־תְּלִלְיָהֶם*. In the preceding verse it is said that all their flocks shall avail them nothing; here, that the new moon shall devour them; their hypocritical worship, so far from bringing them deliverance, will rather bring on their destruction. That the feast of the new moon, here specified, was celebrated in the

kingdom of Israel, is apparent from these words. But the expression "*with their gifts,*" or literally, "*with their portions,*" attests a more direct reference to the Pentateuch. At the New Moon a זִבְחֵהוּ was presented, and likewise a drink-offering; see Numbers xxviii. 12. Israel presented their king with meat and drink. They thought he would satisfy himself with the moderate portions that they brought to him. But since the outward הֶלֶק (see, also, Lev. vi. 10–17), was unsuitable for food for a *divine* king, a mere dish for show, which he despised, he conducted himself towards them accordingly. They had given him nothing to eat, in consequence they would themselves be devoured.

Hosea v. 9, "Among the tribes of Israel have I made known, "*that which shall surely be,*" נֶאֱמָנָה. That this expression denotes punishments that would be lasting and abiding, in distinction from such as were transient and slight, may be inferred from its relation to the preceding "day of rebuke," יּוֹם הַיִּבְחָה. The threatening of the Lord, uttered before all Israel, that, in case of an obstinate violation of the Covenant, he would inflict "great plagues, and of long continuance," (וְנִאֲמָנִיּוֹת) and sore sickness, and of long continuance," (וְנִאֲמָנִיּוֹת), Deut. xxvii. 59, must now, since the occasion called for it, be fulfilled.

Hosea ver. 10, "The princes of Judah were like them that remove the bound; I will pour out my wrath upon them like water." In the second clause there is an allusion to the raving down of brimstone and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah (v. *Christologie*, pt. ii. p. 516). Compare with the first clause Deut. xix. 14, "Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour's landmark," (לֹא תִסֵּי גְבוּל הָעֵדָה), and xxxvii. 17, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark," אָרֹר הַיִּסֵּי גְבוּל הָעֵדָה. If he is cursed who removes his neighbour's landmark, how much more he who removes that of his God! The words may be thus paraphrased: 'They are become like those removers of landmarks, spoken of in the law of God, and on whom the Divine judgment is denounced; in like manner will judgment come upon them in full measure.' (Compare the לִמְדוֹ קִנְיָהוּ in iv. 4.) If the ordinance of the law is carried back to its original idea—that property had in the land of the Lord a *divine* sanction—then it appears that the princes of Judah had been criminal far more than those who literally transgressed the precept; the latter were guilty of indirect, the former of direct, sacrilege. The curse must

therefore fall upon them with threefold weight. Hosea v. 11, "Ephraim is oppressed (עָשָׂה) and broken (נָשַׁב) in judgment; because he willingly walked after the commandment." בִּי הַיָּהוָה הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי-צִוְיָוָה. The first clause marks the threatening of the law as fulfilled, Deut. xxviii. 33—"The fruit of thy land and all thy labours shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up; and thou shalt be *only oppressed and crushed* (בְּכָל עֲשָׂוֶיךָ וְנִקְרָבֶיךָ) always." In the second clause אַחֲרֵי צִוְיָוָה alludes to v. 14 of the same chapter. "And thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand or to the left, to go after (לְלַבֵּת אַחֲרֵיהֶם) other gods to serve them." Lastly, the אַחֲרֵי alludes to v. 15, "But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken to the voice of the Lord thy God to observe to do all his commandments, מִצְוֹתָיו, and his statutes which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee." The אַחֲרֵי, which has a contemptuous secondary meaning (see Isaiah xxviii. 10), stands in contrast with מִצְוֹת יְהוָה. Thus the whole phraseology is founded on the word and spirit of the law, and by this means acquires its proper emphasis.

Hosea v. 14, "I will tear and go away, I will take away, and *none shall rescue.*" וְאֵיזוֹ יִצִּילֵנִי. Compare Deut. xxxii. 39—"Neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand." וְאֵיזוֹ יִצִּילֵנִי. The agreement must be so much the less accidental, since in ch. ii. 12 (10) we read, "And none shall deliver her *out of my hand,*" where the וְאֵיזוֹ is inserted. These words, which are exactly suited to inflict a wound in the heart of secure sinners, are also quoted elsewhere, as in Isaiah xliii. 13.

Hosea v. 15, "I will go and return to my place, till they acknowledge their offence and seek my face (בְּפָנַי בְּקִשְׁתֶּם); in their affliction (בְּצָרָם לָהֶם) they will seek me early." Compare Deut. iv. 29, 30. "If from thence thou shalt *seek* the Lord thy God, thou shalt find him, if thou seek him with all thy heart and with all thy soul. When thou art in tribulation (בְּצָרָתְךָ) and all these things are come upon thee, even in the latter days, then turn to the Lord thy God, and be obedient to his voice." That Hosea had this passage before his eyes, and supposed that his contemporaries were acquainted with it, cannot be denied, on account of the very peculiar expression בְּפָנַי בְּקִשְׁתֶּם, which is tantamount to a direct quotation. But the reference is rendered more certain since a second is found in

ch. vii. 10, "And they do not return to the Lord their God, nor seek him for all this." The judgments threatened in the law had in great part been inflicted, yet of their proper effects no traces could be found among the obdurate people.

Hosea vi. 1, "Come and let us return unto the Lord; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath smitten, and he will bind us up." It begins in harmony with Deut. iv. 30, "If thou turn to the Lord" corresponds to "let us return." If we are disposed to verify the word of the Lord which he speaks concerning our commission, he will also verify his word, which promises deliverance after punishment. This word is found in Deut. xxxii. 39, "I kill and I make alive; I wound and I heal." The same verse is alluded to in ch. v. 14. The source of alarm becomes now a source of comfort. This is the more observable, since there is manifestly a reference here to ch. v. 14. "*Manifesto*," says MANGER, "*respicit ad c. v. 14, atque adeo ad plagas illas gravissimas, quas a Deo velut a leone iracundo acceperant.*"

Hosea vi. 2, "And we shall live in his sight." Israel will obtain what Abraham supplicated for Ishmael. Gen. xvii. 18, *i.e.* to be under God's protection—possessed of his favour.

Hosea vi. 3, "And he (the Lord) shall come unto us as the rain, and as the latter and former rain unto the earth." Compare Deut. xi. 14, "That I will give you the rain of your land in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain." Not merely rain from the Lord, says the prophet; the Lord himself will revive you, as spiritual rain. In Deuteronomy, rain is represented as a pledge of Divine grace, and therefore the Lord appears in it; from this it is only a single step to the representation in Hosea, where what was a form of the *coming* of the Lord is changed into an image of *himself*. Hosea follows here his own method of explaining the law spiritually: of tracing back the special to the general idea, of rising from the lower to the higher, with which we have already been made familiar by so many examples, which render one another mutual support. That the agreement here is not accidental, will be more apparent if we compare the other allusions to the same passage in Joel ii. 23; Ezek. xxxiv. 25; and Jer. v. 24 (where the coincidence is complete). Hosea vii. 9, "Ephraim hath *mixed* himself among the people," אֶפְרַיִם בְּעַמִּים חָרָא יִתְבַּלֵּל. The opposite is expressed in Leviticus xx. 24, "I am the Lord your

God which have *separated* you from other people," אֲשֶׁר־הִבְדִּילָתִי אֲתָכֶם מִן־הַגֹּיִם, "and ye shall be holy unto me, for I the Lord am holy, and have *severed* you from other people," אֲבָדִיל אֲתָכֶם מִן־הַגֹּיִם, "that ye should be mine." In exhibiting the contrast of the fact and the idea, the allusion is so intentional in the form, that the prophet substitutes בלל for בדל, differing only in one letter, and changes the ה" at the end into ה" at the beginning. Equally intentional is במים in contrast to מן־העמים, the preposition of rest being used instead of the preposition of motion, to indicate that the relations were exactly reversed. If there had not been a reference to the law, the more definite word גִּיְיִם would have been used instead of עַמִּים.

Hosea viii. 6, "For the calf of Samaria shall be for the flames," כִּי־שִׁבְבִים יִהְיֶה עֵגֶל סַמְרִיָּן שבבים. We must here, first of all, determine the meaning of שבבים. The meaning *flames* depends upon the Hebrew שָׂבִיב and שָׂבִיב *a flame*, and on the Arabic شب, *excitare flammam vel ignem*, and is therefore perfectly ascertained. On the other hand, the usual translation, "the calf of Samaria shall be (broken in) pieces," has nothing in its favour. The current derivation from the Talmudic שבב, *frangere*, which is still found in WINER, has already been completely set aside by SCHULTENS in his *Opp. min.*, p. 329, and the new derivation which would connect the meaning pieces with the Arabic شب *to kindle*, thus שבבים, *pro fragmentis, scidiis quibus scil. ignis sustineri potest*, is very far fetched, and could, at all events, be only allowed, if the obvious meaning, *flames*, were quite unsuitable. The meaning *ashes* is more plausible, and has analogy in its favour, which Schultens brings forward from the Arabic; *quemadmodum لهب est pulvis per aerem volitans in Camuso a لهب ardere*. Yet it cannot compete with the meaning *flames*. Admitting, then, the word to mean *flames*, the allusion is obvious to the passages in the Pentateuch, which narrate the proceedings of Moses in relation to the golden calf. "And he took the calf which they had made and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder." Exod. xxxii. 20. "And I took your sin, the calf which ye had made, and burnt it with fire, and stamped it, and ground it very small, until it was as small as dust." What was made in fire was destroyed by fire. (Exod. xxxii. 24.) The opinion of a reference to the Pentateuch is supported by two other reasons. 1. In the first part of the verse

(“for from Israel was it also, the workman made it, therefore it is not God”) there is an allusion to the narrative in Exodus; see ch. xxxii. v. 1. “The people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, *make* us gods.” 2. The prophet here makes use of a *decurtata comparatio*; as if he should say, ‘It will fare no better with the calf of Samaria than with the calf in the wilderness which was burnt;’ this appears from a comparison with ch. x. ver. 6. “It (the calf) shall be carried into Assyria for a present to King Jareb.” If the allusion to the Pentateuch in the passage before us be not acknowledged, the prophet will be involved in a contradiction. The carrying into Assyria was in effect like the burning of the former calf, a practical proof that it was no god.

Hosea viii. 2, “Because Ephraim hath made many altars to sin, altars shall be unto him to sin (were the cause of his sin.) Compare Deut. xii. 5. “But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there, even unto his habitation shall ye seek, and thither shall ye come.” The allusion to this law respecting one place of public worship is rendered more certain, when we find that, immediately after, Israel is upbraided with dispensing with the written law of God, as was clearly shown by multiplying altars contrary to its plain literal injunctions.

Hosea viii. 12, “I have written to him, the multitude (literally *the myriad*), of my law.” The reading of the text רַב־ is unquestionably to be preferred; besides the general reason for the K’tib there is a special one that the LXX. had ר in the text, though they join it to the following clause: *καταγράφω αὐτῷ πλήθος καὶ τὰ νόμιμα αὐτοῦ εἰς ἀλλότρια ἐλογίσθησαν.* The future אֶשְׁכֶּתֶבֶן (which is chosen in order to mark the abiding validity of the law written centuries before—which God having once written, writes, as it were, continually), cannot serve to free the opponents of the existence and legal introduction of the Pentateuch into the kingdom of Israel, from the helpless perplexity in which they are involved by this passage. Even if we were to grant them their unexact translation, “I prescribe,” yet EICHHORN’S remark would still remain in force. (*Einkl.* pt. ii. p. 604). “As long as the law was merely oral, and merely propagated by custom, no one would use *scribere* for *prescribere*.” The correctness of this remark is

confirmed by the only passage which can be adduced to justify the meaning *prescribe* (for Ps. xl. 8, where it is to be translated "In the roll of the book it stands written of me;" I am desired as a sacrifice—the surrender of my personality in opposition to all outward sacrifice; has certainly nothing to do with it); in 2 Kings xxii. 13, "Because our Fathers have not hearkened unto the words of this book, to do according to all which is prescribed to us," בְּכָל-הַכְּתוּבִים אֲלֵינוּ. Here the command is a *written* one. But from that passage nothing can be gained in favour of the meaning *prescribe* in the passage before us. For the force of the preposition is evidently not in the verb כָּתַב, but is expressed by לְ, which is wanting here; "according to all which stands written therein respecting us, as binding on us as our duty." Thus we are brought back to the meaning of *writing* as the only proper one of כָּתַב; and the only legitimate manner of explaining the future, is the admission that the prophet used it as expressive of continuance—that God may be said to write his law continually, since, when once written, it has the same validity as if it were fresh written every moment. What, then, can be done with this passage? By the admission that the Decalogue was then already written and acknowledged as Mosaic, our opponents will gain nothing. For here a myriad of laws are spoken of, and if it must be also admitted that the expression is somewhat hyperbolic, yet we must understand it of a law as extensive as the present, unless we attribute to the prophet a ridiculous extravagance, an absurd hyperbole, which would rob his denunciation of all its force. The only subterfuge remaining, is to regard the passage as spurious. Moreover, the prophet, in describing the pre-eminence which God imparted to Israel by the giving of the law, alludes to Deut. iv. 6–8, "And what nation is there so great that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law which I set before you this day?"

Hosea viii. 13, "They sacrifice flesh for the sacrifice of my offerings and eat it, but the Lord accepteth them not; now will he remember their iniquity and visit their sins; they shall return to Egypt." The first words, "they sacrifice flesh," &c. "and eat it," (that is, the offerings which they profess to bring to me, are neither better nor worse than common flesh, such as is usually eaten), allude to Deut. xii. 15, "thou mayst kill and eat flesh in

all thy gates, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after" (הִיבַח וְזָבַח בְּשָׂרִי, in Hosea (יִזְבְּחֵי בָשָׂר וַיֵּאבְדוּ)). In the preceding verses it is said, "Take heed to thyself that thou offer not thy burnt-offerings in every place that thou seest. But in the place which the Lord shall choose in one of thy tribes, there shalt thou offer thy burnt-offerings, and there thou shalt do all that I command thee." Offerings which were presented, in violation of this injunction, not in the place which the Lord had chosen in Jerusalem, but in any place arbitrarily chosen by themselves, were nothing more than common flesh, which alone, according to the law, might be slain and eaten in any place that suited their pleasure. Now the connection of ver. 11-13 is evident; "the *many* altars" (*many* in opposition to the *one* prescribed by the law) "were to Ephraim for sin." He had thereby shewn his contempt of the law by the giving of which God had favoured Israel, and by which their lives were to be regulated in their manifold relations from the greatest to the least. Since therefore they had no means of reconciliation, God would visit their sins; no longer the people of the covenant, they would return to Egypt. Let it also be observed here, that the admission that the prophet knew the written law for himself is not sufficient. His words could not produce the least effect, if that injunction respecting the unity of the place of worship had not been universally known and acknowledged as Mosaic. The assertion that the sacrifices were common flesh, could only be understood by persons to whom the *words* of the Mosaic institution were familiar. Of the excuses, by which it might be attempted to justify deviations from the Mosaic law, the prophet needed to take no account; for conscience would testify to their nullity, if the law was extant; but if without being able to rely upon the law, he had condemned as a heinous sin an act apparently so innocent as the multiplication of altars, he would have exposed himself to ridicule. The question here was not a moral precept, but a positive enactment, on the propriety of which much might be argued either way, unless the authority of the lawgiver put a stop to all further examination.

The last words of the verse הִבֵּיתִי מִצְרַיִם אֲשׁוּבוּ allude to Deut. xxviii. 68, "And the Lord shall bring thee into Egypt again מִצְרַיִם אֲשׁוּבוּ with ships, by the way whereof I spake unto thee, thou shalt see it no more again; and there ye shall be sold unto your

enemies for bondmen and bondwomen, and no man shall buy you." STUCK has correctly apprehended this allusion; *nimirum in servitute et miseriam Ægyptiacam, hæc pæne loco recensentur ex antiquo vaticinio*, Deut. xxviii. 68. The mention of Egypt can only be explained from the allusion to the Pentateuch, since what the Israelites had formerly suffered there was in vivid remembrance, and is introduced as a type of their future sufferings; just as Shinar is by Zechariah, who lived after the return from the Babylonish Captivity (v. *Christologie*, part ii. p. 63); for that Moses did not think of Egypt in a special sense, that he only transferred the form of the past to the future, which resembled it essentially, is evident from the description he gives of the future instruments of the Divine punishment in another part of the same chapter, as a people hitherto unknown to the Israelites, barbarous and coming from afar. See ver. 33, 36, 49, 50, which does not suit the Egyptians. But the Egyptians of the prophecy could not be considered as such, to whom Israelitish slaves would be sold by their peculiar enemies; on the contrary it is said, "Ye shall be sold there to your enemies;" and besides, the carrying back can refer only to the people in general, not to single individuals. But if we attend to the chronology, Egypt in a special sense could not be intended by Hosea. Ashur stood clearly before his sight as the rod of God's anger. When the prophet speaks without reference to the Pentateuch, it is of Assyria, the New Egypt, the Land of Captivity. The king of Ashur is the Melech Jareb, ver. 13; x. 6; to him the calf was carried. As the beginning of their desolation proceeded from the Assyrians (x. 14), so likewise the completion of it would come from the same quarter. A verbal reference to the same prophecy, joined with an explanation of it, occurs in ch. ix. 3. "They shall not dwell in the Lord's land; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and they shall eat unclean things in Assyria." Compare ver. 6, where the Egypt of the Pentateuch is individualised by the naming of its principal city (Memphis.)

The mere local position of Egypt and Assyria cannot be thought of, on account of the relation of these two hostile powers. Ch. xi. 5 is particularly worthy of notice, where the prophet explains himself as clearly as possible, and obviates every misunderstanding. "He (Ephraim) shall not return unto the land of Egypt, but the Assyrian shall be his King because he refused to

return (to repent.)” The expositors, who misunderstand the passages already quoted, and do not see the allusions to the Pentateuch, sadly fatigue themselves here. *Certe nodus hic est vindice dignus* says MANGER. They try at any rate to get rid of the negative (אֵל) which is omitted in the LXX. If מִצְרַיִם be only taken correctly in the other passages, there will be as little contradiction between “they shall return to Egypt” and “they shall not return to Egypt,” as in the answer of the Baptist to the question whether he was Elias, when he both denied and affirmed it. (v. *Christologie*, part iii., p. 491.) Besides, in the passage before us, at the close, the return to Egypt (in an improper sense) is again indirectly maintained. For when it is said, “because they refused to return” (to the Lord) it is implied that they must return (to Egypt), and this clause being connected by כִּי with the words, “but the Assyrian shall be his king,” serves to prove that Assyria is the Egypt of the prophet, and shows the futility of the attacks on the אֵל. Since they would not return to the Lord (in the sense), they must return not to Old Egypt, but to New Egypt. In v. 11 a return from Egypt is promised as a blessing, by which, according to our explanation, every misunderstanding is obviated.

Hosea ix. 3, “And they shall eat unclean things in Assyria.” Ver. 4, “They shall not offer wine-offerings to the Lord, neither shall they be pleasing unto him; their sacrifices shall be unto them as the bread of mourners; all that eat thereof shall be polluted; for their bread is only for them; it comes not into the house of the Lord.” The fourth verse is an explanation and confirmation of the third. All food must be sanctified by prayer and thanksgiving, by presentation to the Lord. Where these are wanting, all that men partake of is unclean; even food clean in itself, is unclean out of the Lord’s land. Hitherto (is the prophet’s meaning) the use of prayer and thanksgiving has been merely a dead form; now, from those who scorn to strive after the reality, the form is taken away; the appearance of sanctity ceases, and internal profaneness becomes outwardly visible; compare the same threatening to the Jews, Ezekiel iv. 13. In this passage we find several references to the Pentateuch. We perceive from it that the laws on account of the זֵבֶדֶד were in force in the kingdom of Israel; there is an allusion to the נֶבֶד, which, together with the זֵבֶדֶד and burnt-offering, was presented when the first fruits were dedicated to the

Lord; Lev. xxiii. 9; before this was done, no food could be tasted (v. 14), it would have been unclean food; as in the captivity, when the presentation of the first fruits ceased, all which the Israelites partook of was unclean. Then, again, the comparison of the sacrifices which possibly they might present, to *the bread of mourning*, לֶחֶם אֵינִים, which defiled all those who eat of it, shows that, in the kingdom of Israel, the laws relating to defilement by the dead were strictly observed. "*His verbis exulum status comparatur cum eo in quo per mores et leges Judeorum illi erant positi, qui mortuum propinquum lugebant, aut circa mortuum quovis modo fuerant occupati; hi nimirum habebantur immundi et quidquid attingerent, ipsos etiam cibos polluebant.*" Numer. xiv. MANGER. 19, 22. Lastly, there is a special reference to Deut. xxvi. 14. When the tithes were presented as the law prescribed, the offerer was to say before the Lord, "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, בְּאֵינִי, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any unclean use, בְּבִצְנִי, nor given ought thereof for the dead, לְמֵיתִי, as food for those who have been employed about the dead." Now when with the loss of the sanctuary, the presentation of tithes and of first fruits ceased, all food became changed into bread of mourning, and food for the dead, unclean and defiling.

Hosea ix. 5, "What will ye do in the solemn day (the day of assembling) לְיְהוָה בְּיֹמֵי, and in the day of the feast of the Lord?" The passage proves that the בְּיֹמֵי, were celebrated in the kingdom of Israel (compare ii. 11), and likewise the Passover, as the Feast κατ'ἑξοχήν, or the great feasts generally.

Hosea ix. 10, "I found Israel as grapes in the wilderness," בְּמִדְבָּרִי מָצְאתִי יִשְׂרָאֵל. An undeniable allusion to Deut. xxxii. 10. "He found him (his people) in a desert land," בְּאַרְצוֹ מִדְבָּרִי וּמִצְעָרָיו. The general image of an agreeable discovery (for that a *decurtata comparatio* is employed, is shown by the term *found*, otherwise inexplicable; it is as if he had said he rejoiced over his people in the wilderness, as one who has made an agreeable discovery), in the Pentateuch is individualized by the prophet by the mention of grapes. The expression "*found*," is so peculiar that it cannot be attributed to an accidental agreement.

"But they went to Baal-peor, and separated themselves unto that shame." Compare Numb. xxv 3. וַיֵּצְאוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְבַעַל פְּעוֹר. Perhaps נִזְרִי is designedly substituted for בְּמִדְבָּרִי, with an allusion to

the ordinances concerning the Nazarenes. "And their abominations, שְׂקִיזִים, were according to their love" (= illicit intercourse). Compare Deut. vii. 26. "Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thy house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it; but thou shalt utterly detest it (שָׂנֵא וְשָׂקַץ הַשְּׂקִיזִים), and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing." Thus there are three undeniable and very characteristic allusions in one and the same verse.

Hosea ix. 12, "I will bereave them, that there shall not be a man left." שְׁבַל־אִיִּם גָּזַרְתִּים. Compare Deut. xxxii. 25. "The sword without and terror within shall bereave (Eng. Marg. Read.) הַשְּׂבַל, both the young man and the virgin, the suckling also with the man of grey hairs. The use of the verb שָׁבַל in both passages is very peculiar.

Hosea x. 4, "Thus judgment springeth up as hemlock, רִשָּׁא, in the furrows of the field" (the form רִשָּׁא, Deut. xxxii. 13.) Compare Deut. xxix. 17. "Lest there should be among you a root that beareth רִשָּׁא gall (a poisonous herb. Marg. Read.) and worm-wood" (זַעֲזַעִים). Against understanding רִשָּׁא of the Divine judgment, see MANGER. Amos v. 7, vi. 12, has taken both רִשָּׁא and זַעֲזַעִים from the Pentateuch.

Hosea x. 11, "And Ephraim is as an heifer that is taught and loveth to tread out the corn; but I passed over upon her fair neck; I will make Ephraim to ride; Judah shall plow, and Jacob shall break his clods." An allusion to Deut. xxv. 4, or rather a proof that the precept there given, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn," was obeyed in the kingdom of Israel; this is of more importance, because such a precept, like many others in the Pentateuch, as for instance, not to seethe a kid in its mother's milk, not to slay the lamb and its dam on the same day, &c., had no foundation in the nature of things, but had a statutory or symbolic character. Compare 1 Cor. ix. 9; 1 Tim. v. 18. Only the observance of that precept can explain the phrase "loveth to tread out the corn," as contrasted with the unpleasant labour, the drawing, ploughing, and harrowing to which cattle that had grown too fat must be kept; ("I passed over upon her fair neck.") The whole is, moreover, only an individualising of Deut. xxxii. 15, "But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked," &c.; "then he forsook God which made him," &c.

Hosea x. 14, "The mother was dashed in pieces upon her children." Compare Gen. xxxii. 12 (11), "Deliver me from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau; for I fear him lest he will come and smite me, and the mother *upon* (Marg. R.) the children." That the expression אִם עַל-בָּנָיִם was proverbial, is asserted without proof. It has a plain reference to Jacob's peculiar situation. See Gen. xxxiii. 1, "And he divided the children *unto* (עַל) Leah, and *unto* Rachel, and *unto* the two handmaids." If at a later period it become proverbial, it was only on the authority of this passage. Deuteronomy xxii. 6 is taken from it, where in reference to birds'-nesting it is said, "thou shalt not take the dam with the young." The subject is a bird and its young ones, אִם and אִם-בָּנָיִם; the figurative expression, *mother* and *sons*, at the end, must indicate the symbolical character of this injunction (compare ver. 11); Israel having fallen under the Divine wrath, must now really suffer the calamity from which their forefather, standing in the Divine favour, had been preserved.

Hosea xi. 3, "I taught Ephraim also to go, taking them by their arms; but they knew not that I healed them." Compare Deut. i. 31, "The Lord thy God bare as a man doth his son." In reference to *healing*, see Exodus xv. 26, "I am the Lord that healed thee."

Hosea xi. 7. "And my people are bent to backsliding from me," literally "are suspended," תִּלְוִיִּם. Compare Deut. xxviii. 66. "And thy life shall hang in doubt (תִּלְוִיָּה תִּלְוִיָּה) before thee." To be suspended—to hang in the air in constant peril. That the expression is borrowed by the prophet, may be assumed from its great peculiarity. Besides, the form תִּלְוִיָּה for תִּלְוִיָּה only occurs in these two passages. The interpretation given by WINER, DE WETTE, and others, "*populus meus inhaeret defectioni*," falls to the ground when this allusion to the Pentateuch is pointed out; though, on other grounds, it is impossible, for תִּלְוִיָּה means *to hang*, not *to fasten*, *to adhere*.

Hosea xi. 8, "How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee up (אֶפְרַיִם אֶפְרַיִם), Israel? how shall I make thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together." In the account of the destruction of the cities of the Plain, Gen. xix. 25, only Sodom and Gomorrah are expressly mentioned; but Admah and Zeboim are

included in "all the land of the Plains," v. 28; for according to ch. xiv. Admah and Zeboim were situated there. But why does the prophet name Admah and Zeboim, places of little note? Evidently to indicate to his hearers and readers that it was not the *locus classicus* in Genesis which he meant to remind them of, but another in which the graphic menace is delivered with a verbal application to Israel. This passage is Deut. xxix. 22, where the Lord threatens backsliding Israel, that their whole land shall be consumed with brimstone and salt, so that nothing can be sown and grow, and no grass spring up in it, "like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, *Admah* and *Zeboim*, which the Lord overthrew in his anger and in his wrath." The word, of rare occurrence אֲדָמָה, is illustrated by Gen. xiv. 20, and indicates, that now, by Israel's guilt, the primary relation to their enemies, as it existed in the history of Abraham, was reversed, yet not irretrievably. The word אֲדָמָה directs us to Gen. xliii. 30, where Joseph's compassion presents an earthly image of the Divine. As his brother was to him, so was Israel to God. As certainly as the foundation of his compassion was the fear of God, so certainly was his compassion a practical prophecy of the compassion of God. This very peculiar expression is found besides only in 1 Kings iii. 26, where likewise there is an allusion to the primary passage in Genesis. The expression אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה alludes to אֲדָמָה and אֲדָמָה in Deut. xxix. 22, (23). Through the change in God's heart, the revelation which, as it were, takes place there, will preserve Israel from change and revolution. And the expression at the beginning of ver. 9, "I will not execute the fierceness of my anger" לֹא אֲבַלְעֵה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה, is founded on that in Deut. "in his anger and in his wrath," and alludes also to the אֲדָמָה uttered by the All-merciful, Gen. xviii. 29, 30. Lastly, "I will not return to destroy אֲדָמָה Ephraim," may be compared with Gen. xiii. 11 (10) "Before the Lord destroyed אֲדָמָה, Sodom and Gomorrah," and xix. 13, "The Lord hath sent us to destroy it," אֲדָמָה.

Hosea xii. 3-8. The train of thought is as follows.* God visits Jacob according to his works, and recompenses him according to his doings. His very names contained a great promise and pledge of salvation (ver. 3). *Jacob*, while yet in his

* Compare Manger's excellent exposition.

mother's womb, took hold of his brother by the heel, as embodying the election of grace, as an outline of later events under the Divine guidance: Israel, as a prince "he had power with God," for God allowed himself to be conquered by him. Ver. 4, 5. These verses recount not merely a true past history, but one which was, at the same time, a prophecy. As certainly as God is Jehovah, the I AM, it lives again in every age. It now depends upon the people to become again a true Jacob, a true Israel. If they returned sincerely to God, they might confidently depend upon him. Ver. 6, 7. But Israel is no longer Israel: he is become Canaan; instead of conflicting and overcoming with God and man, he seeks his own advantage by fraud and injustice. Ver. 8. The history is here represented from the same point of view as in Genesis, not in reference to Jacob's conduct, but God's grace; so that STUCK's remark, *queritur ante omnia, utrum, quæ vates de patriarcha commemoraverit, in laudem an in vituperationem ejus dicta sint*, is quite irrelevant.

Hosea xii. 3, "He took his brother by the heel in the womb, and by his strength he had power with God." For the first clause, compare Gen. xxv. 26, "his hand took hold on Esau's heel"—Genesis xxvii. 36, where the verb עָקַב occurs. For the second clause, Gen. xxxii. 29 (28), "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for thou hast wrestled with God (וַיִּלָּחֶם יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהִים) and with men, and hast prevailed" (וַיִּגְבַּח). From this passage also וַיִּגְבַּח in the following verse is taken.

Hosea xii. 5 (4), "Yea he fought with the angel and conquered; he wept and made supplication to him." The *modus* of the conflict and the victory, by weeping and supplication (compare the allusion to it in Colossians iv. 12, ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς), is here particularly brought forward, for the purpose of shewing that to God, who suffered himself to be conquered by these weapons, belonged the honour—that access to the same victory should still stand open to Israel, since these are weapons which the weakest can use

"He found him in Bethel, and there he spake with us." Compare Gen. xxxv. 9, when at Bethel the name of Israel was confirmed to Jacob. ("With us," indicates that Jacob is regarded here not as an individual, but as the progenitor of a race; that what was promised to him was promised to the whole nation.

Compare ver. 4 in relation to ver. 3, where the writer, after he had been speaking in ver. 2 of Jacob *the people*, now relatse without a fresh mention of the name, the actions of Jacob *the progenitor*).

Hosea xii. 6 (5), "Even Jehovah, the God of Hosts, Jehovah is his memorial." The foundation of the perpetuity of what the Lord had done to their progenitor. The allusion to Exod. iii. 15 is undeniable, "Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah, God of your Fathers, hath sent me to you; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial for all generations." "*In loco gemino*," says MANGER, "*Ex. iii. 19, unde noster manifesto desumptus est, deus nomen Jehovah eadem voce adhibita, suum esse memoriale affirmaverat, habendum esse ab hoc populo pro vero certoque omnis suae fiduciæ objecto, quare alterum illum titulum dei, qui omnipotentiam ejus designat, nunc etiam additum videmus.*" "Jehovah" has here, as in the primary passage, the meaning of pure BEING. That "the unchangeable" is too confined a signification is shown by the addition, "The God of Hosts."

Hosea xii. 8 (7), "Canaan, (a merchant), the balances of deceit are in his hand—he loveth to do unjustly." The term Canaan is ambiguous. From being Israel he is become Canaan; from a bold wrestler he is changed into a cunning merchant. The $\text{מִשְׁכָּלֵי מִשְׁכָּלֵי}$ stand opposed to מִשְׁכָּלֵי צֶדֶק , which, according to Leviticus xix. 36, ought to be used in Israel. False weights are forbidden there, chiefly as a species of injustice. This particular species is mentioned here on account of the מִשְׁכָּלֵי ; compare Deut. xxv. 13-16. With $\text{לִמְשֵׁךְ אֶת־עַמִּיתִי}$, compare $\text{אֶת־עַמִּיתִי לִמְשֵׁךְ}$, Levit. v. 21-23; compare Deut. xxiv. 14. "*Eo vero*," says MANGER, "*majorem reprehensionem habet, quod mercator dicitur, cujus lances sint dolosae, quo majori securitate id genus fraudis ex rep. Hebr. deus per expressas leges præscripserat.*"

Hosea xii. 9 (8). And Ephraim said, yet I am become rich: I have found me out substance; in all my labours they shall find none iniquity in me that were sin." This delineation of impenitent self-deception, is in striking agreement with Deut. xxix. 18 (19) "And it come to pass when he heareth the words of this curse, that he bless himself in his heart, saying I shall have peace," &c. See also Deut. viii. 17.

Hosea xii. 10 (9), "And I that am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt, will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles as in the days of the solemn feast." Since they had placed their confidence in the deceitfulness of riches, instead of the Lord their God, who brought them out of Egypt, they must repeat their wanderings in the wilderness. The same cause which deferred for forty years their obtaining possession of the land of Canaan (see Numbers xiv. 33, "And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be wasted in the wilderness") would now exclude them from it. The dwelling in tabernacles was now a feast for them; soon it would be a burden, a punishment. The Feast of Tabernacles was one of the מִשְׁכָּנִים; the more exact designation belongs to the connection. The prophet had Lev. xxiii. specially in view, where, in enumerating the מִשְׁכָּנִים, it is said, ver. 42, "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days;" ver. 43, "That your generations may know that I made the children of Israel to dwell in booths, when I brought them up out of the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God." The clause, "I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt," is merely abridged from this passage. The אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵיךָ מִמִּצְרָיִם in Hosea corresponds to the אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִמִּצְרָיִם in Leviticus. The preterite is changed by the ingratitude of the people into the future. Compare also Deut vi. 10, "And when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he swore unto thy fathers . . . to give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildest not, and houses full of all good things which thou fillest not, and wells digged, which thou diggest not, vineyards and olives which thou plantest not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full, then beware lest thou forget the Lord, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt." The grounds of the declaration of the repetition of the wandering in the wilderness, are to be found in this passage. The eating, and being full, and forgetting the Lord, was expressed in the preceding verse; "And Ephraim said, yet I am become rich, I have found me out substance." This passage alone would be sufficient to set in a right light the assertion of VON BOHLEN and VATKE that the Feast of Tabernacles was first celebrated in the time of Nehemiah; though we shall in the sequel more fully expose its falsity. GEORGE (*die Jüdischen Feste*. Berlin 1835, p. 177) admits, that here is unquestionably a

reference to the Feast of Tabernacles, but from his attachment to an unsubstantial hypothesis, presumes that the Feast of Tabernacles is introduced here without any reference to the sojourn in the wilderness, of which he considers that nothing is said; that the prophet's language means, "I will make you dwell in tabernacles instead of palaces, as you do now at the time of the feast." But the undeniable allusion to the passage in Leviticus is thus altogether passed over; the connection of the words, "I am the Lord thy God from the land of Egypt," with the following clause, "will yet make thee to dwell in tabernacles," is so broken that the author must indulge in an arbitrary interpolation, to give even the appearance of connection; the וְיִשְׁבְּוּ which expresses the contrast, contrary to the opinion that the dwelling in tabernacles was something purely past, loses its force; and the comparison with the Feast of Tabernacles is altogether empty and destitute of any deeper reference. Indeed the author had reason for getting rid of the correct sense at any rate; for let this be established, and it is all over with his hypothesis, according to which the Feast of Tabernacles was originally a mere feast suited to the season of the year, and only in later times was brought into any connection with the journey through the wilderness.

Hosea xii. 12 (11), "Is there iniquity in Gilead? Surely they are vanity; they sacrifice bullocks in Gilgal, yea their altars are as heaps (of stones) בְּחִלְוֵי in the furrows of the fields." The place where Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac, the hill of God as a witness against breach of faith (Gen. xxxi. 48), had lost all its significance, and the name was become a *nomen vanum*. Something of בְּ there was still in Gilead, as in Gilgal, which received its name in remembrance of the covenant with the Lord, renewed by circumcision, but it is a contemptible *Gal*, that has nothing in common with the original but the sound.

Hosea xii. 13-15 (12-14). The meaning and connection are as follows. The progenitor of Israel fled alone, helpless, from his home, to strangers; there, without property, he was obliged to endure a hard servitude for a wife; his posterity were led by God, through his servant Moses, from a strange land to a home; and while Jacob was obliged to guard his flocks, they were guarded by God when increased to an innumerable host. And yet, what criminal ingratitude!

V. 13 and 14 form an epitome of the confession that every Israelite (in order that the difference between their former and present condition might be kept in lively remembrance) was bound to make every year, on presenting the first-fruits, Deut. xxvi. 5. "And thou shalt speak and say before the Lord thy God, a Syrian ready to perish was my father," &c. This confession forms the best comment on these verses.

V. 13, "And Jacob fled into the country of Syria," compare Gen. xxvii. 41. $\text{וַיִּפְּדֵהוּ שָׂרָי}$ corresponds to $\text{וַיִּפְּדֵהוּ שָׂרָי}$, so that וַיִּפְּדֵהוּ is merely an interpretation of the Aramaic name. In reference to "he fled," compare "flee thou," Gen. xxvii. 43.

"And Israel served for a wife, and for a wife he kept sheep." Compare Gen. xxix. 8, "I will serve thee seven years for Rachel thy youngest daughter;" v. 20, "And Jacob served seven years for Rachael." Jacob makes use of the word שָׂרָי in treating with Laban, Gen. xxx. 31; and all that he endured in keeping the sheep he describes in ch. xxxi. 40.

V. 14 (13), "And by a prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a prophet was he preserved. Moses designates himself a prophet נָבִיא in Deut. xviii. 18, where he promises the people that God would raise up a prophet like unto himself.

V. 15 (14), "Ephraim provoked him to anger most bitterly; therefore shall he leave his blood upon him, and his reproach shall his Lord return unto him." Lev. xx. 9. In the enunciation of the heinous crimes which were to be punished with death, it is always said at the close $\text{וְיָמִיתָם אֱלֹהֵיכֶם}$. It remains upon them, since they are their own murderers; it will not be avenged on those who, as ministers of the Divine justice, have brought them to death. The word וְיָמִיתָם is chosen with an allusion to Gen. ix. 5, "Your blood will I require," וְיָמִיתָם . Intentionally a word is chosen of similar sound but of opposite meaning, in order to make the contrast more striking—the suspension of the Divine promise so much the more sensible.

Hosea ch. xiii. 1, "When Ephraim uttered perversity (*de eo qui vitio lingue unam literam pro alia profert aut qui confuse perplexeque loquitur*, MANGER) then he bore his sin in Israel; and he incurred guilt towards Baal, and died." The first clause relates to the offence committed by the introduction of the worship of the calves. The *confuse perplexeque loqui* points

out very distinctly the mixture of truth and falsehood in Jeroboam and her priests. Joined to this, as a second step, is the introduction of the worship of Baal. In the passage before quoted from Lev. xx. 9, the phrases $\text{בָּמִן, דְּמִיָּהוּם, וְשָׂאֵי עֵצִים}$, and בִּיהוֹ יִיִרְיִי are constantly either connected, or placed alternately; and generally the phrase שָׂאֵי עֵץ is very frequent in Leviticus. See v. 1, 17, vii. 18, xvii. 16, xxiv. 15. Ephraim appears as a criminal who by a righteous Divine sentence, incurs the deserved and threatened punishment of the law.

Hosea xiii. 6, "According to their pasture so were they filled; they were filled, and their heart was exalted, therefore have they forgotten me." An abstract of Deut. viii. 10, where every word occurs with the exception of בְּמִן עֵצִים , and in the same order as here, the being full—the heart being lifted up—and the forgetting God. What the lawgiver forewarned is now come to pass. The fourth and fifth verses in Hosea correspond closely to the 15th and 16th in Deut. Compare also Deut. xxxi. 20; xxxii. 15.

Hosea xiii. 9, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, for against me art thou, thy help." $\text{לֵאלֹהֵי$ is from Deut. xxxii. 5;* בְּעֶזְרָה from Deut. xxxiii. 26. "There is none like unto the God of Jeshurun, who rideth upon the heaven *in thy help*," or "*as thy help*," בְּעֶזְרָה compare ver. 29, "O people, saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help," בְּמִן עֵצִים .

13 ver. "He is an unwise son;" Deut. xxxii. 6, "O foolish people and unwise!" Compare ver. 28, where the sentiment is just the same as here, the foolishness of the people who sought not to free themselves from the Divine judgments by true repentance.

Hosea xiv. 2 (1), "O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God, for thou hast fallen by thine iniquity." Compare Deut. iv. 30; xxx. 1, "When thou art in tribulation, and all these things come upon thee, even in the latter days if thou turn to (עָד) the Lord thy God, and shalt be obedient to his voice." The whole passage (1–10) forms the foundation, the higher sanction, for the exhortation and promise of the prophet.

* See VITRINGA, *ad Cant. Mosis*, p. 49. Turpe vitium transgressionis fœderis non imputandum est Deo, sed Israelitis. Illi se corruperunt, eodem modo ac sensu, ac Hoses, idem agens, quod hoc loco Moses. c. xiii. 9; corruptio tua est Israel (more correctly corruptio te Israel, etc.)

Ver. 3 (2), "Take with you words, and turn to the Lord; say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously; so will we render calves, our lips." "Take with you words," traces back a symbolic act commanded in the law to its original character, which appeared in that act only as embodied in it. Exod. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 20, "None shall appear before me empty." Deut. xvi. 16, 17, "They shall not appear before the Lord empty (at the three great feasts). Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God which he hath given thee." "*Verba*," says MANGER, "*loco nimirum hostiarum et munerum quae ceteroquin deo tanquam regi ab omnibus debebant effferri ad ipsum accedentibus; . . . unde factum, ut sacrificia munerum rationem haberent, et commune nomine מינדוריה donorum dicerentur.*" "We will render thee calves, our lips," that is, we will present the offering of our thanks to thee which thou hast desired in the law under the symbol of the sacrifice of cattle. This clause is explained in part from Lev. iii. 1-5, according to which, cattle are presented as שְׁלָמִים. פָּרִים is not used there, but only פָּזֵז, and so we may compare Exod. xxiv. 5. And the sacrificed peace-offerings of oxen unto the Lord, after the ratification of the covenant וּבְרִיתִים שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה בָּרִים. What took place at the formation of the covenant is repeated at its renewal.

Ver. 4, "For with thee the fatherless find mercy, as thou hast said in thy word." Compare Exod. xxii. 21-23; Deut. x. 18.

Lastly, the close in ver. 10 is based on Deut. xxxii. 29.

TRACES OF THE PENTATEUCH

IN

A M O S .

WE now turn to AMOS. The intimate acquaintance with the Pentateuch which he discovers is so much the more remarkable, because he was an individual of the lowest class, a herdsman, and not educated in any school of the prophets. That this acquaintance was derived alone from the kingdom of Judah, to which Amos originally belonged, cannot be maintained, since the strong tendency to introduce not only the sentiments but the words of the Pentateuch presupposes, that the Pentateuch was in the hands of the ungodly members of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and that they were familiar with its contents ; but still more, the kind and mode of the allusions, in this prophet as much as in Hosea, tend to show, that the whole Israelitish system of religion, with the exception of the deviations introduced by Jeroboam, was strictly in accordance with the prescriptions of the Pentateuch. It is also striking, that here, as in Hosea, the most frequent and literal references are made precisely to that book, whose later origin has been most confidently maintained—a fact partly explained from the circumstance that Deuteronomy being a recapitulation of the law, would be most read—besides, that this book, from its hortatory character, forms a kind of link between the Law and the Prophets, and the materials furnished by the preceding books assume in part a prophetic form. We adduce, moreover, that which, if it were presented alone, would not suffice as evidence, and expect from our opponents that they will not attack it in an isolated form, but either follow our induction of proof step by step, or conscientiously select such parts in which the idea of their being borrowed will occur at first blush. Only in this manner can the question be brought nearer its decision ; unworthy artifices cannot be long maintained. Many things which, at first sight, appear as

far-fetched and over-strained, have been acknowledged by those who, from the passages in question, have formed a correct view of the relation of the Prophets to the Law, to be easy, natural, and certain. And should some passages here and there be left, about which, even considered from a right point of view, the agreement may be thought to be accidental, yet these passages, by a renewed and close examination, will be easily compensated by a far greater number at which no exception can be taken. How little in such investigations, where so much depends on a fortunate glance, we may venture to believe can be gained all at once by the most zealous attempt, is proved by a comparison of the present representation with an earlier, in the *Lit. Anzeiger*, 1833, No 40. The author believed that he had there given, in tolerable completeness, the important allusions in Amos to the Pentateuch; but a repeated examination doubled the number, and the later instances were not inferior to the former in intrinsic value. Let us now examine them individually.

Amos i. 11. In the denunciation of punishment on Edom, it is alleged as the ground of the Divine sentence, "because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and kept his wrath for ever." The circumstances of their progenitor, as narrated in Genesis, are assumed to be known. Perhaps there is besides a special allusion to Deut. xxiii. 8 (7), "Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother." For the same reason for which this injunction was given to Israel, the Divine vengeance went forth over Edom, so that the threatening may be regarded as a fitting sequel to the injunction.

Amos ii. 2, "But I will send a fire upon Moab, and it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth, and Moab shall die with tumult, with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." The first part of this verse alludes to Numb. xxi. 28, where, in the song on the defeat of the Moabites by the Amorites, it is said,

"For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon;
It hath consumed Ar of Moab,
And the lords of the high places of Arnon."

Amos announces that since the Moabites had provoked afresh the wrath of God, that event would be repeated. The representation

of the punishment under the image of fire is specially chosen with reference to Moab, and then, on account of a similarity of circumstances, is transferred to other nations. Compare i. 4, &c. The second part alludes to Numbers xxiv. 17. There the Moabites, in the annunciation of their destruction by Balaam, are designated בני־שׂוּר, *sons of tumult*, שׂוּר by derivation and meaning being equivalent to שׂוּרֵי. (See the Lexicons.) In allusion to this passage Amos chuses בַּשֹּׁאֵן in order to point out the Divine *lex talionis*. “*Ipsi illi*,” says VERSCHUIR, “*qui dicuntur filii tumultus, per talem etiam interirent tumultum, eadem voce designatum*.” Jeremiah li. 55 offers an analogy for the relation of בַּשֹּׁאֵן to בני־שׂוּר.

“Because the Lord hath spoiled Babylon,
And destroyed out of her the great voice;
When her waves do roar like great waters,
A noise of their voice is uttered.”

“*Redditur vox eorum*,” says MICHAELIS, “*quæ prius triumphantium erat, vox strepitus vastatorum et ejulationis magnæ*.” It is remarkable that the same twofold allusion is combined in one verse by Jeremiah :

But a fire shall come out of Heshbon,
And a flame from the midst of Sihon,
And shall devour the corner of Moab,
And the crown of the head of the *Tumultuous ones*.
(Children of noise; Eng. Marg. R.), xlvi. 45.

If here the reference to Numb. xxiv. is universally admitted, it cannot be denied in Amos. Jeremiah, like Amos, substitutes שׂוּרֵי for שׂוּר. Moreover, in בני־שׂוּר there is perhaps a twofold meaning; *sons of tumult*, in an active and passive sense, so that בַּשֹּׁאֵן comes somewhat nearer to בני־שׂוּר; in Jeremiah at least this is very probable. Compare the use of שׂוּרֵי in Jerem. xxv. 31, xlvi. 17, &c.

Amos ii. 7,

They turn aside יָשׁוּב, the way of the meek;
And a man and his father will go
in unto the same maid,
To profane my holy name.

Here everything rests upon the law; just as the prophet, in ch. ii. 4, denounces the wrath of God on Judah.

Because they have despised the law of the Lord,
And have not kept his commandments.

The peculiar word יָשׁוּב is also repeated in ch. v. 12. “They turn

aside the poor in the gate," הָטָה. See on הָטָה, which may be used as well of a person as of their right, their way; *Christologie*, Part iii. p. 418. In the Pentateuch it is very common in a similar reference; thus Exod. xxiii. 6, "*Thou shalt not wrest* (לֹא תִטָּה) the judgment of the poor," to which Amos v. 12 alludes; "*they turn aside* הָטָה the poor in *the gate*," where תִּטָּה corresponds to טִפְּסֵהֶם in Deut. xvi. 19, "Thou shalt not wrest judgment, thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift, &c. Justice, justice shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" xxiv. 17, "Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger." Lastly, Deut. xxvii. 19, "Cursed be he that *perverteth* the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow." To this the terrible טִפְּסֵהֶם is prefixed. That the prophet had this passage immediately in view, is apparent from the turning aside the right of the poor being put in immediate connection with the crime of incestuous intercourse. That all the passages in the other books of Scripture, in which הָטָה occurs in this meaning and connection, allude to the Pentateuch (for instance, Prov. xviii. 5), may be easily shown. In reference to "a man and his father," &c., besides, Deut. xx. vii. 18, see Lev. xviii. 8, xx. 2; Deut. xxiii. 1 (xxii. 30). The clause "to profane my holy name," &c., &c., occurs literally in Lev. xx. 3, "to defile my sanctuary, and to profane my holy name," הִקְדַּשְׁתָּ אֶת־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ אֶת־שְׁמִי קֹדֶשׁ. Compare xviii. 21, xxi. 6, xxii. 31, 32. "Therefore ye shall keep my commandments and do them: I am the Lord. Neither shall ye profane my holy name, but I will be hal- lowed among the children of Israel; I am the Lord which hal- low you." God, holy in himself, requires also, as far as he is holy in the Church, every connection with sin to be abandoned. Hence whoever wantonly transgresses his commands, the image of his holiness, profanes God's name, God himself, as far as he is manifested in his Church. Hence the far more fearful charac- ter of sin in the Church of God than among the Heathen, and hence the far more fearful punishment. Amos ii. 8.

And they lay themselves down upon pledged clothes
 By every altar,
 And they drink the wine of the condemned
 (wine which has been purchased with fines
 of persons unjustly condemned)
 In the house of their God.

In a graphic representation, which is not to be taken literally, but of which only the leading ideas are to be dwelt upon, the prophet depicts the glaring contradiction between the observance of the external duties of religion, and the neglect of such as are internal. Compare, in reference to the "pledged clothes," Exod. xxii. 25, 26, (26, 27), "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down. For that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his skin: And it shall come to pass when he crieth unto me, that I will hear; for I am gracious." Deut. xxiv. 12. "And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep *upon* his pledge (most translate it 'with his pledge,' but the following phrase, וְשָׁכַב בְּשֵׁלְמֵהוּ, and the passage in Amos, are against it). In any case thou shalt deliver him the pledge again when the sun goeth down, that he may sleep in his own garment and bless thee; and it shall be righteousness unto thee before the Lord thy God; . . . v. 17, "Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger, nor of the fatherless, nor take a widow's raiment to pledge." That the prophet had principally the last passage in view, is probable from the clause respecting lying on the pledged clothes, and that on perverting judgment. Compare v. 7. That in the law the Divine wrath is threatened against the transgressor of this injunction, and its fulfilment is marked as an indispensable condition of righteousness before God, sets the contrast of the two modes of acting in so much the stronger light.

In verse 9, the hyperbolic description of the strength and stature of the Amorites is founded on the report of the spies, Numb. xiii. 32, 33. The mention of the Amorites for the whole population of Canaan occurs in exactly the same connection in Deut. i. 20, and in ver. 28 a similar hyperbolic description is given.

Amos ii. 10, "And led you forty years through the wilderness." וְאַתָּה אֲהַבְתָּ בְּמִדְבַּר אֲרָבִים שָׁנָה exactly the same as Deut. xxix. 4 (5) merely with the transposition of בְּמִדְבַּר. The future with *Vau Conversive* is in both places connected with the coming out of Egypt. The first half of the verse, "also I brought you up from the land of Egypt," agrees, with the exception of the exchange of a single expression for another equivalent one, with the introduction to the ten commandments, Exod. xx. 2, Deut. v. 6. There

the words were placed before the commandments as a ground of obligation to keep them, here before the reprimand for the neglect of the law as the ground of their culpability. Israel had not treated with contempt a foreign or imaginary God, but her own God—that God who had made himself known by illustrious proofs of his grace and omnipotence.

In verses 11 and 12 it is adduced as an instance of the ingratitude of the Israelites towards the Divine favour vouchsafed to them, that they reduced the Nazarites, whom God had furnished with special gifts of sanctification, to violate their vow, the keeping of which formed the basis of those Divine gifts of grace which they in this manner presumptuously caused to be withdrawn. “And I raised up of your young men for Nazarites. . . . But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink.” Here is not only a reference to the law (including a promise) respecting the Nazarites, Numb. vi. 3, but it is also evident that this institution, according to the prescriptions of the Pentateuch, was in existence in the kingdom of Israel. The words stand in exact designed agreement with Gen. xix. 32, 34. The proceeding of the Israelites is by this allusion marked as equally abominable as that of the daughters of Lot, by which they seduced their father to commit incest. Likewise ver. 11, 12, “And I *raised up* of your sons for *prophets*. . . . And ye commanded the prophets saying, prophecy not.” Compare Deut. xviii. 15, “A prophet (a personification of the idea which would be manifested in a whole number of single individuals) the Lord thy God will raise up unto thee, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me, *unto him ye shall hearken* ;” ver. 19, “And it shall come to pass that whosoever will not hearken to my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.” The raising up of prophets is in one passage promised, and in the other announced as an act of God’s grace; there obedience is commanded, and here disobedience is rebuked. Instead of hearkening to the prophets in reverential silence, they had imposed silence upon them. When the prophet denounced the Divine punishment upon them for this conduct, ver. 13, he only repeated what God had threatened in his law, when such a case as now occurred should happen.

Amos iii. 2, “You only have I known of all the *families* of the earth.” Compare Deut. xiv. 2, “The Lord hath chosen thee

to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth." The use of *בְּשִׁמְחָה* shows, that there is a latent allusion to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, "In thee shall all *families* of the earth be blessed," in which "thee I bless," or "thee I have known" lies included.

Ver. 7, "Surely the Lord God will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets." Here, as Jerome has remarked, we are reminded of a memorable instance in ancient times, Gen. xviii. 17, "And the Lord said, shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?" The similarity is more striking since the general sentiment here stands in special reference to a threatening judgment.

Ver. 14, "And the horns of the altar shall be cut off and fall to the ground." This shows that the construction of the altar at Bethel, even to the horns which were marked and sprinkled with the blood of the sacrifices, resembled that prescribed in the Pentateuch, Exod. xxvii. 2; xxix. 12; Levit. iv. 25.

In ch. iv. 4, and v. 5, besides Gilgal, Bethel, and Beersheba, situated in the kingdom of Judah, are mentioned as the places where Israel, with peculiar zeal, rendered its self-chosen service to the Lord. That exactly these places that were hallowed by striking events in the lives of the patriarchs should be chosen, that the remoteness of the last and its position out of the land of Israel, did not deter from mentioning it, is a proof of intimate acquaintance with the contents of the Pentateuch, from which it was attempted to combat the pretensions of the Jews to the exclusive sacredness of Jerusalem, which is not mentioned by the prophet.

Likewise in ch. iv. 4 the prophet demands of the Israelites with bitter ridicule of their self-chosen worship (which, instead of obliterating as they imagined, only increased their guilt), "bring your sacrifices every morning, and your tithes every three days." The former clause shows that the ordinance respecting the morning sacrifice, Num. xxiv. 3, were also observed in the kingdom of Israel; the latter (which is equivalent to saying, if ye would bring every three days the tithes which the Lord required to be given every three years it would avail you nothing) proves the compliance with the Mosaic regulations respecting the three years tithes, which are found in Deuteronomy, and only there (xiv. 28, xxvi. 12; compare MICHAELIS, *Mos. Recht.* iv., § 192.)

Ver. 5, "Offer (by burning) a sacrifice of thanks, giving with leaven," is said in allusion to Lev. ii. 11, and vii. 12, according to which nothing leavened was to be burnt in burnt-offerings generally, and especially in thank-offerings תְּרוּמָה, as if it had been said, burn as often as you please your thank-offerings, which, if they are outwardly in accordance with the prescriptions of the law, are inwardly so bad that they may be considered the same as leavened: they want, indeed, the material of leaven, but the essence is there in abundance. (Leaven was the symbol of *κακία* and *πονηρία*, but *ἄζυμα* of *εὐδικρίνεια* and *ἀλήθεια*; see 1 Cor. v. 8.) Hence it is evident, in the first place, that in the kingdom of Israel thank-offerings were presented according to the prescription of the law; and, secondly, that they consisted of unleavened materials. From the same verse it also appears that the presentation of free-will gifts נְדָבָה (Lev. xx. 18, Deut. xii. 6) was practised in the kingdom of Israel.

The enumeration of the miseries which, in consequence of their apostacy, were already come upon Israel, in the 6th and following verses, form a compendium of Deut. xxviii. and Lev. xxvi. The principal calamities denounced in those chapters had already been inflicted: the greatest, and last, the Captivity, still remained (ver. 3 and 4 compared with 12), and that it would not fail was as certain as that God had hitherto kept his word. There is a striking verbal agreement with Deut. in חֶסֶד לֶחֶם, *want of bread*, in ver. 6 compared with חֶסֶד לֵל, *want of all things*, in Deut. xxviii. 48, 57. חֶסֶד does not occur elsewhere; then, again, שָׂדֵי and נְקָוִים are connected together as in Deut. xxviii. 22, from which they are borrowed in Solomon's consecration prayer, 1 Kings viii. 37, "I have sent among you the pestilence," שִׁנְאֵתִי בְּכֶסֶם, "after the manner of Egypt" בְּדַרְכֵי מִצְרַיִם, ver. 10 refers specially to Lev. xxvi. 25. In both passages the pestilence and the sword of the enemy are connected together. The phrase "after the manner of Egypt" (compare Deut. xxviii. 60, "moreover, he will bring upon thee all the diseases of Egypt which thou was afraid of, and they shall cleave unto thee") alludes to Exod. ix. 3. What is there related in reference to the Egyptians was a practical prophecy in reference to the Israelites in case they became like the Egyptians.

The refret or burden of the song in ver. 6, 8, 9, 10, "Yet have ye not returned to me," וְלֹא שָׁבַתְּ אֵלַי alludes to Deut. iv. 29 (30),

“When thou art in tribulation, and all these words (הַרְבֵּי־יָמֶיךָ) are come upon thee, even in the latter days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God (שָׁבוּ עַד־יְהוָה) and shalt be obedient unto his voice.” The tribulation already existed in a pressing degree—the words were already in part fulfilled, but of the promised effect on the people nothing had yet appeared, and therefore the tribulation must be aggravated—the words must be more completely verified. In ver. 11, “I have overthrown some of you, as God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah,” כִּמְהַצֵּבֶת אֱלֹהִים אֶת־סוּדִים וְאֶת־עֲמֹרָה, there is a marked allusion to Deut. xxix. 22 (23), where God threatens Israel, that, in case of their apostacy, the land should be like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, כַּתְּהַצֵּבֶת כּוֹדִם וְעֲמֹרָה, which the Lord overthrew in his anger and in his wrath. That fearful threatening to which also Isaiah refers almost in the same language (i. 7, 9) was now, in great measure, fulfilled. How foolish if the people did not stop the further progress of its fulfilment by true repentance!

Amos v. 9 (8). There is an allusion to the narrative of the deluge in Genesis, “That calleth forth the waters of the sea, and poureth them out upon the face of the earth.” He who did this once, can always do it, and will do it, when sin calleth upon his justice to make use of his Omnipotence.

Ver. 11, “Ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink wine of them.” Compare Deut. xxviii. 30, “Thou shalt build a house, and thou shalt not dwell therein; thou shalt plant a vineyard, and shall not gather the grapes thereof.” Ver. 39, “Thou shalt plant vineyards and dress them, but shalt neither drink of the wine nor gather the grape.” The last words are taken from the second passage, in order to avoid the somewhat difficult word תִּהְיֶה־לְקִנִּי. As here in the threatening, so the prophet refers to the same passage in the promise, in ix. 14, “They shall build the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and drink the wine thereof.” Every threatening to the Church of the Lord is in fact the negation of a promise, which comes again into operation as soon as the reason of the negation ceases.

Ver. 12, “For I know your manifold transgressions and your mighty sins, they afflict the just, they take a bribe (לְקִנְיֵי כֶסֶף) (from the wicked), and they turn aside (הִטּוּ) the poor in the gate. The

לֹקְחֵי בַגְדֵי בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל involves the reproach of violating the command in Numbers xxxv. 31. "Moreover ye shall take no satisfaction (לֹא תִקְחֵי) (בַּבֶּגֶד) for the life of a murderer who is guilty of death (the wicked דָּשֵׁף is so wicked, that he deserves death), but he shall surely be put to death." Ver. 33, "For blood it defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed (רִצְּוֹ) of the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it." In reference to אֲרִיבֵי־הַיָּם compare ii. 7

Ver. 17, "For I will pass through thee, saith the Lord." This alludes to Exod. xii. 12, "And I will pass through the land of Egypt this night, and will smite all the first born in the land of Egypt." Israel is no longer the people of the Lord. Wherefore the Lord will no longer, as he did in Egypt, pass by their doors, but will, as he did to the Egyptians, pass through their midst destructively. The helping and guardian angel of God is changed into a punishing and avenging angel of destruction. This reference acquires greater certainty when we compare the clause לֹא אֵיכָבֶד עוֹד עִבְיָהוּ לִי, "I will not again pass by them any more," in ch. vii. 8, and viii. 2, in which the verbal repetition indicates a more decided reference. עִבְיָהוּ here corresponds to נִסָּה in Exod. xii. 23, 27, and is substituted for it, in order to make the contrast more striking—no longer נִסָּה as to the people of the covenant, but עִבְיָהוּ as to the Egyptians. The gracious exemption which was shown to the people of the covenant in Egypt formed the first link in a great chain which could only be broken by their degeneracy; every new passover was a new confirmation of this grace; but now, since Israel has become like the world, it will be judged with the world.

The feasts prescribed in the Pentateuch were celebrated in the kingdom of Israel—the last days of the two feasts that lasted for several days—the Passover and Feast of Tabernacles—were held peculiarly sacred, and the various kinds of sacrifices were presented under the same names which they bore in the Pentateuch. This is evident from Amos v. 21, 22, "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt-offerings and your meat-offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the thank-offerings תְּלִיִם of your fat beasts" (compare respecting the תְּלִיִם, Lev. iii. 1, particularly the sheep, as תְּלִיִם, vi. 11, vii. 11). The attempt by most expositors to refer this verse to the Jews, is altogether absurd. The ex-

pression *וְלֹא אֶרְיַח בְּעֲצֵרֹתֵיכֶם* deserves special notice. The word *עֲצֵרָה* is used in the Pentateuch to designate the last solemn day of the Feast of Tabernacles. Num. xxix. 35, "On the eighth day ye shall have *עֲצֵרָה*, a solemn assembly; ye shall do no servile work therein." Lev. xxiii. 36. On the eighth day shall be a holy convocation to you, and ye shall offer an offering made by fire to the Lord; it is *עֲצֵרָה* a solemn assembly, and ye shall do no servile work therein." So on the last day of the Feast of the Passover. Deut. xvi. 8. "Six days shalt thou eat unleavened bread, and on the seventh day (besides the eating of unleavened bread, which alone was allowed during these days) shall be a solemn assembly *עֲצֵרָה* to the Lord thy God; thou shalt do no work therein." In reference to the meaning of *עֲצֵרָה*, every attentive reader of IKEN'S Essay *De Azereth festi*, in his *Dissertt.* vol. i., will agree with him, against later expositors and lexicographers, when he remarks (p. 62), *Ab interdicto opere ratio nominis repetenda, cohibitio, scil. operis, quominus nempe id peragatur aut continetur*; and he explains the name as signifying the opposite to the *dies festos intermedios, quoniam nempe illis quidam labor licitus erat*. The explanation usually preferred, *festive assembly*, is destitute of all foundation, either in the language or matter of fact. In general, we now see from this passage that the last days of the two feasts were kept with peculiar solemnity in the kingdom of Israel, and with an abstinence from all labour. We find, besides, a special reference to the first of the passages quoted from the Pentateuch, in which the *עֲצֵרָה* of the Feast of Tabernacles is mentioned; "Ye shall offer a burnt-offering, a sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord," v. 36. The promise which lies in the *וְלֹא אֶרְיַח נִיחֹיִם*, is here withdrawn; if the Lord is no more disposed to smell the burnt-offering which formed the essence of the *עֲצֵרָה*; the day itself therefore is hateful to him. Lev. xxvi. 31 shows that *וְלֹא אֶרְיַח ב* forms the opposite of *ריח ניחוח*; "And I will make your cities waste, and bring your sanctuaries unto desolation; and *I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours*." *וְלֹא אֶרְיַח בְּרִיחַ נִיחֹחַכֶם*, a passage from which, by a combination with Num. xxix. 36, the passage under consideration has been formed. Generally, Israel is never reproached with the neglect of external worship. According to ch. viii. 5, the Feast of the New Moon was kept holy by abstinence from all work, equally with the Sabbath. The

usurers wished that these days were ended, on which all traffic was suspended ; but while they lasted, they dared not venture to gratify their thirst for gain ; for by so doing, they would have come into collision with the officers of justice, according to the letter of the law.

Amos vi. 9. "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to the careless on the mountain of Samaria, the chief of the beginning of the nations, to whom the house of Israel cometh." This woe relates to the corrupt higher classes in Judah and Israel, especially the latter. The peculiar designation given them, בְּרֵאשִׁית, must strike us at once ; and that it bears a relation to the Pentateuch will appear so much the more probable, since the equally peculiar expression, *the beginning of the nations*, is undeniably taken from Numb. xxiv. 20 (בְּרֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם). On a close examination, a passage in Numb. i. offers itself to our notice. Moses and Aaron were commanded to number Israel. Ver. 4, "And with you there shall be a man of every tribe, every one head of the house of his fathers." These heads of the tribes are then named. According to ver. 16, 17, "These were the renowned of the congregation, princes of the tribes of their fathers, heads of thousands in Israel. And Moses and Aaron took these men," אֵלֶּם נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹתָם. Lastly, ver. 44, "These are those that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the *princes* of Israel being twelve men ; each one was for the house of his fathers." Among all the Biblical writers, only the authors of the books of Chronicles and of the book of Ezra (see on the identity of the authors of both, which is confirmed by this fact, KEIL *on the Chronicles*, and MOVERS *on the Chronicles*, p. 11), have adopted the expression אֵלֶּם נִקְּבוּ בְּשֵׁמוֹתָם from the Pentateuch, so that in these books we find it a phrase regularly employed. See 1 Chron. xii. 31 ; xvi. 41 ; 2 Chron. xxviii. 15 ; xxxi. 19 ; Ezra, viii. 15. Expositors generally explain it, "who are specified by name," *i. e.* before-mentioned. But the correct explanation is, *men of name, renowned*, just as nameless is equivalent to unimportant. This appears, for the following reasons :—*First*, If the meaning *before-mentioned* be adopted, there seems no reason why the author of Chronicles and Ezra should borrow from the Pentateuch a phrase so unimportant, and make such constant use of it. *Secondly*, The meaning *before-mentioned* will not suit in every instance.

In 1 Chron. xii. 31, the words must, from the connection, necessarily express an honourable distinction. *אֲנָשֵׁי נָקְבָה בְּשֵׁמֹתָם* corresponds here to ver. 30, "mighty men of valour, *famous*, (*אֲנָשֵׁי נָקְבָה*, *men of names*), throughout the house of their fathers." In Chron. xvi. 41, the same phrase is connected as an epithet of honour, with *בְּיָחִידָם*, *chosen*. In 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, "And the men rose up, *אֲנָשֵׁי נָקְבָה בְּשֵׁמֹתָם*," relates to ver. 12, "Certain of the *heads* of the children of Ephraim;" therefore *the men of note*. The meaning *before-mentioned* is altogether unsuitable to Ezra, viii. 20, for the names of these persons had not been given. De Wette translates the phrase, "all *noted down* by name;" but this is a mere arbitrary substitution for *named*. And *where* noted down? *Thirdly*, If the words meant *before-mentioned*, we should expect the suffix, *בְּשֵׁמֹתָם*. *Fourthly*, The *נָקְבָה* of Amos, which even De Wette must translate by *Die Vornehmen*, (*Men of distinction*), shows that the current interpretation cannot be correct. If now the passage in Numb. i. 17 is the only one in the Old Testament where *אֲנָשֵׁי נָקְבָה בְּשֵׁמֹתָם* appears in an independent form, and then if it has the meaning *renowned*, nothing can be more probable than that the *נָקְבָה* of Amos is a mere abbreviation of the phrase as used in Numbers. The reference to this passage is rendered more certain by a closer examination of the reasons on which it is grounded. The prophet points out that the chief men in both kingdoms were the successors of those "princes of the tribes" who were formerly thought worthy to be joined with Moses and Aaron in managing the affairs of the chosen people, and who rendered their age illustrious as the dignified examples of a genuine theocratic government. By this reference the prophet renders more striking the contrast between the elevation of their position and the meanness of their conduct. The correctness of this view is confirmed by ver. 6.

Ver. 6, "That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments; but they are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph."

That a deeper allusion is made here than may appear at first sight is indicated by the word *קִיָּוָה*, which, wherever it occurs in the Pentateuch (very often) Kings, Chronicles, Jeremiah, and Zechariah, always means *sacred vessels*, with which also the etymology agrees, particularly vessels for sprinkling, so that the spe-

cial meaning must have been the original one. A comparison with Numb. vii. establishes this conclusion. Among the gifts to the tabernacles, which the theocratic zeal of "the princes of the tribes" induced them to present, the silver זָהָב occupies one of the first places. See ver. 13, 19, 25, 31, 37, 43, 84. The twelve princes gave twelve זָהָב , each seventy shekels in weight. Now the whole denunciation of the prophet is aimed at the princes of his own times. He had already compared them in ver. 1 with their predecessors and models in the Mosaic age. However zealous *they* were for the God of Israel, equally zealous are these persons for *their* God, that is, for themselves, for their belly. In the use of this one word, therefore, a deep and important meaning is concealed, which presupposes the intimate acquaintance of the hearers and readers with the contents of the Pentateuch; for otherwise the allusion would be in vain. If this reference be allowed we cannot hesitate acknowledging a similar one in $\text{רָחֵם אֱלֹהֵינוּ רָחֵם אֶת בֵּיתֵנוּ וְאֶת אֶרְצֵנוּ}$ especially since in Numb. vii. the account of the anointing of the tabernacle immediately precedes the enumeration of the offerings of the princes. According to Exod. xxx. 23, the most costly ointment was to be prepared for sacred uses. Whoever applied it to profane uses was to be cut off from his people. What ought to have been consecrated, according to that ordinance, to the *God of Israel*, the princes of Israel consecrated to their god, their beloved *self*. Their entire view is confirmed by ver. 5, "They invent for themselves instruments of music, like David." Their relation to David was similar to that which they bore to the princes. They were as inventive for their god, Pleasure, as he was for his God in heaven.

Ver. 8, "The Lord God hath sworn by himself, saith the Lord the God of Hosts, I abhor *the pride of Jacob*, גִּבְוַת יַעֲקֹב , and hate his palaces." Ch. viii. 7, "The Lord hath sworn by *the pride of Jacob*, גִּבְוַת יַעֲקֹב , surely I will never forget any of their works." "The pride of Jacob" is a comprehensive expression for all the theocratic glory of the nation, and since this proceeded from the Lord alone, the Lord himself is called גִּבְוַת יַעֲקֹב . When the people separate this glory from the Lord, lay claim to it as their own possession, and make it an object of vain confidence, then they are abhorred and despised by the Lord. We may find the origin of the phrase in Lev. xxvi. 19, "And I will break *the pride of your*

power, אֲדָרְתְּךָ אֶזְרָם, and I will make your heaven as iron, and your earth as brass." "The pride of power" is here also a comprehensive expression for the glorious gifts with which God adorned his people, and distinguished them before all other nations—very similar to כְּבוֹד in 1 Sam. iv. 21, "and she named the child Ichabod, saying *the glory* is departed from Israel." (Gesenius in his *Thes.*, p. 253, explains Lev. xxvi. 19, *superbia vestra proterva*, Am. vi. 8, *fastus Jacobi*. But that the latter explanation is false, appears from a comparison with viii. 7. So neither can the explanation of Lev. xxvi. 19 be correct. The blessings of heaven and of earth form equally a component part of the גֹּאֲזַן יַעֲקֹב, as in Amos the palaces which were erected under God's blessing.) "I will deliver up יְהוּדָה הַכְּבִירָה the city with the fulness thereof;" compare Deut. xxxii. 30, יְהוּדָה הַסְּנוּרִים.

V. 12, "For ye have turned judgment *into gall*, לֶרֶשָׁע, and the fruit of righteousness into *wormwood*, לְלִצְעָנָה. Compare Deut. xxix. 17 (18), "lest there should be among you a root that beareth *gall and wormwood*, רֶשָׁע וְלִצְעָנָה. (20) the Lord will not spare him, but then the anger of the Lord and his jealousy shall smoke against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him."

V. 13, "Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" In the blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 17), it is said of Joseph, "His horns are the horns of the buffalo, with them he shall push the people together." How much this expression served to strengthen Ephraim in his carnal security, is shown in 1 Kings xxii. 21. Here the expression "by our own strength," stands opposed to "by the grace of God," which in Lev., according to the whole connection, is to be supplied by the reader.

V. 14, "From the entering in of Hamath," מִלְּבוֹא הַחַמַּת. See Numbers xxxiv. 8. "Unto the entrance of Hamath." לְבוֹא הַחַמַּת. The punishment extends as far as the gift. The *whole* land (Num. v. 2) was to be the inheritance of Israel—now it falls into their enemies' hands. The clause "Behold I will raise up against you a nation," reminds us of the threatening in Deut. xxviii. 49. "The Lord shall bring against thee a nation from afar," &c. Now, saith the prophet, the judgment that is thus announced is ready to fall. It is sufficient to quote the first words of his description.

The whole of the prophet's deprecation for his people, ch. vii. 1, is manifestly copied from the language of Moses. Exod. xxxii. 9-14; Num. xiv. 11, &c. Compare v. 19, "Pardon, I beseech thee, כְּלֵחַיִם the iniquity of this people, according to the greatness of thy mercy," with the כִּלֵּה נִס in v. 2. Then compare, in v. 3, יָהוָה יִתְנֶה עֲלֵינוּ with "And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." (The same construction of יָהוָה with על.) But more important is the agreement in the whole—the threatening of judgment by the Lord, and its being averted at the intercession of the prophet. If the original passages are compared, it is immediately seen how false that view is, according to which, v. 2-6, describe a judgment in the course of infliction, instead of one merely threatened. God's compassion, as formerly in the wilderness, so now, had hitherto exempted the people from their merited punishment; v. 1-6. But now compassion will give way to justice, v. 7-9. With v. 4, compare Deut xxxii. 32.

The threatening against the chief priest Amaziah, who is here considered less as an individual than as the representative of a class, in ch. vii. 17, "thy wife shall be an harlot in the city," is an application of Deut. xxviii. 30, "Thou shalt betroth a wife, and another man shall lie with her."

In v. 16, "Thou sayest, prophecy not against Israel, and *drop not thy word* against the house of Isaac." There is here an allusion to Deut. xxxii. 2, "My doctrine shall drop as the rain; my speech shall distil as the dew." Simply and alone on the ground of this passage would "*dropping*" be used in the sense of *prophesying*; and in this sense it is employed even by the false prophets. Besides Amos, compare Micah ii. 6, 11; Ezekiel xxi. 2, 7.

Amos viii. 4, 5, "Hear this, O ye that swallow up the needy, even to make the poor of the land to fail, saying, when will the new moon be gone, that we may sell corn (וַיִּשְׁכַּח הַיָּרֵךְ), and the Sabbath, that we may *set forth* (*open* E. Marg. Read.) wheat? (וַיִּתְקַדַּח הַכֶּמֶן). It is not conceivable that the agreement should be purely accidental in two such remarkable expressions as שָׁרָא or שָׁרָר and וַיִּתְקַדַּח הַכֶּמֶן, with Gen. xli. 56. "And the famine was over all the face of the earth, and Joseph *opened* (וַיִּפְתַּח) all that was in them, and sold נַפְשֵׁי בָר to the Egyptians." They imagine that this one thing, the selling of corn, makes them worthy des-

endants of their progenitor Joseph ; that they need only to take him as a pattern in this one point ; they never reflect that his love to his brethren is presented to them as a pattern ; that he became the deliverer and supporter of his whole race ; that this was his ultimate aim, his highest joy.

The same verse, "Making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and falsifying the balances by deceit." Making the ephah small was a violation of the law in Deut. xxv. 14-16, "Thou shalt not have in thy house divers measures (an ephah and an epha, *Heb.*) a great and a small. But thou shalt have a perfect and just weight, a perfect and just measure shalt thou have, that thy days may be lengthened in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. For all which do such things and all that do unrighteously are an abomination unto the Lord thy God." מִשְׁכָּלִים מִשְׁכָּלִים form a contrast to מִשְׁכָּלִים מִשְׁכָּלִים Lev. xix. 26. "Just balances, just weights, a just ephah and a just hin shall ye have. I am the Lord your God which brought you out of the land of Egypt." By the allusion to these passages the supposed trickery is marked as a heinous transgression.

Ver. 6, "That we may buy the poor for silver and the needy for a pair of shoes." From this it appears, that, on account of the hardness of their hearts, the vassallage, which was intentionally allowed, though as much as possible limited, (compare Exod. xxi. 2 ; Levit. xxv. 39. The case there mentioned, "If thy brother that dwelleth by thee waxeth poor," &c., is exactly the one referred to by the prophet) existed also in the kingdom of Israel.

Ver. 14, "They that swear by the sin of Samaria and say, thy God, O Dan, liveth." The peculiar designation of the worship of the calf, as *the sin of Samaria*, is founded on Deut. ix. 21. "And I broke *your sin, the calf which ye had made*, and burnt it with fire." *Vitulum quem peccando in deum feceratis*. MICHAELIS. "And say thy God, O Dan, liveth." This expression points out the contrast of their conduct with the command in Deut. vi. 13. "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and serve him, and shalt swear by his name."

AMOS, ch. ix. This chapter is discussed in the *Christologie*, Part iii., and we shall satisfy ourselves with merely referring to it. Ver. 3 alludes to Numb. xxi. 6. The first part of ver. 8 in part verbally agrees with Deut. vi. 15. Ver. 12 alludes to Deut.

xxviii. 9, 10. With the first half of ver. 13 compare Levit. xxvi. 3-5, with the second half, Exod. iii. 8.

Ver. 14, "And I will bring again the captivity of my people, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them," &c. Compare Deut. xxx. 3, "Then the Lord thy God will turn their captivity." This passage forms the basis of all the passages in the Old Testament in which the very peculiar phrase *שָׁבָה שְׁבִיית* occurs. *שָׁבָה* in this phrase retains its usual meaning *to return*, and has after the manner of verbs of motion, the object of return, the point to which the return is made, in the accusative, as in Exod. iv. 19, 20 *שָׁבָה מִמִּצְרָיִם* return to Egypt, Numb. x. 36. "Return, O Lord, unto the many thousands of Israel." Ps. lxxxv. 5; Isa. lii. 8; Nahum ii. 3. In the two latter passages the meaning *restituit* is arbitrarily preferred by most critics. *שְׁבִיית* stands not as the abstract for the concrete, but denotes the *statum captivitatis*. This interpretation (which alone has in its favour the *usus loquendi*, for *שָׁבָה* never occurs in a transitive sense) is imperatively required by the connection in Deut. xxx. "And it shall come to pass when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind, *וְהָשִׁיבָה אֶל-לִבְּךָ אֵל-לִבְּכֶם*, bring it back to thy heart, among all the nations whither the Lord thy God hath driven thee (a description of the *שְׁבִיית* = in thy captivity). 2. And shalt return unto the Lord thy God, &c. 3. That then the Lord thy God will return to thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee and return and gather thee from all the nations whether the Lord thy God hath scattered thee." The consequence of bringing back (causing to return) to the heart is the return to the Lord—the consequence of the return to the Lord in the captivity, is the return of the Lord to the captivity; whilst hitherto he had concealed his face from the misery of his people. The consequence of the return (*turning back*) is the *leading back*. In Deut. xxx. 1-6, the word *שָׁבָה* occurs six times, and of these five times it is universally admitted in the sense of *returning*; how should it once in the midst of these signify *lead back*? Also in ver. 8, 9, the return of the Lord to the people corresponds to the return of the people to the Lord. The passages adduced, among which, besides Job xlii. 10, the one now under consideration, and Hos. vi. 11, *כִּשְׁבִייתִי* *שָׁבָה*, when I returned to the captivity of my people, are the

oldest, are connected most closely with the original passage. The transitive meaning of שׁוּב is rejected by Jerem. xxx. 3, "For lo, the days come, saith the Lord, and I will turn again to the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, saith the Lord, and *I will cause them to return*, וְהָשׁוּבְתִימָם , to the land that I gave to their fathers. Here as in Deuteronomy, *the turning back* (das Zurückkehren) is the antecedent, the cause; the *bringing back* (das Zurückführen) is the consequent, the effect. In the same manner ch. xxix. 14, "And I will be found of you, saith the Lord, and I will turn back to your captivity, and will gather you from all the nations and from all the places whether I have driven you, saith the Lord; and I will bring you again into the place whence I caused you to be carried away captive." In this passage—1, the being found and turning back; and 2, the gathering and bringing back, form a double pair. Ch. xxx. 18, "And I will *turn again* to the captivity of Jacob's tents, and *have mercy* on his dwelling-places." This passage shows, 1, That שׁוּב is intransitive—"the turning again" and "the having mercy" are equally connected as in Deut. xxx.; 2, שׁוּבָה retains the meaning of the abstract; and, 3, That "the captivity" gradually enlarged itself to the idea of the miserable condition. This enlargement, as it is expressed in Psalm xiv. 7; Job xlii. 10; and Ezekiel xvi. 53, "when I shall return to their captivity," (of Sodom and Gomorrah, whose inhabitants were not carried into captivity, but destroyed), presupposes the existence of an original passage as Deut., in which שׁוּבָה occurs in its peculiar meaning. For it always forms, as it were, a *decurtata comparatio*. The condition differing in form is distinguished by the name of what is similar in essence. Thus the expression, "I will turn back to the captivity of Sodom," is equivalent to saying, As I have shown myself a God of mercy to Israel by turning back to their captivity, and bringing it back, so I will show myself the same to Sodom, by turning to their calamity and restoring them again.

Before stating the results, which are to be obtained from the strict and constant connection of the two Israelitish prophets with the Pentateuch, we have yet to explain the alleged contradictions to the contents of the Pentateuch, which, as it has been lately maintained, exist in one of them, Amos, and evince the unacquaintedness of the kingdom of Israel with the Pentateuch. That

the preceding course of argument is by no means in favour of admitting them, any person with the slightest pretensions to impartiality must admit. Their fewness also renders them suspicious. After an eager search, only two instances have been discovered in Amos, and none in Hosea. If we succeed in settling these two instances, we shall gain something more than merely warding off the attack. If the Pentateuch was unknown in the kingdom of Israel, then, in the nature of things, contradiction to it may be shown in the 14th chapter of Hosea, and in the 9th chapter of Hosea. Thus, therefore, our positive proof obtains by the negative an essential enlargement. On the one hand, we have a multitude of special and verbal references; on the other hand, no contradiction. Thus the net is drawn closer and closer over our adversaries, and if we gain nothing more, yet we gain thus much, that they feel pain at being compelled by their dogmatical views to contradict the clear truth.

As to the first contradiction alleged by VON BOHLEN, *Eiul.* 152 ("Passages such as Is. i. 11; Amos v. 21; Micah vi. 6, shake the whole structure of the priestly service"), we need not spend many words in confuting it. In Amos it is said expressly, "I hate, I despise *your* feast-days, and I will not smell in *your* solemn assemblies. Not the worship *in itself* therefore was rejected, but the worship *of certain individuals*, as a mere φάντασμα of what was commanded in the law; compare the copious investigations on all these passages in the Review of UMBREIT'S *Erbauung aus dem Psalter*, *Ev. K. Z.*, 1835. Sep. If persons are disposed (to go no further) to refer what is said against the worship *in concreto* to the worship generally, they must be consequential enough to find traces of this enlightened, that is, anti-supernaturalist sentiment in the Pentateuch; see, for example, Leviticus xxvi. 31, "I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours." Still this is an *argumentum ad hominem*. Equally strong assertions are to be found in Jeremiah; for instance, vi. 20, "Your burnt-offerings are not acceptable, nor your sacrifices sweet unto me;" vii. 4, "Trust ye not in lying words, saying the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these." And yet must Jeremiah, according to VON BOHLEN, p. 166, have interpolated and new modelled the Pentateuch. If in Jeremiah, such expressions can imply no contradiction against the Pentateuch, how should they in Amos?

A second alleged contradiction has stronger claims on our attention, which VATKE (p. 190, 246, 456, 685) particularly urges, and has made it the principal support of his argumentation for the gradual development of the pure worship of Jehovah from the worship of Nature—the very late written composition of the Pentateuch, and, consequently, that it was wholly unknown in the kingdom of Israel. Amos, in chap. v. 25, 26, represents Jehovah as saying to the people, “Have ye offered unto me sacrifices, and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? And ye have borne the tabernacle of your king, and Chiun your images, the star of your God, which ye made to yourselves.” By Chiun is *certainly* to be understood the planet Saturn, to whom the ancient Arabians presented offerings on the seventh day, and who also appears in the Sabæan religion as an awful power. (See Gesenius on Isaiah ii. 343.) Among the sacrifices mentioned by the prophet, we may hence understand those sacrifices of beasts and men, with the latter of which Ezekiel reproached the Israelites during their march through the wilderness. The worship of Saturn appears to have spread universally among the Israelites; the words imply that no offerings were presented to Jehovah, but that the worship of Saturn had the ascendancy; that this fact is mentioned as a well-known circumstance; that the tradition respecting it must at least have run parallel with the Mosaic legend of the Pentateuch, which exactly contradicts it, and indeed spread much wider than that. Amos extends the worship of Saturn over the whole period of the march through the wilderness; the Israelites took Saturn with them as their king in the wilderness, which contradicts the accounts in the Pentateuch of the patriarchs and their pure knowledge of God. Here the nation meets us devoted at their first appearance to the worship of nature.

Our first business is to determine correctly the sense of the passage. We translate it, “Have ye presented to *me* sacrifices and offerings in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel? And ye bore (Vitringa correctly translates it, “*non obtulistis mihi sacrificia; imo tantum abest, ut contra puta veritis,*” &c.) the tent of your king and the carriage of your images, the star of your God which ye made for yourselves.”

The connection is as follows: the prophet in ver. 18–20, denounces a woe on those who ridiculed the announcement of the

near approach of the Divine judgments. In ver. 21–24, he tears away the supports of their false security, their confidence in religious services, feasts and holidays, burnt-offerings, meat-offerings, thank-offerings, and the recitation of sacred songs. All these things could not stay the course of the Divine judgments. They as little constituted true worship, he says in ver. 25, 26, as the open idolatry in the wilderness. Wherefore (ver. 27) as then, the outwardly idolatrous people did not enter the Holy Land, so now would the inwardly idolatrous be expelled from that land.

If this connection is borne in mind, we shall at once see the futility of the pretended opposition to the accounts of the patriarchs in the Pentateuch, and of the assertion that the prophet considered idolatry as the original religion of the Israelites. Punishment presupposes the antecedent communication of truth and knowledge; exclusion from the Holy Land, the possession of which would have been insured by fidelity, presupposes the apostacy of the people from the true God. Therefore the worship of the true God appears as the *prius*, and idolatry as the *posterius*. On the same grounds the forty years can be taken only as a round number. The exclusion from the Promised Land that followed, on account of the apostacy, implies, that at the beginning of the forty years, the people were devoted to the service of the Lord. This reckoning of the forty years as a round number, can scarcely be objected against, since it often appears in the Pentateuch itself, Numb. xiv. 33, 34, “And your children shall wander in the wilderness forty years, and bear your whoredoms, until your carcases be washed in the wilderness. After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities even forty years.” Here forty years are spoken of, and when this sentence was passed on Israel, one year and a half had already elapsed. We find, also, forty years mentioned as a round number in Josh. v. 6. But the prophet could now readily speak of forty years, since the *germ* of the apostacy already existed in the great mass, while they outwardly maintained fidelity to the God of Israel.

With what right can שׁוֹמֵר be taken as a proper name and a designation of Saturn? CH. B. MICHAELIS long ago remarked that the connection opposes such an interpretation. “*Repugnat sequens*,” he says, “שׁוֹמֵר *cui cum præcedenti singulari שׁוֹמֵר haud*

convenit. Unde colligimus 1. *Appellativum esse.* 2. *Constructum. Videlicet eadem modo se habet ad כִּיבָבָה ac כִּיבָב et כִּיבָבָה.* This reason is, no doubt, decisive; besides, if כִּיבָב occurred elsewhere as a name of Saturn, this coincidence must yet be held as accidental. But what are the proofs that כִּיבָב is a name for Saturn? They are so meagre that we can only pity those who can attribute any force to them after they have been fairly stated. 1. An appeal is made to the Septuagint, which translates כִּיבָב by 'Ραιφάν, or 'Ρεμφάν, which is a name of Saturn, and must prove that the Alexandrians had a tradition according to which כִּיבָב signified Saturn. This authority is most easily disposed of, if with C. B. MICHAELIS we maintain that 'Ραιφάν does not correspond to כִּיבָב, but was interpolated as a gloss by the Alexandrians. But we scarcely see how ROSENMÜLLER could literally copy this assertion, and how WINER (*Realwörterbuch*, vol. ii. p. 457), depending on this supposed discovery of Rosenmüller's (who so often reaped, where another sowed, weeds as often as wheat), could reject as failures all hypotheses which are founded on the correspondence of *Kijun* and *Raiphan*. The supposition is as groundless as any can be. It assumes that the LXX. always numbered the words of the Hebrew text, and treated them in the manner of Aquila. How came they to think of adding 'Ραιφάν *de suo* without any further occasion? Since they took כִּיבָב as a proper name, they could not tell what to do with כִּיבָבָה. Without hesitation they separated or joined the words at pleasure, as is commonly done in a dilemma, without any pretence of making a various reading. They translated as if it stood thus in the original וְאֵת כִּיבָבָה כִּיבָב אֲשֶׁר עָשְׂתָהּ לָבָב καὶ ἀναλάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολοχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν 'Ραιφάν τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποίησατε ἑαυτοῖς. But the proof fails in another way. DRUSIUS on Acts vii. 43 has remarked, "*In textu Hebr. est כִּיבָב, quod olim, cum apices essent, legi poterat Chevan, inde Revan et Rephan et cum epenthesi Remphan. De facile autem ך et ם commutatur et contra.*" VITRINGA also proposes the same view of the formation of Raiphan or Remphan, from a mere oversight in the Alexandrian translator, in his *Essay Illust. sensus* 1. *Amos v. 25, 26*, in his *Obs. ss.* 1. p. 241, where in § 9, after the example of GLASSIUS, lib. iv., tract 3. Instances of the interchange of ם and ך in the LXX. This view can only in one way be refuted, by showing that 'Ραιφάν, or 'Ρεμφάν, oc-

curs elsewhere, independently of the Alexandrian version of this passage, as the name of a deity. If this cannot be accomplished, the view just given remains unshaken. The older critics appeal with great confidence to a Coptic catalogue of the Planets published by KIRCHER, in which Remphan appears as a name of Saturn; but Vitranga (p. 250) thought that it was not of much account, and JABLONSKY in his *Essay Remphah Ægyptiorum Deus*, reprinted in his *Opuscula*, vol. ii., has exposed so completely what sort of thing this *Planetarum Ægyptiacorum Catalogus* is, that it is hardly conceivable how J. D. MICHAELIS in his *Supplem. ad Lev. Hebr.*, p. 125, could venture to contradict him, and repeat the old assertion, that 'Ρηφαν was a name of Saturn among the Copts, independently of the passage in Amos. Jablonsky, indeed, endeavours to give new supports to a view which he had deprived of its only support. But however skilfully he conceals the want of special proofs for maintaining that Remphah was an original Egyptian name of a deity, it is clear that all is founded on mere etymologies, which amount to nothing. (Compare, on the other hand, MICHAELIS, p. 1228). It tells against him, that, from regard to his etymologies, he is obliged to maintain that the original reading was 'Ρεμφά or 'Ρομφα, while yet the reading 'Ραιφάν has by far the preponderance of external authorities for it; besides, that the reading 'Ρηφαν is confirmed by manuscripts, the terms 'Ρεμφάν and 'Ρεμφα appear only as later corruptions in Acts vii. 43. None of the classical writers know anything of an Egyptian god of that name. Thus, therefore, this learned essay must be regarded as defective in its main object; it only serves to confirm the view which it combats, that 'Ρεμφάν was formed, by a mere oversight, out of רפא. But, if this view be correct, it is at the same time certain that the LXX. knew nothing of a tradition that רפא was Saturn. An appeal is made, with great confidence, to the Arabic, in which كيوان *Keran*, is a name of Saturn. But here it would be well to copy Vitranga's discretion, who remarks, that though it is indeed maintained by Aben Esra and David Kimchi, that Kevan among the Arabians and Persians denotes Saturn, little weight is to be attached to their authority, since the evidence for Kevan, as an Arabic name of Saturn, has received no confirmation since their time. No native writers know any thing of such a name; but the Arabic name for Saturn, which occurs continually among them

is **زحل** *Zichhel*. See IDELER, *Unters. über die Bed. der Sternnamen*, p. 316. How Kimchi and Aben Esra came to maintain that Kevan among the Arabians and Persians is the name of Saturn we are informed in the *Camus*, where **كیوان** is explained by *vir rigidus et austerus, ad quem accessus quasi est prohibitus ob morositatem et morum difficultatem, cujusmodi apud ethnicos depingitur Saturnus.* If they stumbled somewhere on such a gloss, a desire to gain some explanation of the obscure word **קיון** might easily mislead them to overlook, that Saturn is adduced only as an example of a *vir rigidus et austerus*. As a third resource, an appeal is made to the Zabians. According to NORBERG, from whom Gesenius, on Isaiah ii. p. 343, has borrowed this statement, as well as the other lingual testimonies for **קיון** as Saturn, **קיון** denotes among that people *Saturnus septemstellaris*. But, if we examine the only place in which this word occurs, t. 1, p. 54, l. 5 of the *Cod. Nasar.*, it appears that it can as little be a pledge for **קיון** as the original oriental denomination of Saturn, as the Coptic Catalogue for the originality of the Egyptian Remphan. In both we have a list of names huddled together without selection. Along with Chiun, stand Nebo, Bel, Nerig = Nergal. If these are manifestly taken from Scripture, no one will deny that **קיון** comes from the same source, and, indeed, is taken from Amos. The passage proves nothing more than that the Zabians considered **קיון** here as a proper name. But if this is thought to prove anything, then must **קיון** in Amos be also made a proper name, since the Chaldee Paraphrast, Kimchi, Sal. B. Melech, and other Jewish expositors have taken it for the proper name of an idol. Let it be admitted that **קיון** is an appellative—1, because the connection requires it; and, 2, because to assert that it is a proper name is a violation of all sound philology—then a question arises about its meaning. We are led to the meaning *foundation, framework*, by comparing it with **קן**, which is found in this sense in Exod. xxx. 18, 28, xxxi. 9; Lev. viii. 11, and also with **קניויה**. This meaning is quite suited to the connection. In the former clause we read, “And ye bore the tent of your King.” These words receive their explanation from Egyptian antiquity. *Naós*, DRUMANN remarks (*on the Rosetta inscription*, p. 211), is a little chapel or shrine, generally gilt, ornamented with flowers and other things, intended to receive at processions a small image of

a god, and to be carried or driven round with it. We find it explained by the words *ναῖσκος, κίστη, κιβώτιον, παστός, παστοφόριον, οἴκημα*. These chapels of diminutive size, distinguished from the chapel as the innermost part of the Temple, were borne on poles. On the bearers, or Pastophori, called also *ἱεραφόροι, sacrorum geruli*, see Drumann, p. 226. The frame or stand on which the chapels were borne at processions was called *παστοφόριον*, p. 112. Oftentimes the whole chapel received the name, so that *παστοφόριον* was equivalent to *παστός*. Every one may perceive how well the expression “the stand of your images,” corresponds to “the tent of your king.”

If we apply this description to the Egyptian origin of the idolatry here mentioned, we shall find nothing contradictory. For it is quite plain that 𐤇𐤃𐤁𐤏 is arbitrarily referred by most critics to Moloch. Only the general statement is made in the passage before us—that the Israelites gave themselves in general to a Sabæan worship, as Stephen proved from their having served *στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*—and specially from their adoration of the king of heaven, the Sun, which they substituted for their true king Jehovah. But that the worship of the heavenly bodies was deeply rooted among the Egyptians—that they designated the sun the king of heaven, and the moon the queen of heaven, is allowed. Jablonsky, in his *Panth.* ii. c. 1, 2, and in his *Remphah*, p. 51, offers abundant proof of this.* So says Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.*, τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα καὶ κύριον Ὀσιριω ὀφθαλμῶ καὶ σκήπτρω γράφουσιν. Apuleius l. xi. p. 272. *Deus deum magnorum potior et majorum summus, et summorum maximus et maximorum regnator, Osiris.* And the Grecian inscription on an obelisk is, ἥλιος, θεὸς μέγας, δεσπότης οὐρανοῦ.

In reference, therefore, to the meaning of our passage, we obtain the following result. The great mass of the people (such passages as Is. xliii. 23, apply only to them—“Thou hast not

* Compare his Essay *De Terra Gosen. Opusc.* ii. 211, where it is shown that Phre, the Sun, was adored among the Egyptians in the time of Joseph. Rosellini (*Monumente dell'Egitto*, l. i. p. 116), shows that Phrao, Phre denoted the Sun-God, whose incarnation and image the earthly king was considered—that the name of the Priest of On, Poti-pheral, Gen. xli. 45—a name very frequently found on Egyptian monuments—means, He who is dedicated to the Sun. Brown, *Aperçu sur les Hieroglyphes trad. de l'angl.* Paris, 1827, p. 58, &c.

brought me the small cattle of thy burnt-offerings, neither hast thou honoured me with thy sacrifices," where the apparently general terms receive a limitation from the nature of the case) had for the greater part of the time during their march through the wilderness, given up honouring the Lord by sacrifices, and instead of Jehovah, the God of Hosts, had set up a spurious king of heaven, whom, with the rest of the host of heaven, they honoured with a spurious worship.

If we now observe how this, the real tenor of the passage, stands in relation to the contents of the Pentateuch, it will at once appear, that there is no ground for the alleged contradiction, since Ezekiel, who certainly had the Pentateuch, and everywhere adheres most strictly to it, still more fully and strongly reproaches the Israelites with this crime, as committed during the march through the wilderness. The premises to the statements of Amos, as well as of Ezekiel, are fully contained in the Pentateuch. "*Quid igitur?*" remarks VITRINGA, p. 262, "*An absonum est, imo an non necesse est cogitare, populum maxime stupidum et rebellem, qui brevi adeo temporis spatio, cujus historiam libris suis complexus est Moses, toties iram dei provocavit gravissimis peccatis, bis ad externæ idolatriæ crimen turpissime prolapsus fuit, ceteris illis annis similibus se contaminasse sceleribus?*" Moses says (Deut. xxix. 3) of the whole forty years, "Yet the Lord hath not given you a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day." Of such a state of mind, idolatry, particularly the apostacy to Egyptian idolatry, was the necessary consequence. As there is *now* no third position between a living faith on God in Christ, and indifference or hatred to the Divine—so there was *then* no third position between a living faith in the God of Israel and idolatry, so that whoever was destitute of the former, necessarily fell into the latter. Idolatry was then the sound human understanding, the spirit of the age, the *status purorum naturalium*, above which no one could rise but by a Divine operation, into which he fell again as soon as this operation withdrew itself, because he withdrew from it. But if at the beginning of the march through the wilderness, the weak faith of the Israelites was not in a condition to counterbalance their propensity to idolatry—if they sought in making the golden calf a medium between true and false religion, how can we think other-

wise than that they, in the period after the announcement of the Divine decision to reject them, would let loose the reins altogether, that they would seek from their idols what the Lord had refused them, with augmented eagerness? Nothing is more suited to exhibit to us the effect which the Divine judgments will always have when they are met by impenitency, as Jeremiah xliv. The people groaning under similar judgments to those of Israel in the desert, answered Jeremiah, who reproached them with participating in Egyptian idolatry, "As for the word that thou hast spoken to us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee, but we will certainly do whatsoever goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem. For then had we plenty of victuals, and were well and saw no evil. But since we left off to burn incense to the Queen of Heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine." He who seeks not the cause of his sufferings in himself, seeks them in God, and distrusts his power and his grace. And this distrust had in Israel, as its necessary consequence, their return to idols, as in the present day men return to themselves and the world.

If it be settled that the statements of Amos and of Ezekiel, so far from contradicting the Pentateuch, are only the necessary consequences of the premises contained in it, we need not wonder if we must content ourselves with pointing this out, without being able to bring a direct and express confirmation of these statements from the Pentateuch. It must be recollected that the Pentateuch narrates the history of Israel only as far as it was the people of God. Of this the great chasm between the second and fortieth year of their march through the desert was a necessary consequence. To trace the conduct and proceedings of that rejected generation, doomed to die—to record the expressions of their unbelief and their superstition—was no longer an object of the Sacred History. An intentional and full representation of those occurrences to which Amos and Ezekiel refer, we could not venture to anticipate. At the utmost we could only hope to meet with some passing notices that might suit our object.

But such a notice we actually find in Leviticus xvii. 1. This passage correctly expounded, agrees most strikingly with the correct exposition of the passage in Amos, so that all hesitation vanishes, and the over confident opponent must retire ashamed. In Lev. c. xvii. it is commanded, that every one who slew an animal for sacrifice should bring it to the Tabernacle, that it might be there presented to the Lord; otherwise that man would be cut off from among his people." To the offerings at the Tabernacle are opposed (v. 5) those "which they offer in the open field;" and what was the peculiarity of these sacrifices in the field we are told in v. 7. "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto בְּזָרְעֵי, after whom they have gone a whoring."

The בְּזָרְעֵי can here only signify *goats*, but the contrast between a goat and a god was removed in the Egyptian religion and in that only. *Καλέεται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Παν αἰγυπτιστὶ Μενδης*, says HERODOTUS ii. 46, and almost all the Greek writers follow him. Such testimony which is confirmed by the passage before us, as much as it seems to elucidate it, cannot be weakened by what Jablonsky adduces, *Panth.* i. p. 273, since it appears he only wanted to obtain free playroom to indulge his favourite pursuit, Etymology. If the goat was called Mendes by the Egyptians, Mendes also might be called goat. The one as well as the other is explained from the Pantheistic element in the Egyptian view of the universe. The goat was not a mere symbol of Mendes (for whom the Greeks, disregarding the otherwise great difference, on account of the goat's form and salacity, substituted Pan), but an appearance, an incarnation of him, and hence was held sacred, and enjoyed divine honours. The service of this goat-god, or god-goat, was of high antiquity among the Egyptians. v. CREUZER iii., p. 325. He enjoyed among them extraordinary honour; he belonged to one of the eight chief deities. v. HERODOTUS ii. 46, τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογιζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους, προτέρους τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι (on their priority in dignity being marked by priority in time, see Creuzer i., p. 292.) 145. παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι Πᾶν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν πρώτων λεγόμενων θεῶν. Even among the first eight he took the precedence. According to DIODORUS SICULUS, i. p. 16, he was held in the highest consideration by the Egyptians, and (p. 78) the

priests, whose office was hereditary, were dedicated to this God first of all. (Τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς παραλαβόντας πατρικὰς ἱερωσύνας κατ' Αἴγυπτον τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ πρῶτον μνεῖσθαι.) The worship extended over all Egypt, though its principal seat was the Mendesian νόμος, in Lower Egypt, in the capital of which, Thmuis, a splendid and renowned temple was erected to Mendes, of which the remains are still in existence. So we here have "the King" of Amos. But the agreement will be shown to be more complete if we can detect a Sabæan element in the representation and worship of Mendes. Without this the analogy would fail in the expression "the star of your God." On this point we can refer to JABLONSKY, p. 287, and CREUZER, iii. 236. Mendes was first of all a personification of the masculine principle in nature, the active and fructifying power; hence the goat was sacred to him, and females were prostituted in his honour. But since the sun was regarded as the chief organ of the active fructifying principle in nature, Mendes at the sametime became the sun-god; was the sun-god with a peculiar important reference; see CREUZER, i. 295, on the custom of the Egyptians to separate the expressions of an original essence in particular persons, and then to connect them together in one conception. Thus, as the sun-god, the Egyptian Pan appears in a piece of sculpture that was dedicated to him in Panopolis, described by Stephanus Byz. s. v. Πανὸς πόλις; see Jablonsky, p. 291, Creuzer, iii. 236. In his hand he holds a whip as the symbol of authority. Now, we still require an analogy for the plural, "your images," which shows that the Israelites did not content themselves with the worship of the King of Heaven. This analogy we obtain in the plural מַלְאִכָּיִם. This is formed just like *Baalim* in 1 Kings xviii. 18, where Elijah says to Ahab, "Ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed *Baalim*." According to ch. xvi. 31-33 he had built sanctuaries to Baal and Astarte, and served them, and in xviii. 19 Baal and Astarte are referred to, so that Baalim must be equivalent to Baal and his associates, and thus *Scirim* מַלְאִכָּיִם, means the goat-god and others of his class. Moreover, in 2 Chron. ii. 15 the Israelitish worship is mentioned as including that of the מַלְאִכָּיִם, which they practised in the desert.

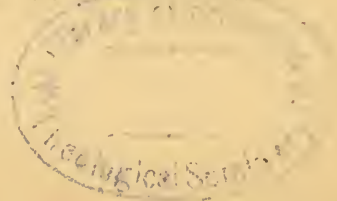
Besides this principal passage in the Pentateuch, there are still some others to be compared. Thus in Deut. xii. 8 (5), after the

injunction that the people, on their settlement in the land of Canaan, should bring all their sacrifices to one sanctuary, it is said, "Ye shall not do after all the things that we do here this day, every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes." These words imply that, during the march through the wilderness, there was a laxity in their religious state, which could not be rectified till a subsequent period. If we compare Levit. xvii., the close connection will be evident between the arbitrary choice of the place of worship and idolatry, so that the words cannot be understood merely of the former. And in Deut. iv. 19, where Moses warns Israel against the worship of sun, moon, and stars, and the whole host of heaven, it is plain that he had sufficient occasion for giving this warning in the existing circumstances.

From these instances it is very distinctly shown what is the effect when the phrase "we are of yesterday" is taken too literally; when, with a superstitious regard for the immense philosophical advances of recent years, men will not take the trouble to extend their studies beyond the last decennium, or at most the last but one, and treat with neglect the valuable investigations of a preceding age. Such conduct, of which VATKE'S work furnishes a complete specimen, must necessarily bring back our knowledge to a second childhood, in which the mind is caught by every appearance, and everything is reduced to mere guess-work, and all the ostentation of a superficial philosophy will not preserve from those deplorable consequences which are apparent in almost all the writings of that school, and in so many others.

We have now prepared the way for obtaining the result of the proofs that have been adduced. VON BOHLEN says of the prophets before the captivity (*Einleitung*, p. 152), "They never enforce a precept with the words of the Pentateuch, by which they might have considerably heightened the effect of their denunciations, as a Mahomedan teacher would his instructions by the word of the Koran; and here the *argumentum a silentio* is so powerful, that it gives the certainty of an axiom to the assertion that these prophets were not acquainted with the Pentateuch." VATKE also employs similar language. "If we invert the matter, and make the Pentateuch in its present form the most ancient book in the Old Testament, the originality falls on that side, and we must

marvel that the older prophets knew not how to make a more thorough and comprehensive use of its contents, and *never* revert to it in order to brand many customs and usages as directly running counter to the words of Jehovah," p. 481. The lot that awaits such assertions at no very distant period, any one may foresee with certainty who previously compares with them what has been adduced from Hosea and Amos. They will be regarded as proofs that their authors never read with thoughtfulness—we are not speaking hyperbolically—one single chapter of the prophets. For in every chapter of the prophets there are references to the Pentateuch which these critics have entirely overlooked; and they are so significant, so strongly affect the essential meaning, that he who does not perceive them, can never fully comprehend *that*. And he who in one case entirely and completely overlooks what is as plain as day, how many other things must he not also overlook—how can confidence be placed in him in general as an expositor and a critic? Equally would these assertions serve as proofs of the quality of the acquaintance with the Pentateuch possessed by its most zealous opponents. Whoever has made himself thoroughly familiar with the Pentateuch, even if he had read the prophets but superficially, must involuntarily meet with a number of verbal allusions. But verily, men of such indomitable courage would not allow themselves to be mistaken, even if it were shown that their *argumentum a silentio* was not sound. Without hesitation they would pronounce every prophetic passage to be spurious in which they could no longer deny a reference to the Pentateuch. Vatke, who, perhaps, surmised what might happen, has already adopted that expedient. He remarks (p. 463), "Even Hosea cannot be placed above the suspicion of later interpolations." And whoever would venture to express such a suspicion of a prophet, whose peculiar style is impressed on every sentence that he wrote—whoever could venture to transfer Joel to the captivity, and Is. xxiv.–xxvii. to the times of the Maccabees—to whom only his own philosophical prejudices are firm, and everything else afloat—can be embarrassed by no historical fact whatever. But if it is in vain to wish to conquer their inclination by argument, yet still they cannot avoid being put to shame, if they lay hold of this new refuge. For *that* fact will always remain firm, that by their early assertions they have furnished evidence



of their philosophical superficiality. And then the more, instead of the great moderation which distinguished the German Rationalism contrasted with English Deism and French Atheism, the boundless caprice of later writers appears, (to which on the Old Testament the works of VATKE and VON BOHLEN, and on the New Testament those of STRAUSS and BAUR, have already made an important addition), so much easier will it be for any unprejudiced person to perceive that the origin of this tendency lies entirely out of the domain of philosophy, that it speaks and decides, what it is forced to say and decide, as the slave of inclination and prejudice, not according to what the subject requires.

Further, if it be settled that in the times of Hosea and Amos the written Mosaic Law had been publicly introduced into the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, all those reasons vanish which have been urged against the genuineness of the Pentateuch from the pretended traces of the Assyrian and Babylonish age; we shall, moreover, at once be brought back to the existence of the Pentateuch among the Ten Tribes at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms. If it merely resulted from the allusions to the Pentateuch in Hosea and Amos, that in their time the prophets and the other worshippers of the true God in the kingdom of Israel acknowledged it as the work of Moses, this fact would form no *peculiar* ground for the genuineness of the Pentateuch. It would only be auxiliary in proving the improbability that a later composition could have been received in the kingdom of Judah as a work of Moses. For we must acknowledge as perfectly correct the assertion of DE WETTE, "the better party in Israel and Judah was one; in both it made a stand against idolatrous worship, and sought to preserve the true worship of Jehovah." (*Beitr.* i. 198.) To the faithful adherents to the Theocracy in Israel there was no separation of the people in a religious respect; they recognised the temple at Jerusalem as the only national sanctuary. But that a *public* introduction of the Pentateuch into the kingdom of Israel—such as is presupposed by the multitude of references to it in Hosea and Amos—is even conceivable from Judah—this De Wette has not made plausible by his diffuse special-pleading, which even GeseNIUS allows to be partial and distorted. Let us only think! The jealousy and enmity between Israel and Judah (v. KEIL *on Chronicles*, p. 60) must alone have rendered that transference difficult. But, besides,

there were other very peculiar circumstances. The whole religious economy of Israel was denounced by the Pentateuch; the strict law of the unity of the national sanctuary—the absolute prohibition of all image worship—the practical testimony which the history of the Pentateuch furnishes for its condemnation—the exclusive investment of the priesthood in the tribe of Levi, with the practical proofs of the Divine sanction—these, and many other things, gave it a death-blow. It is true the priests and kings invented methods by which they tried to reconcile their irregularities with the Pentateuch. But these methods were so forced, that only the necessity in which they found themselves when the Pentateuch, at the time of the separation from Judah, was universally acknowledged as the work of Moses, explains their choice. That they would voluntarily subject themselves to such necessity, no one will admit. They would thus have put a sword in the hands of the prophets against themselves. They would have improvidently laid the foundation for a possible reunion of the Ten Tribes with Judah, which would have been to counterwork the main object of Jeroboam's policy, and that of all his successors. What anxiety was felt to ward off a Jewish influence that was far less important, is exemplified in the conduct of the priest Amaziah towards Amos.

Yet there are still other grounds by which we prove the public introduction of the Pentateuch into the kingdom of Israel. These are furnished by the history of that kingdom in THE BOOKS OF KINGS. The credibility of this history has indeed, in modern times, been subjected to many attacks; and for that reason we have first brought forward the evidence from the prophets, that we might in this way lay a solid foundation, and obtain a favourable hearing. We have also left unnoticed such references to the Pentateuch which, by possibility, might belong to later Jewish authorities. Nevertheless, the references to the Pentateuch are so frequent and so intimate, that, to do away with them, the representation of the Israelitish history must be denied all historical value. But the most daring of our opponents shrink from going so far. Thus VATKE remarks (p. 401) in reference to the part that has been most assailed, the "prophetic legends," that notwithstanding later mythical additions, they contain many genuine

historical elements. The traces of the Pentateuch are equally strong in narratives which are perfectly free from the miraculous, and bear the character of truth even to the most prejudiced, as, for example, the story of Ahab and Naboth—as in those which come within the province of the supernatural. But if any one were disposed to consider the latter as myths, he would not by so doing escape the conclusion. As soon as he admits, what no one can avoid, not even Vatke and others, that these myths were formed in the kingdom of Israel, the references to the Pentateuch that have been adduced remain in full force, and answer the purposes of our argument as completely as if we had adhered to the strictly historical system of interpretation.

Let us, in the first place, survey the history after the separation of the two kingdoms, and then turn to the accounts given of this separation itself.

A great crisis arrived in the kingdom of Israel under Ahab. The great question arose of the existence or non-existence of the true religion in Israel. Jeroboam and his immediate successors adhered to the worship of Jehovah in connection with images. Ahab, on the other hand, served Baal and Ascherah, and built sanctuaries to them. Under these circumstances Elijah appeared. He threatened Ahab at their first interview. 1 Kings xvii. 1, “As the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand, there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word.” We have here a particular application of the denunciation in Deut. xi. 16, 17, “Take heed to yourselves that your heart be not deceived, and ye turn aside and serve other gods and worship them. And then the Lord’s wrath be kindled against you, and he shut up the heaven, that there be no rain, and that the land yield not her fruit.”

In the narrative of the conflict of Elijah with the worshippers of Baal (1 Kings xviii.), it is said, v. 23, “Let them give us two bullocks, and let them choose one bullock for themselves, and cut it in pieces (וַיִּצְטְוּהוּ), and lay it on wood, and put no fire under; and I will dress (וַיִּצְטְוּהוּ) the other bullock, and lay it on wood, and put no fire under.” V. 33, “And he put the wood in order (וַיִּצְטְוּהוּ), and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid him on the altar.” We have here exactly the same preparations which are prescribed in Leviticus, ch. i., in reference to the sacrifice of the bullock;

v. 6-8, "And he shall flay the burnt-offering, and cut it into his pieces (כָּרַץ). And the sons of Aaron the priest shall put fire upon the altar, and lay the wood in order (בְּסֵדֶיךָ) upon the fire. And the priests . . . shall lay the parts . . . in order upon the wood that is in the fire." In both places there are the same technical terms כָּרַץ and בְּסֵדֶיךָ. It is to be noticed that Baal's priests also observed the same order in preparing the sacrifice, and therefore follow the directions of the Pentateuch. This proves, what is also evident on other grounds (see *Christologie* iii. 10), that the worship of Baal did not stand in manifest opposition to Jehovah—that they maintained the identity of Jehovah and Baal—that the persecution was not against the worshippers of Jehovah in general, but only against those who bore powerful testimony against the union of what was irreconcilable, who loudly maintained that Jehovah, identified with Baal, was no longer Jehovah. The proposal which Elijah made from his point of view, that they should see whether Jehovah was God or Baal; the priests of Baal, from their point of view, understood to be, whether Jehovah-Baal was God or Jehovah in perfect exclusiveness. This view is confirmed by v. 21, "How long halt ye between two opinions (*super duabus opinionibus*), if Jehovah be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." This plainly implies, that in the popular opinion, these heterogeneous religious elements were blended in one. The mode of deciding which Elijah chose, refers to Lev. ix. Aaron then brings the offering after his consecration, first for himself, and then for the people. "And the glory of the Lord appeared. And there came out a fire from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat, which, when all the people saw they shouted, and fell down upon their faces." The circumstances were now similar, but still more urgent. In the former case there was the first solemn sanction of the worship of Jehovah; in the latter, the renewal of it, in opposition to the worship of Baal. And the issue is exactly the same, v. 39. In his conduct towards the priests of Baal, Elijah followed the Divine law, Deut. xiii. 15, 16, xvii. 5.

The whole narrative of the journey of Elijah to Mount Horeb rests on the Pentateuch. That he spent forty days in this journey, indicates that the leading of Israel through the wilderness was re-enacted in his person; trial was the essential quality com-

mon to both events. The food which the angel brought him, and which lasted for the whole time, corresponded to the manna. The appearance of the Lord on the mountain, which (v. 8), in reference to the former manifestation, is called the mount of God, (compare Exod. iii. 2) is a repetition of what happened to Moses. Exod. xxxiii. 21, xxxiv. 6. Elijah stood in *the* cave (עֲוֵן מִדְּבָרִים, the cave in which Moses saw the Lord, Exod. xxxiii. 22. Let the narrative be considered as a myth, how vividly must the contents of the Pentateuch have been impressed on men's minds in the kingdom of Israel, since they possessed this creative power of reproduction.

Ch. xx. 42, "Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I appointed to utter destruction, therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people." This passage relates to the injunctions in the Pentateuch respecting the עֲוֵן, Lev. xxvii. 29. "None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed, but shall surely be put to death." See on this passage and the עֲוֵן generally, *Christol.* iii. 453. This passage must have been known to the king, and acknowledged by him as binding; for the whole rebuke and threatening rest entirely on his having sinned against his better knowledge.

In c. xxi. 3. Naboth says to Ahab, "The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. Here we find a reference to Lev. xxv. 23, "The land shall not be sold for ever for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." Numb. xxxvi. 8, "that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers." The whole history is intelligible only by means of this key. Naboth might have made a very advantageous bargain, but he believed that if he had allowed himself to do so, he would have committed a religious offence, an offence against the God of Israel. This implies that the Mosaic law was firmly established in Israel. This is also confirmed by the conduct of Ahab, who never dreamt of gratifying his desires by an act of violence, and by the procedure of Jezebel, who did not venture on any direct measures, but framed a circuitous plot to gain her end. The letter of the law stood opposed to despotism like a wall of brass, not to be broken through, but evaded. The references to the law in ver. 10 are very important, "And set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, thou didst blaspheme (עָרַפְתָּ, *bless*) God and the king, and

then carry him out, and stone him that he may die." All is here adapted to attain the end within the bounds of the Mosaic Law, and indeed by means of it. 1. The Mosaic regulation respecting witnesses is followed. In capital offences, one witness was not enough; two, at least, were required. Numb. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, 7; xix. 5. MICHAELIS *Mosaisches Recht*. Th. 6, § 299. 2. The accusation is founded on Exod. xxii. 27 (28), "Thou shalt not revile God, (אֱלֹהִים לֹא יְבַלְעוּ), nor curse the ruler of thy people;" that is, thou shalt not curse thy ruler, for every offence against a visible representative of God in his kingdom is an offence against God. In one who bears the image of God, God himself is offended. In this regulation relative to the crime of high treason, no punishment was affixed; it was left to the discretion of the judge, v. MICHAELIS, § 295. Recourse, therefore, was had to analogies. Admitting that to curse the king was equivalent to cursing God, the regulations in Deut. xiii. 11, and xvii. 5, appear applicable, according to which those who were guilty of idolatry were to be punished with death, and that by stoning. About these ordinances, especially Deut. xvii., where also the necessity of two witnesses is mentioned to meet the case in question, the general expression בָּרַכְתָּ אֱלֹהִים וְהַמֶּלֶךְ, *to bless God and the king, to bid them farewell, to renounce them*, is chosen; the "cursing" in Exodus is referred to the general idea of *forsaking*, which is common to the injunction against high treason and that against idolatry. The meaning *to curse* is forced on בָּרַכְתָּ only by those who have looked at the passage before us superficially, and have not noticed its reference to the Pentateuch. If it lose the support of this passage, no one can think of applying it to Job i. 5; ii. 5; and Psalm x. 3, where it is not at all suitable. 3. The "*carrying out*" (וְהוֹצֵאתָ) is founded on Deut. xvii. 5, "*Then shalt thou bring forth (וְהוֹצֵאתָ) that man or that woman, (which have committed that wicked thing) unto thy gates, and shalt stone them with stones till they die.*" Of this identification of high treason with blasphemy, confiscation was the necessary consequence. See MICHAELIS, Th. i., § 59.

In ch. xxii. Ahab having determined to go out in alliance with Jehosaphat, king of Judah, against the Syrians, assembled his prophets, four hundred in number, to enquire of them the issue of the war. With one voice they all promised success. One of their

number, Zedekiah, "made him horns of iron, and said, Thus saith the Lord, with these shall thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them." This symbolical act is manifestly an embodying of the image in Deut. xxxiii. 17, "His firstling bullock is gloriously adorned (*videtur intelligere cornua, quæ sunt decor boum.* LE CLERC), and his horns are those of the buffalo; with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth; and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh." This splendid promise, specially for the descendants of Joseph, was the foundation on which the false prophet supported himself, while he overlooked one thing, that the promise was conditional, and the condition on this occasion was wanting. If it were assumed that the words attributed to Zedekiah, really belonged to the writer, nothing would be gained by such a supposition. For this very peculiar symbolic act is of itself sufficient to determine the reference to the Pentateuch. This reference is of so much greater weight, because Zedekiah was a prophet of Baal, (this is evident from Jehosaphat's question in ver. 7, "Is there not here a prophet of Jehovah besides?" (נְבִיא לַיהוָה עִיר) which implies that all the four hundred belonged to the state-religion of Israel), and the symbolical act could only have been resorted to, on the presumption that its meaning, as derived from the Pentateuch, was intelligible to all present, and especially to the king.

The true prophet Micah, who, at Jehosaphat's urgent request, was reluctantly sent for by Ahab, says, in ver. 17, to the two kings, "I saw all Israel scattered upon the hills, as sheep that have not a shepherd," כִּבְּצֵן אֲשֶׁר אֵין-לָהֶם רֹעֶה. The allusion is here to Num. xxvii. 16, 17, where Moses, after his approaching end had been made known to him, said to the Lord, "Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation which may go out before them . . . that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd," כִּבְּצֵן אֲשֶׁר אֵין-לָהֶם רֹעֶה. Since Israel was no longer Israel, that calamity befel them which Moses deprecated as inconsistent with their existence as a covenant people. That we have here the *ipsisissima verba* of the prophet is confirmed by the reference to his address, which we find in the Jewish prophet Micah. (See *Christologie*, iii. 240).

Ver. 27. Ahab ordered his attendants, "Put this fellow in pri-

son (the phrase "carry him back" in ver. 26 implies that Micah had been there before, and was brought thence into the king's presence), and feed him with bread of affliction, and with water of affliction, until I come in peace." Upon this, Micah said (ver. 28), "If thou return at all in peace, *the Lord hath not spoken by me.*" Micah was to be kept in prison till the successful return of the two kings, and then to be put to death. The line of conduct pursued by the king was regulated by the Mosaic law relative to prophets, by which, for the present, to his great annoyance, his hands were bound. According to that law (see MICHAELIS, i. § 36), whoever spoke in the name of the true God, was to be spared until, by the failure of his prophecy, he was proved to be a deceiver. He might be thrown in prison to secure his person, but not be put to death. To the same law, Micah refers in his reply. Deut. xviii. 20-22, "But the prophet who shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, . . . that prophet shall die. And if thou say in thine heart, how shall we know the word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is *the thing which the Lord hath not spoken*, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously, thou shalt not be afraid of him." The same conformity to the law in question which Ahab exhibited towards Micah, was shown in the treatment of Jeremiah in the kingdom of Judah. Jerem. xxxvii. 15, 16; xxvi.

In 2 Kings ii. 9, Elisha says to Elijah, "I pray thee, let a double portion (כִּשְׁתֵּי חֵלֶק) of thy spirit rest on me." Elisha, as the first born of Elijah in a spiritual sense, standing to him in the same relation as Joshua to Moses, requested a double portion of his spiritual birthright in allusion to the regulation respecting the rights of primogeniture, Deut. xxi. 17. From this passage the phrase כִּשְׁתֵּי חֵלֶק is taken. It serves there to designate the double portion of the inheritance allotted to the first born. חֵלֶק in the sense of portion or share, is not found elsewhere. See *Christologie*, ii. 342; and HERTZ (*On the Traces of the Pentateuch in the Books of Kings*; Altona, 1822, p. 43), who agrees with the author in determining the meaning of 2 Kings ii. and in the reference to Deut. xxi. 17. It follows from this passage, that the Mosaic law of primogeniture was observed at that time in the kingdom of Israel.

The peculiar use of $\pi\lambda$ in ver. 3, 5, 10 is in allusion to Gen. v. 24, where it is said of Enoch, "and he was not, for God *took* him." The translation of Enoch was repeated in Elijah. Generally, the connection with the Pentateuch is discoverable in the fact, that most of the miraculous events in the history of Elijah and Elisha are prefigured in the Mosaic history. We need only call to mind the fire from heaven which consumed Elijah's sacrifice, compared with the fire that consumed the rebels—the division of the waters of Jordan—the sweetening of the brackish water—the restoration of the Shunamite's child, compared with the history of Sarah—the bread of the man of Baal-Salisa compared with the supply of quails—the doom of leprosy on Gehazi compared with the doom of leprosy on Miriam—the healing of the leprous Naaman compared with the healing of the leprous Miriam, &c. If the historical character of the narratives in the books of Kings be preserved, the conformity of these events with those in the Pentateuch, which cannot be accidental, (as little as the conformity of the miracles of the New Testament with those of the Old Testament), implies that the latter were generally known and believed in the kingdom of Israel. Had the case been otherwise, the object of this conformity would never have been attained, which was to show, that the God of Israel was always the same—that the God of their fathers was still the living God—that Elisha and Elijah stood in the same relation to him as his honoured servants in former ages—that the cause which they served was the same cause of the Lord—and that the church which they represented was a continuation of the original church of the Lord. Should any one still maintain the mythical character of the narratives, after the foregoing remarks, he will only find himself involved in still greater difficulties.

In ch. iii. 19, Elisha enjoins upon the Israelites, when they invaded the land of Moab, to cut down the fruit trees. This indicates that the injunction in Deut. xx. 19, 20, did not come into application, according to which, in besieging the *Canaanitish* cities which the Israelites were to possess, the fruit-trees were to be spared, and only the common trees cut down. (See Hert. p. 44).

We are informed in v. 20 that the miraculous divine aid was afforded "in the morning when the meat-offering was offered."

Compare this with 1 Kings xviii. 29, 36. The Divine decision of the controversy between Elijah and the prophets of Baal took place "at the time of the offering of the evening sacrifice" (בְּזֶמְנוֹת הַזְּבִיחוֹת הָעֶרְבָּיִת). These passages shew that the commandment respecting the daily offering, morning and evening, of a lamb, together with a מִנְחָה, Exod. xxix. 39, was known and observed in the kingdom of Israel; otherwise the allusion to the morning and evening sacrifice would have been unmeaning and useless.

According to ch. iv. 1, a woman came to Elisha and said, "the creditor is come to take unto him my two sons to be servants." לָקַח שְׂנֵי בָנָי לְעַבְדָּו. The creditor had a right to do so according to the law, Lev. xxv. 40, only a benevolent treatment of the debtor was enjoined; he was to be a servant and not a slave. MICHAELIS, iii. § 148.

In v. 16, Elisha says to the Shunamite, "About this season, according to the time of life, thou shalt embrace a son," לְמִיּוֹם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה תְּחַבֵּץ בֶּן. This very singular expression is taken from Gen. xviii. 10, 14. Since the verbal agreement is based on similar facts, we are not justified in attributing the former to the writer of the Book of Kings as unborrowed.

Ver. 23, The husband of the Shunamite says, "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day; it is neither new moon nor Sabbath. Like Amos viii. 5, this shows that the Sabbath and New Moon were celebrated in the land of Israel.

In ch. iv. 42, it is said, "there came a man from Baal-Shalisha, and brought the man of God bread of the first fruits (לֶחֶם הַבְּרִיּוֹת), twenty loaves of barley and full ears of corn in the husk." According to the law, after the harvest, the priests received the first fruits of corn, wine, oil, and also the first loaves baked of the fresh corn; yet this was a present, of which the quantity was left to the choice of the giver. These first fruits were not laid on the altar, but belonged merely to the priests, see MICHAELIS, iv. § 193. Deut. xviii. 4, 5, "The first fruit also of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thy oil, . . . shalt thou give him. For the Lord thy God hath chosen him out of all thy tribes, to stand and minister in the name of the Lord." Num. xviii. 13, and in reference to the מִנְחָה ("full ears of corn"), which, except in this passage and the two places in the Pentateuch, never occurs with this meaning, therefore probably was no longer employed in the language of

common life, Lev. ii. 14; xxiii. 14. Pious persons in the land of Israel to whom this injunction was well known, brought what they could not give to the Levitical priests, to their substitutes the prophets, since they directed their attention to the *ratio legi adjecta*, while the mass of the people transferred to the priests of Baal what had been enjoined in the Pentateuch in reference to the Levitical priests. The narrative also is remarkable as an evidence of the non-recognition of the state-church by the godly party, which could only rest on the existence of the Pentateuch in the Land of Israel. On the relation of the supply of food here, to that of Israel, by means of quails in the desert, we have already remarked. See ver. 43 compared with Numb. xi. 21, 22.

On ch. v. 7, compare Deut. xxxii. 39. Ver. 27, Elisha said to Gehazi, "The leprosy, therefore, of Naaman shall cleave unto thee and unto thy seed for ever. And he went out from his presence a leper as white as snow." This passage implies that in the kingdom of Israel it was usual to regard leprosy as the image and punishment of sin, as had been settled by the Pentateuch. This is so much more noticeable, since, as HERTZ (p. 46) has remarked, it appears, from the same chapter, that among the neighbouring nations the leprosy was not such an object of abhorrence, so that this abhorrence cannot be regarded as the natural product of the peculiar nature of the disease, but only the offspring of its symbolic meaning, as determined by the law. Naaman, after, as well as before, his leprosy, filled his high office, lived in the society of his wife and family, and attended the temple of the god Rimmon. The author shows his acquaintance with the Pentateuch by the phrase *וְהָיָה כְּצִדְקַת נְשָׂאֵי*, where it occurs only twice. Exod. iv. 6; Numb. xii. 10.

2 Kings, vi. 17, "And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord open his eyes that he may see; and he opened the eyes of the young man, and he saw, and behold the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elijah." The prayer of the prophet is suggested by Gen. xxxii. 2, 3, where Jacob, when danger threatened him from Esau, saw himself surrounded by two hosts of angels. Also ver. 18, "And when they came down to him, Elisha prayed unto the Lord, and said, Smite, I pray thee, this people with blindness *בְּצִבְרוּרִים*, and he smote them with blindness according to the word of Elijah." The language of the prophet's

prayer may be traced to the Pentateuch. Gen. xix. 11, "And they smote the men that were at the door of the house with blindness," the only passage besides where the word *כחור* occurs.

In ch. vi. 26, a woman comes to the king of Israel, and cries out, "Help, my lord, O king! and the king said unto her, What aileth thee? and she answered, This woman said unto me, Give thy son that we may eat him to day, and we will eat my son tomorrow. So we boiled my son and did eat him; and I said unto her on the next day, Give thy son that we may eat him: and she hath hid her son. And it came to pass when the king heard the words of the woman, that he rent his clothes, and he passed by upon the wall, and the people looked, and, behold, he had sackcloth within upon his flesh." The reason why this occurrence so deeply affected the king, and impelled him to the actions and garb of contrition, may be gathered from the following passages. Lev. xxvi. 29, "And ye shall eat the flesh of your sons, and the flesh of your daughters ye shall eat." Deut. xxviii. 53, "And thou shalt eat the fruit of thy own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy daughters (which the Lord thy God hath given thee), in the siege and in the straitness wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates." Ver. 56, 57, 58, "The tender and delicate woman . . . her eye shall be evil . . . towards her children which she shall bear; for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege, &c. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law that are written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearful name, the Lord thy God." The inferior sufferings which were threatened in the law to the despisers of God, had been endured by the king without making any permanent impression. But now, when the heaviest, so peculiar, so unique in its kind, suddenly met him, the correspondence of the actual event to the prophecy struck him so forcibly, that his eyes were at once opened to discern all the other signs of the times. The entire contents of the curses and imprecations of the law were present to his mind. The fearful catastrophe it threatened had taken place. He fluctuated between penitence and despair; and was impelled by the latter to use violence with the prophet. As in this, so in the two other great catastrophies, the siege by the Chaldeans, and by the Romans, the same circumstance is distinctly noted, with a reference to the Pentateuch. In reference to the

former, as a threatening, Jerem. xix. 9, "And I will cause them to eat the flesh of their sons, and the flesh of their daughters," (agreeing verbally with Deut. xxviii. 53), and Ezek. v. 10, and as a fulfilment, Lam. iv. 10; in reference to the latter, JOSEPHUS *de bell. Jud.* vii. 21.

In ch. vii. 2, are given the words of the unbelieving nobleman, "Behold if the Lord would make windows in heaven, might this thing be;" an allusion to Gen. vii. 11, "The windows of heaven were opened." As if he had said, "If the Lord" (of which to him appeared no likelihood) "should send down such a flood of blessings, as once of rain." Two other passages in the prophets have undeniably the same reference. Mal. iii. 10, "If I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing;" and Isa. xxiv. 18, "for the windows from on high are open, and the foundations of the earth do shake." The expression is so peculiar that the whole history must be given up along with it. How remarkable it appeared to the author himself, how vividly it was impressed on his mind, is shewn by the literal repetition of it in v. 19.

The narrative of the four lepers at the gate in the same chapter, shows how strictly the Mosaic regulation (Num. v. 3; Lev. xiii. 46) was observed in the kingdom of Israel (see *Christologie* iii. 592). During the siege, the lepers durst not leave the place appointed them by the law "at the entering in of the gate," and even when they brought the good news of the departure of the Syrians, they were not admitted into the city, ver. 10.

The history of the later kings of Israel is very brief, and consists of the barest outline, so that here we can glean but little. In ch. xiv. 25, it is said, "He (Jeroboam) restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath, unto the sea of the plain יַם הַיְיָזְבָח, according to the word of Jehovah the God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-Hepher." Here is a reference to the settlement of the boundaries which is taken from the prophecy of Jonah, who was born in the kingdom of Israel and laboured there. יַם הַיְיָזְבָח with the annexed Epexegetis יַם הַיְיָזְבָח occurs in the settlement of the boundaries of the promised land, Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49. The words are not a proper name (which renders it more certain that they were borrowed from the Pentateuch), but a mere appellative designation. Besides the יַם הַיְיָזְבָח,

this is shown by the mention of רָאֵז , which precedes in both passages—iii. 17, “*The plain* also and Jordan, and the coasts thereof, from Chinnereth even unto the sea of the plain, the salt-sea;” iv. 49, “And all the plain on this side Jordan eastward, even unto the sea of the *plain*.” Joshua iii. 16 also refers to Deut. iii. 17. Hamath is mentioned in the description of the boundaries, Num. xxxiv. 8. At the time when Jonah delivered his prophecy, the actual boundaries were far short of those laid down in the Pentateuch. Hence it was quite natural that, in announcing the speedy removal of this difference, he should avail himself of the words of the Pentateuch.

The whole ministry of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel is an inexplicable enigma, unless on the supposition of the public introduction of the Pentateuch. STEUDEL has ably pointed this out, in the treatise quoted at the beginning of this section. Notwithstanding all the annoyance which the prophets occasioned to the kings of Israel and to their priests, who were so intimately connected with them, yet they never were subjected to a decided, constant system of persecution and extermination. Unless we consign to oblivion all historical probability and all historical analogies (the analogy that first offers itself is the position of the prophets under the ungodly kings of Judah; but we may also look at the relation of unbelieving governments to the confessors of the ancient faith in our church, whose just claims, testified by their writings, has always exercised a greater or less paralyzing influence on the most decidedly inimical disposition), this state of things implies that they were in possession of an external right, by which the hatred against them was confined, and the strict consequences of proceedings were checked. But on what could such an external right be based, unless on the public recognition of the Pentateuch, on which they grounded their censures, with which they connected their threatenings, and whose injunctions respecting prophets formed a defence against their adversaries? Even the authority which the prophets of Jehovah-Baal and of the calf-worship enjoyed in the kingdom of Israel, so that on important public occasions great weight was attached to their concurrence (see the remarkable instance in 1 Kings xxii.), implies such a foundation for the prophetic order, as was laid in the possession of the written law, and its prescriptions in reference to the prophets.

But having stated the positive grounds for the existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel in the times after Jeroboam, we must examine the arguments by which it has been attempted to prove the contrary. EICHHORN in his Essay on the Prophetic traditions belonging to the kingdom of Israel (*Bibl. für bibl. Litt.* iv. 195) asserts that the prophets in the kingdom of Israel did not oppose the image worship at Dan and Bethel, for which he gives this admirable reason, how could they otherwise be agreeable to a court that favoured image worship? Even Elijah, he says, with his fiery zeal, appears not to have disapproved of the worship of Jehovah under an image, at least he does make that a matter of complaint in 1 Kings xix. 14. This assertion has lately been repeated by VATKE, who goes so far as to deny the existence of any written law in the kingdom of Israel down to the period of its dissolution. In the prophetic legends, he says (p. 401), which were first formed in the land of Israel—those respecting Elijah and Elisha—no opposition to the symbol of the calf is mentioned, which, from its comparative abundance, would have been a striking circumstance, if opposition to it had formed a conspicuous element in the prophetic function. There is nothing to show, he maintains (p. 421), that the Israelitish prophets were zealous for Jehovah as far as he was worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem. Elijah's conduct implies, notwithstanding the calf-symbol, the many high places and altars, and the non-Levitical priests, that the kingdom of Israel had remained faithful to Jehovah till the worship of Baal was introduced; he even finds in the destruction of the altars of Jehovah, "which at that time they erected freely in all directions wherever they were wanted," a sign of the violation of the covenant (1 Kings xix. 10, 14, xviii. 30); and no prophet directed the inhabitants of Israel to the worship at Jerusalem. Now, if the assertion were correct, that the prophets in Israel approved of the calf-worship, not another word could be said for the authority of the Pentateuch in Israel. The declarations against image-worship in the Pentateuch are so clear and incontrovertible, so express, that men of sincere piety and of earnest endeavour to know the will of God, and to obey it, like the prophets, must of necessity, if acquainted with the Pentateuch, have set themselves against this irregularity. But this assertion is absolutely without foundation. That Elijah in 1 Kings xviii. and xix. did

not show his zeal against the calf-worship is simply accounted for by the circumstances of the times. At that time, under Ahab, even the worship of the calves had almost been swallowed up by the more dangerous form of apostacy from the Lord. Who would infer that because a murderer is charged only with murder, a theft he committed before is reckoned to be no crime? As to the altars that were destroyed, we are not warranted to suppose that they were dedicated to the calf-worship. If we consult ch. xviii. 30, it appears that one of these altars stood on Mount Carmel—not at Bethel or Dan, the places where the calves were set up; so that it is more probable they were altars erected to the true God by the pious in Israel, who were prohibited by the King from going to the sanctuary at Jerusalem. If their minds were by the use of these altars directed to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, the violation of the Mosaic law (in the letter of it) respecting the unity of the sanctuary, would not be imputed to them as a crime, but to their rulers who had reduced them to this destitution. And even admitting that they had erred, if in this predicament they conceived that they had in effect a Divine summons to satisfy their religious wants by such a method, still the lamentation of Elijah for the destruction of the altars did not involve an unconditional approval of their erection. What pious Protestant would not have been filled with horror and detestation at the destruction of the crosses in France, without unconditionally approving the disposition that caused their erection, or the superstition with which in a multitude of cases they were regarded? Let us now turn to the counter arguments. Our opponents themselves acknowledge that they have the authority of Amos and Hosea against them (see VATKE, p. 422, “Hosea, who absolutely reprobated the multiplicity of altars and the calf-symbol”), but imagine that their authority may be easily set aside by a consideration of their Jewish origin. But that there is no evidence for this Jewish origin in the case of Hosea, has been already shown in the *Christologie*, iii. 1; and, besides, a Jewish prophet could only thus oppose the calf-symbol, if it had been introduced into the kingdom of Israel contrary to an express and distinct Divine command. Only on the supposition of a consciousness of guilt in the members of the Ten Tribes, could what Amos and Hosea say against the calf-worship (not enlarging on the subject, but only giving hints; not arguing, but threat-

ening) make any impression. To this we may add, what has been already noticed, that they frequently appeal to the special passages in the Pentateuch as known in common with themselves to those whom they threaten. But we have additional evidence. When Elijah (1 Kings xviii. 31) "took twelve stones, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob, unto whom the word of the Lord came, saying, Israel shall be thy name," he testified by this act that he did not acknowledge as legitimate the actual existing religious separation. The unity of the people formed the basis of the unity of the sanctuary which the law required, and this recognition of the former was at the same time a prediction of the renewed realization of the latter. A similar remark applies to ch. xix. 19, where the circumstance that Elisha, when Elijah came to call him to be his successor, was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen, himself guiding them, is evidently noticed for this reason, since the lower vocation was an image and type of the higher. The twelve yoke of oxen symbolized the twelve tribes. Elisha was not to be the prophet of the Ten Tribes, but of all Israel. His ministry among a part influenced the whole. Here, therefore, the wall of separation which human sin had erected between the two kingdoms, is regarded as not existing in the sight of God, and thus everything is marked as impious by which the separation was attempted to be maintained. In 2 Kings iii. 13, Elisha says to Jehoram, king of Israel, "What have I to do with thee? get thee to the prophets of thy father and to the prophets of thy mother;" and in ver. 14 he declares with an oath, "as the Lord of Hosts liveth," that he appeared before him only for the sake of Jehosaphat. And yet of this Jehoram it is said in ver. 2, "He wrought evil in the sight of the Lord, but not like his father and his mother, for he put away the image of Baal that his father had made. Nevertheless, he cleaved unto the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat." According to Vatke's view, this king had done all that was in general required by the Israelitish prophets, and the conduct of Elisha towards him appears perfectly unaccountable. In 1 Kings xxii. the prophet Micah regards all the prophets of the calves as those who spoke not in the name of the Lord: he alone stands as a servant of the true God, in opposition to the four hundred servants of the false god. In what light the prophets in the kingdom of Israel

regarded the established system of religion, is shown by the account of the man of Baal-shalisha, in 2 Kings iv. 42. Prophets in the kingdom of Judah would certainly not have accepted such gifts as those he brought. Their acceptance by Elisha was a practical declaration that he acknowledged the publicly officiating priests to be no servants of God, and rejected the established worship. In reference to the kingdom of Judah, there is no evidence, as there appears for the kingdom of Israel in 2 Kings iv. 23, that the prophets on the holy days held regular meetings for the instruction and edification of the people. From their opposition to the state-religion, we may account for the circumstance that the schools of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel were fixed precisely in those places which were the chief seats of the superstition; at Bethel, 2 Kings ii. 3; at Jericho, ii. 5; and at Gilgal, iv. 38, vi. 1. We cannot avoid noticing an important difference in the external appearance of the prophetic class in the kingdom of Israel and in the kingdom of Judah. In the kingdom of Israel we find a compact organisation, a complete system; at the head stand the most distinguished prophets as the spiritual fathers; these have under them prophetic schools, and travel from one to the other for the purpose of inspection; these prophetic schools have some resemblance to monastic institutions; the scholars have a common dwelling and a common table; even those who leave the establishment and marry, are not thereby separated from the ecclesiastical connection; the wife of one of the "sons of the prophets," mentioned in 2 Kings iv. 1, regards Elisha as a person who was under some kind of obligation to provide for her. (On this subject, see EICHHORN, p. 198.) Of all this we find no trace in the kingdom of Judah, and this *argumentum a silentio* has a value almost equal to positive evidence, from the copiousness of our information. Here every prophet is in an isolated position; the prophetic class are scattered in various and remote situations. The schools of the prophets, instituted by Samuel, in a period of which the relations were similar to what prevailed in the kingdom of Israel, do not appear to have been continued. This undeniable difference can be accounted for only from the opposition in which the prophets of the kingdom of Israel stood to the state religion. In the kingdom of Judah the agency of the prophets was only supplementary; these extraordinary mes-

sengers of God filled up what was wanting on the part of the priests and Levites ; on the contrary, in the kingdom of Israel, the prophets were the ordinary servants of God. This view seems to explain another point of difference between the prophetic orders of the two kingdoms, which has been already noticed by EICHHORN (p. 202). “ The actions of the prophetic order in the kingdom of Israel are attended by so many internal difficulties, that a thoughtful examiner of the ancient history of religion has far greater trouble to make his way through a few chapters in the First and Second Book of Kings, than through the far more copious accounts of the prophets in the kingdom of Judah. Let any one who is a stranger to these perplexities, only read the lives of Elijah and Elisha, and then candidly confess the feelings which they have raised in his mind. We seem to be transported to a world, which is no longer governed by eternal laws, but where the course of things is perpetually broken in upon by the intervention of the Deity.” To explain this difference, it is only necessary to recall to mind the great crisis at which the kingdom of Israel arrived in the times of Ahab and Jezebel. The kingdom of Judah had likewise its idolatrous kings, but the prophetic order never assumed such a character ; and in the kingdom of Israel this character lasted long after the crisis was at an end, and when the people had gone back into the wonted track of the worship of the calves. Nor can we escape out of the embarrassment by treating these accounts as mythical. For the question still returns,—How came this character to be attributed to the prophetic order in the land of Israel?—a question not a whit more easy to answer than the other—How is this essential difference of character to be accounted for ? Be it truth or be it fiction, it must be equally assumed that the position of the prophets in the kingdom of Israel was a far more difficult one—that besides enemies common to both, they had others peculiar to themselves, and that they wanted support of the temporal power in a much higher degree than in the land of Judah. If we proceed on the supposition, that in the kingdom of Israel, the relation of the prophets to the priests was totally hostile, everything appears in the clearest light. As the prophetic order had not the stay and foundation of a hierarchy honoured for its antiquity, and consecrated by Divine signs and wonders, it needed to be far more powerfully supported

from above, to be more conspicuously accredited, and that there should be on their behalf a repetition of those signs and wonders which attended the institution of the priesthood, but which for the land of Israel had been in vain. Further, the very first narrative in which an Israelitish prophet appears (1 Kings xiii.), shows how completely false that view is, which we have opposed, of the relation of the prophets to the Jewish state-religion. It is inexplicable how Eichhorn (p. 196) could adduce this narrative in favour of the assertion, that a zealot for the pure Mosaic constitution from the kingdom of Judah had frequently been involved in conflict and dispute in reference to the calf worship with the servants of Jehovah in the kingdom of Israel. It rather proves, that the prophets of Israel were in perfect unison with those of Judah in reference to the calf-worship. The Israelitish prophet announces to the Jewish (1 Kings xiii. 21) the Divine judgment, because, in a subordinate point, misled by his own seduction, he had not been faithful to the Divine instructions. He gives directions in ver. 31 that he should be laid in the same grave as the man of God; and, in ver. 32, expresses his conviction, that every thing would come to pass which that prophet had spoken in the name of Jehovah against the altar at Bethel, and all the high places. Hence it is evident, that the source of the false pretence by which (according to ver. 17) he seduced the Jewish prophet to come back, could not be a difference in their religious convictions. It rested rather on the recognition of his Divine mission, and the desire thereby excited to cultivate a closer intimacy with him; and, therefore, is an evidence that he disapproved the worship established by Jeroboam as contradicting the Divine word. That this desire was manifested in so irregular a way—that he sought to gratify it at such a cost—may be explained very easily in the following manner. He had indulged a criminal silence in reference to the innovations of Jeroboam. The proceedings of the Jewish prophet had roused him to a sense of his duty. Affected with shame for his own delinquency, he wished to retrieve his character in his own eyes and those of others by intercourse with this witness of the Lord. Even here it will not affect our object, should any one attribute a mythical character to the narrative. For that it is not of Jewish, but of Israelitish origin, is established—not to mention general grounds—by a special reason in 2 Kings xxiii. 17. Lastly, the whole

tone and manner in which the author of the book of Kings judges of the Israelitish state-religion, leads to the notion, that the true prophets in the kingdom of Israel placed themselves in decided opposition to it. When he contemplates the separation from the national sanctuary, the calf-worship, the rejection of the Levitical priesthood, as grievous sins which drew after them the ruin of the kingdom, this implies that these sins were known to be such by the members of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, that their inclination overpowered their knowledge of what was right, and that the better sort, the prophets, testified against them. And that the author of the Book of Kings was mistaken in this respect is less likely, if we consider the importance of the subject, and that he always judges of things by a fixed standard.

Still an appeal is made in proof of the non-existence of the Pentateuch in the kingdom of Israel to the non-observance of the prescriptions respecting the Divine service, without an attempt to restore them on the part of the succeeding reigning families, or opposition against them on the part of the priests. (See VATKE, p. 427; VON BOHLEN, *Einleitung*, p. 142). But their obstinacy in retaining certain institutions, the calf-worship, and the non-Levitical priesthood, is rather a strong proof of the existence of the Pentateuch in Israel, as well as the close adherence to it in other respects. How is it to be explained, that, in the frequent changes of rulers, not one ever appeared who advocated the worship of Jehovah without images?—that even those who, like Jehu, put down the worship of Baal, recoiled from the thought of abolishing that of the calves?—that no one ventured to do homage to purer principles which yet, as it is admitted, were then powerfully fermenting? Is the difference that we find between the Jewish and the Israelitish kings a mere accident? If the first institution of the calf-worship and of the non-Levitical priesthood by Jeroboam may be explained by the modern view, that he held fast what he had been used to (in Egypt), yet certainly this will not account for the obstinate adherence to these institutions during the long duration of the Israelitish kingdom. This rather shows that they considered the calf-worship and the non-Levitical priesthood as the foundation of the political existence of Israel, which is only conceivable by assuming the existence and the authority of the Pentateuch.

After concluding our enquiries respecting the relation of the kingdom of Israel to the Pentateuch, after the times of Jeroboam, let us now turn to the history of the separation of the kingdom. Here three objects claim our attention. We must, 1st, obviate the objections which have been raised against the credibility of the existing accounts; 2d, state the reasons in favour of the existence of the Pentateuch at the time of the separation; and, 3d, dispose of the apparent reasons which have been alleged to the contrary from the existing accounts.

Under the first head, Vatke claims our special attention, who has entirely inverted every thing in the history of the separation. According to him the narrator has placed the whole event in a totally false light, since he has proceeded on conceptions that prevailed at a later period, which could not have existed in the minds of the acting parties. According to the author of the book of Kings, and likewise of Chronicles, the worship established by Jeroboam was an innovation made of his own head, a mere imitation of the calf-worship in the wilderness, which in his time had taken no hold on the people, but was adopted with the design of effecting a religious schism between Judah and Israel, and thus to give a firmer foundation to the political independence of the latter; compare 1 Kings xii. 26-28, particularly the expression in ver. 28, "Whereupon the King took counsel," which led to the selection of this means from the whole number of those that were at his command. This view, Vatke thinks, cannot be correct. In the kingdom of Israel the religious spirit of ancient times was kept up, which still in the age of David constituted the prevailing sentiment, while the kingdom of Judah showed a constant advance to a higher stage. The calf-worship, which was not derived from Egypt, but connected with the ancient religious symbol of Canaan, that is, with the worship of Saturn, was the oldest historical form of the popular religion, which had been universally spread at the time of the separation, and the kingdom of Israel, while it lasted, was the representative of it. How little credit is due to the judgment of the narrator respecting the worship of animals, appears from the circumstance that the author of the book of Chronicles ascribes to Jeroboam also the worship of the goat, 2 Chron. xi. 15 (בַּעֲזֵי זָבִים). If this view is not to be regarded as a mere arbitrary fancy unworthy of a scholar, the author must

show by historical proofs that the calf-worship had continued uninterrupted in the interval between Aaron and Jeroboam, that it was universally spread in David's time. The manner in which he acquits himself of this task, can only excite astonishment and disapprobation. He appeals (p. 267) to Gideon's ephod, which, in his opinion, must have been an image overlaid with gold. "The form of the image is not exactly described; but *probably* it was that of an ox, or compounded of an ox and a man." This opinion is favoured by the judgment of the narrator, who regarded that worship as idolatry, as the prophets regarded the later calf-worship in the kingdom of Israel; and by the analogy of the second ephod which is mentioned in the book of Judges. For that *appears* (Judges xvii. 5; xviii. 30) not to have been different from the image of the calf which Jeroboam set up at Dan, at least the priestly attendance belonging to it was the same, 1 Kings xii. 29. It is strange to attempt to combat an accredited history with mere probabilities, and that in a tone of so much assurance. And what weight is due to these probabilities? We need not here prove the utter groundlessness of the assertion that Gideon's ephod was an image overlaid with gold; nor show that the remarks on this subject in the *Christologie* (iii. 157) are correct. It will be quite sufficient to prove that the assertion of the ox-form of the supposed image has no foundation whatever. How little the expression, "All Israel went thither a whoring after it" (Judges viii. 27), serves to prove that the narrator regarded the worship of the ephod as idolatry, may be shown from Lev. xx. 6, "And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them;" and apart from this, what a pitiful conclusion—both are idolatry, *therefore* both are calf-worship, as if there were no idolatry but that! The difference of the second ephod mentioned in the book of Judges, from the image set up by Jeroboam at Dan, is evident from the very passage to which this writer appeals in 1 Kings xii. 29. According to it, the image that was afterwards set up in Dan was first made by Jeroboam; and through the whole of the books of Kings the assertion is repeated, that Jeroboam first set up the two calves, and thereby caused Israel to sin. The passage in Judges xviii. 30, 31, is equally express against the identification of the image set up in the period of the Judges at Dan, which Vatke

would still confound with the ephod, "And the children of Dan set up the graven image, and Jonathan the son of Gashon, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons, were priests to the tribe of Dan, until the day of the captivity of the land, and they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made—all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh." Here a double *terminus ad quem* is assigned for the duration of the image at Dan and of the priesthood consecrated to its service; 1st, The captivity; 2dly, The stay of the tabernacle at Shiloh. The doubts which may be raised in reference to the first are set at rest by the explicitness of the latter. In 1 Samuel xxi. we find the Tabernacle in Nob (see KEIL on Chronicles, p. 393), so that at that time there was this *terminus ad quem* to reckon from. That the ark while it was kept at Shiloh was taken by the Philistines, has been considered as a Divine intimation that Jehovah would no longer dwell there (see Psalm lxxviii. 60–68.) Consequently, after the ark had been restored by the Philistines it was not brought there again, but first to Kirjath-Jearim, in Judah, 1 Sam. vii. 1, 2, and then to Zion; and thus would the Tabernacle be removed from places that had been profaned. Now, exactly at this time we find a highly suitable inducement for the cessation of the unlawful worship in Dan, so that the connection in which it is placed with the removal of the Ark from Shiloh is perfectly clear. After the return of the Ark of the Covenant a vital longing arose in Israel after the Lord. Taking advantage of this, Samuel exhorted them to put away all idolatrous practices from their midst. "Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served the Lord only," 1 Sam. vii. 4. If we now endeavour to explain the first limitation by the second, it will at once be seen that by "the day of the captivity of the land" cannot be understood the Assyrian captivity, which, indeed, the terms here employed will not allow, since הָאָרֶץ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ denotes the whole land of Israel. The historian rather considers the whole land as carried away into captivity in its sanctuary, which, as it were, formed its kernel and essence; compare with שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ Ps. lxxviii. 61, "and delivered his strength into captivity, and his glory into the enemies' hand;" and 1 Sam. iv. 21, where it is said of Eli's daughter-in-law, on the birth of her son, "and she named the child Ichabod, saying the glory is departed from Israel," כִּי־בָרַד מִיִּשְׁרָאֵל. Indeed, the author would not have so expressed him-

self if he had written after the times of the captivity, and he would not have ventured to express himself so if he had not rendered his meaning clear by the preceding sense, so that the false interpretation which has been defended by LE CLERC especially is self-condemned. He tries to separate the two *termini* from one another. "That image," he says, "from that time was no longer at Dan; but it does not follow that idolatry was extinct then, since another symbol might have been substituted in its place, which, as we have said, might remain till the captivity." But in ver. 30 the image and the priesthood of Jonathan and his sons are so closely connected that the abolition of the one must necessarily include that of the other. An accidental loss of the image, in the place of which another was set up, would certainly not have been noticed by the writer, since it was a circumstance perfectly equivalent. And if this carrying away of the image was a thing of importance, and stood in a causal connection with the removal of the Tabernacle, the abolition of the priesthood must have been connected with it. If it is settled that the worship at Dan, mentioned in the book of Judges, ceased as early as the first part of Samuel's time, it is equally certain that it could have nothing in common with Jeroboam's worship. VATKE appeals, moreover, to David's ephod (p. 400), "which," he says, "in all probability had the form of an ox." But this probability can only rest on the supposed proof of the ox-form of the ephod mentioned in the book of Judges, and may be turned directly into its opposite. Thus much, then, is determined; in the whole period from Aaron to Jeroboam, there is not the least trace of the calf-worship among the Israelites, and the attack we have noticed against the accredited history is destitute of all foundation. But we can go further: we can show not only that the supposition of the calf-worship being transmitted to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes is groundless—every one will allow that here the *argumentum a silentio* is of great importance—but that there are decisive positive reasons to the contrary.

For this purpose, we must inquire more closely into the origin of the calf-worship. That it was derived from Egypt, has been hitherto quite the current opinion. PHILO has represented it as beyond all doubt. In his work, *De Vita Mosis* (iii. p. 677), he says, "ἐκλαθόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὄν ὀσιότητος, ζήλωται τῶν Αἰγυπ-

τιακῶν γίνονται πλασμάτων εἶτα χρυσοῦν ταῦρον κατασκευασά-
 μενοι, μίμημα τοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερωτάτου ζώου δοκούντος εἶναι,
 θυσίας ἀθύτους ἀνήγαγον." "Forgetful of the reverence due to the
 Supreme, they became zealous imitators of Egyptian figures. Then
 having constructed a golden bull, an imitation of the animal that
 was esteemed most sacred in that country, they presented unhal-
 lowed sacrifices," &c. (Philonis Opera., vol. iv., p. 218, Lips.
 1828.) Also, Stephen, in Acts vii. 39, 40, "To whom our fathers
 would not obey, but thrust him from them, and in their hearts
 turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods
 to go before us," &c. For the passages in the Fathers relating to
 this subject, see BOCHART, *Hieroz.*, i, 346. But Vatke has re-
 jected this derivation, and alleges, on the contrary, that in Egypt
 only *living* animals were held sacred, but that *images* of animals
 were in general used only as masks or in compositions, and appeals
 in proof of it to *Creuzer*, i. 480. But if we refer to these pas-
 sages, we must feel indignant at the levity with which the author
 conducts himself in attempting to establish a point of such great
 consequence. Of the non-employment of the images of animals
Creuzer says not a word. That he maintains such an opinion, is a
 mere conclusion from the circumstance that he speaks only of bas-
 reliefs and masks, which, from natural causes, are preserved in a
 greater number than statues. Had the author only given himself
 the trouble to investigate the matter further, he would have found
 cause to be ashamed of this conclusion. BOCHART (*Hieroz.* i. 345
ed. Rosenmüller), for his assertion, *Ægyptios eorum animalium*
quæ viva coluerunt, statuas passim in templis crevisse, adduces
 the authority of Mela, who says (i. 9, § 7), *Colunt effigies multo-
 rum animalium atque ipsa magis animalia*; and that of STRABO,
 who says of the Egyptian temples (xvii. 805), where their images
 are chiefly placed, that they have not the form of men, but of
 brutes; ξόανον δ' οὐδὲν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων
 ζῶων τινός. "They have no carved work, at least not of human
 figures, but only of some one or other of the irrational animals." He
 refers, besides, to the narrative in Herodotus (ii. 129), which is very
 important for our purpose. We are there told that the Egyptian
 king Mycerinus, after his daughter's death, made a hollow wooden
 cow (βούνυ ξυλίνην κόιλην), which he gilded, and then placed her
 corpse in it. This cow was still in existence in the time of Hero-

dotus, and religious service was daily rendered to it. "This cow was not buried in the earth, but was to be seen in my time in the city of Sais, deposited in an elegant apartment in the palace, and they burnt incense of all kinds to it every day:" αὐτὴ ὄν ἡ βοῦς γῆ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ εἰς ἐμέ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σαῖ μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληῶσι ἐν οἰκίῳ ἡσκημεν· θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην. It was annually carried round at the feast of Osiris. "It is brought out of the apartment every year, when the Egyptians lament the God that is not named by me in this affair; and then they bring out the cow into the light;" ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκίῳ ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔτεα. ἐπεὶ τύπτωνται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι, τότε ὄν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς. The gilding was very thick, as the appearance of the parts proved, which were not covered with a cloth. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται φοινικέῳ εἴματι τὸν ἀύχονα δὲ καὶ τὴν καφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέϊ κάρταχρυσῷ (II. 132). "The cow was covered in other parts of its body with a purple cloak; but its neck and head were exposed and covered with gold of great thickness." As to what Herodotus tells about the daughter of Mycerinus, it is not worth noticing; that the cow was a divine image and represented Isis appears from the narrative itself. Herodotus gives that story of the daughter of Mycerinus as an uncertain legend; and then he tells another which connects other things with the image; the religious homage which was paid to it; the yearly processions at the feast of Osiris; the *insigne* of the sun between its horns (μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερῶν ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμνημένος ἔπεισι χρύσεος); the universal relation of the cow to Isis, all this shows that the historian had not a clear understanding of the facts. ZOEGA has allowed this.* What we have been able to gather from the accounts of Herodotus is confirmed by the testimony of PLUTARCH,

* Sed quanquam sane haud libens Herodoti fidem reprobem, ista tamen nimium distare vereor a reliquis Ægyptiorum moribus, neque apud ipsos Græcos fidem meruisse videntur, quorum praeter Herod. nemo hujus facti meminit: neque omnino credibile est, mulierculam nullo facinore claram tanti habitam fuisse apud posteros. Suspicio autem veterem scriptorem, sive interpretes, quibus ipse usus est in Ægypto, Isis deae simulacrum, lugubribus cerimoniis destinatum, pro regne juvenis conditorio accepisse: errore inde potissimum nato, quod in sacerdotum mythis Isis, quæ luna est, tranquillitatis s. noctis filia appellaretur.—*De Obeliscis* p. 415.

according to whom the Egyptians worshipped Isis under the image of a cow profusely gilt, which was publicly exhibited at the yearly mourning for Osiris. Καὶ βοῦν διάχρυσον ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς Θεοῦ δεικνύουσι βοῦν γὰρ Ἰσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσι, “And covering the cow plated with gold, with a black linen garment, they exhibit it at the mourning of the goddess, for they consider the cow to be an image of Isis and the earth,” (*i.e.*, an image of the earth). That Plutarch speaks of the same cow as Herodotus, is evident, and is acknowledged by CREUZER (*Commentatt. Herod.* p. 127; and *Mythologie*, iv. 228, so that Vatke merely charges his voucher with *silentium*, from which he draws such a weighty conclusion. Thus we have here an analogy for the golden calf, as complete as can be wished. The relation the images of animals bore to the living sacred animals, has already been well described by JABLONSKY. “Living animals,” he says, “which were revered as images or statues, and received all divine honours, were only to be seen in temples solemnly consecrated and dedicated to the gods, and that only in certain places. The bull Apis was not worshipped except in one city, Memphis, &c. But the representations of these animals were exhibited in most of the other temples through the whole of Egypt, and are to be seen to this day in their ruins.”* Down to the latest times it has occurred to none to doubt, that the Egyptians, besides living sacred animals, had also images of animals. Thus DRUMANN remarks on the inscription at Rosetta (p. 201), “In the innermost part of the temple, the chapel, we find no statue in human form, but only the image of an animal.” O. MÜLLER in his *Archæologie der Kunst*, p. 240, remarks, that among the Egyptians, the forms of animals were drawn with greater life-like expression and depth than those of men—“to this extraordinary practice the Egyptians were impelled by natural inclination from the beginning as their religion proves;” and in pp. 243, 244, he speaks of the wooden and bronzed images of gods and sacred animals. But if among the Egyptians, along with the worship of

* Animalia viva, quæ pro simulacris et statuâ colerentur, omnibusque honoribus divinis gauderent, in templis tantum conspiciantur rite consecratio diisque dedicatis idque tantum in certis quibusdam. Apis taurus non colebatur nisi in una urbe Memphis etc. Verum effigies horum animalium cernuntur in plerisque diis templis per totum Egyptum et cernuntur hodieque in eorum rudicibus.—*Proll.* p. 86.

living sacred animals, that of images existed, we should naturally expect to find that the Israelites at Sinai and in the time of Jeroboam would addict themselves, not to the former, but to the latter. It cannot admit of a doubt that the calf-worship was not idolatry in the strictest sense, but that under the symbol of the calf they worshipped Jehovah. VON BOHLEN, indeed, has lately denied this, but it is sufficient to refer to what J. D. MICHAELIS has urged on the other side. (*Mosaisches Recht*, v. § 245).* Not only in the books of Kings, but in Amos and Hosea, a clear distinction is made between the calf-worship and absolute idolatry. Aaron expressly terms the feast that was held after making the golden calf, "a feast to Jehovah." Exod. xxxii. 4, 5. The only passage to which Von Bohlen appeals, 1 Kings xiv. 9, where the prophet Abijah says to Jeroboam, "But thou hast done evil above all that were before thee; for thou hast gone and made thee other gods and molten images to provoke me to anger, and hast cast me behind thy back"—can only be adduced by a very crude interpretation. The prophet intimates, that the worshipping Jehovah under the image of a calf, and absolute idolatry, tended in the same direction, just as our Lord stigmatises a wanton look as adultery, without meaning exactly that it amounts to absolute adultery. The Jehovah who was worshipped under the image of a calf was really regarded as approximating to the class of idols. The symbol of a calf could only represent the power of God. Whoever chose it must lose sight of his holiness—that attribute which most strictly separated the God of Israel from the idols of the heathen. But, as long as Jehovah was still an object of worship, his worshippers could not sink so low as to dedicate living animals to him. The imitation of the Egyptians could not go further than the use of the images of animals. According to JABLONSKY (p. 85), the Egyptians passed from the worship of living animals to that of their images. But, according to his supposition of a transition from the better to the worse, the correctness of which we do not here stop to examine, the reverse

* Even VATKE on this point expresses himself decidedly against VON BOHLEN. He proves (p. 677), that the images represented Jehovah, because there was no other public worship of Jehovah besides in Israel; but most of the kings revered Jehovah, as is testified by the composition of several of their names.

should rather have taken place. The abstraction is far easier in images of animals than in living animals. The worship of the latter implies a pleasure in what is animal, a brutalizing process that is only conceivable on the supposition of a total obscuration of what is divine—a complete renunciation of the true God. How the Egyptians, on account of their worship of animals, were ridiculed by the Greeks, is well known. See JABLONSKY (p. 85).

Having pointed out the nullity of the arguments *against* the Egyptian origin of the calf-worship, let us now notice the evidence in its favour. First of all, it is to be remarked, that the animal worship of the whole ancient world was regarded as peculiarly an Egyptian institution, and as such attracted universal attention. The first authority for animal, and especially calf-worship, among the Canaanites, is VATKE'S work, that appeared 1836 years after Christ, from which we learn so many wonderful things respecting the worship of Saturn, who was worshipped by them, as this author affirms, under the image of a calf. Thus for the fictitious god, a fictitious worship has been provided. Moreover, the Israelites appear, by their whole history, to have been dependant on the impressions they received from their neighbours—from the nations with whom they came in contact. But such an impression, during the first period of their march through the wilderness, could only be made by the Egyptians. At that time, they came in close contact with no other people. And, in the instance of Jeroboam, the connection with Egypt is historically stated, 1 Kings xii. 2; so that the institution of the calf-worship by him was not a mere tame imitation of Aaron's example, but had a distinct source. If the derivation from the Egyptians of the worship of the goat is demonstrated and acknowledged, that of the calf, which is allied to it, must have the same origin. We bring forward another reason in the words of LE CLERC on Ex. xxxii. : “ *Docent etiam nos diserte scriptores alii sacri, quamquam taceat Moses, Israelitas in Æg. superstitionem Ægyptiacam imitatos*; Jos. xxiv. 14; Ez. xx. 7, 8; xxiii. 3–8; *Igitur quicumque Aharonis vitulum aliunde, quam ex Ægypto derivant, in re facili negotium sibi frustra facessunt.*” The manner in which, according to Exod. xxxii., the feast of the golden calf was begun by the people, finds striking analogies in the descriptions of the idolatrous feast among the Egyptians; ver. 6, “ And the people

sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play;" ver. 17, "And when Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said unto Moses, There is a noise of men in the camp." And Moses said, v. 18, "the noise of them that sing do I hear." V. 19, "And he saw the calf and the dancing." Compare this with Herodotus ii. 60, *αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναικες καὶ ἄνδρες αἰείδουσι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. κ. τ. λ.* "Some of the women play on the castenets, and the men on the flute; and the other women and men sing and clap their hands;" but, particularly iii. 27, when he gives an account of the feast of Apis; *ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου, αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματα τε ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι.* "And when Apis makes his appearance, immediately the Egyptians put on their most beautiful attire, and indulge in feasting;" and when the priests explain to Cambusses the cause of the public rejoicings, *καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῆ, τότε πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ἐορτάζοιεν.* "And when he appears, all the Egyptians manifest their joy by feasting." An excess of gaiety and noisy licentiousness were regarded by the Egyptians in the light of a religious duty. DRUMANN (p. 222) remarks on the preceding passages, "Herodotus is a voucher for what would scarcely be credited on the testimony of the Fathers (CLEM. ALEX. *Paedag.* 163, and others), that the processions were like orgies, in which even the women appeared amidst indecent songs and dances, amidst noisy music and bacchanalian feasts; that there were mummeries, in which they painted their faces, and struck or ridiculed the bystanders. Even the priests took a part," &c. (CREUZER, i. 248, 448). Lastly, that Jeroboam set up *two* calves, and at different places—one at Dan, the other at Bethel, may be easily explained by the Egyptian origin of the worship. Two sacred bulls, Apis at Memphis, and Mnevis at Heliopolis, were worshipped by all Egypt (see JABLONSKY, p. 181; DRUMANN, p. 184). The worship of one of them probably came into vogue in the period between Moses and Jeroboam. Plutarch says that Mnevis, who in later times was held in inferior honour to Apis (*δευτέρας ἔχει τιμὰς μετὰ τὸν Ἄπιω*) was considered by some to be the father of Apis, and Jablonsky has endeavoured to prove, on other grounds, that the worship of Apis was introduced after the times of Moses. The grounds for the priority of Mnevis are yet not

strong enough to outweigh the opinion in favour of Apis, who alone is mentioned by Herodotus; an opinion which is supported by the greater honour paid him in later times. And thus it is more probable that, in the Mosaic age, the worship of Apis alone was practised; that the worship of the calf in the wilderness and at Bethel corresponded to his, and that the worship of Dan was an imitation of that paid to Mnevis, which arose in the interval, and became known to Jeroboam during his residence in Egypt. Moreover, that the *two* calves of Jeroboam had some connection with Apis and Mnevis, is noticed by Jerome. He says on Hos. iv. *Videtur mihi idcirco et populus in similitudine fecisse sibi caput vituli, quod coleret, ut Hieroboam, filius Naboth vitulos aureos fabricatus, ut quod in Ægypto didicerant, "Ἄπιν καὶ Μνεῦν, qui sub figura boum coluntur, esse deos, hoc in sua superstitione servarent.*

If it be settled that the calf-worship was of Egyptian origin, it must also be admitted that its introduction again in the time of Jeroboam was an innovation, that it had entirely ceased in the interval between the entrance into Canaan and the separation of the two kingdoms. The Egyptian influence must have ceased precisely at the time when the Israelites began to come into close contact with the nations in and about Palestine. Against participation in the Canaanitish idolatry, warnings are to be found in all these passages of the Pentateuch which relate to the residence of the people in the Promised Land; with a reference to this danger is the command for the destruction of everything that had been dedicated to idols, and the prohibition of inter-marriages with the Canaanites—of all fellowship with them, and even of sparing their lives. The worship of Baal became prevalent among the Israelites as soon as they came in contact with the Moabites, and expelled the remembrance of the Egyptian gods not less than the remembrance of Jehovah. And that with their entrance on the land of Canaan, the Egyptian influence was at once and entirely lost, we infer from the fact, that from that time Baal and Astarte, and the other idols in the vicinity of the Israelites, appear as the only objects of their worship. Thus it is through the whole book of Judges; thus in the passage already quoted, 1 Sam. vii. 4, where it is said of Samuel's time, "Then the children of Israel did put away Baalim and Ashtaroth, and served

the Lord only." Thus it was in the latter times of Solomon. We find named as the divinities whose worship was introduced by Solomon, "Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites, and Chemosh the abomination of the Moabites," 1 Kings xi. 5-7; 2 Kings xxiii. 13, 14. How much the form of idolatry practised by the Israelites depended on the nations with whom at any given time they had the greatest intercourse, appears from 2 Chron. xxv. 14, where we are told that the Jewish king Amaziah, on returning from his victory over the Edomites, brought back with him their gods, and henceforth made them the objects of his adoration.* How little the worship of the calves among the Ten Tribes satisfied the demands of the spirit of the age, and what compulsion that spirit exercised over them, we see from the constant recurrence of the people to the worship of Baal. (See *Christologie*, iii. 9).

Lastly, as to the assertion that one of the narrators, the author of the Chronicles, shows his want of judgment in reference to the worship of the calves, in ascribing to Jeroboam also the worship of the goat, it evidently rests on a mere misunderstanding. It is said in 2 Chron. xi. 15, "He ordained him priests for the high places *and for the Seirim*, יִלְעִיזִים, *and for the Agalim*, יִלְעִזִּים, which he had made." Here is an allusion to Levit. xvii. 7, "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to the *Seirim*, after whom they have gone a whoring." The term "*Seirim*" stands in the same relation to "*Agalim*," as in the expression already explained of Abijah "other gods" to "molten images." Jeroboam maintained that his calves were only an innocent symbo-

* Vatke himself observes (p. 700), that it is very remarkable that the Hebrews evinced no originality in the sphere of natural religion. During the long period in which it had the ascendancy among them, it was always determined from without, and the history of the Hebrew natural religion hence has a character contingent on circumstances. This remark is of service to us in another respect. It contains an involuntary admission on the part of the author of the futility of his main principle. If, among the Jews, the better had been formed from the worse, a spiritual religion from natural religion, the latter could not have had so decidedly the character of being formed from without, dependent and contingent. Let us review the history of all the most distinguished nations, and see whether they manifested such an absolute dependence in a religious respect on their neighbours, and those with whom for the time being they had the greatest intercourse,—whether, with all that susceptibility for what comes from the external world, which lies in the nature of Polytheism, there was not always a fundamental character of indigenous religion. We merely throw out a hint here that may be enlarged upon elsewhere.

lising of the true God. This notion the writer of the Chronicles sets aside by a single word. He intimates that the worship of the calves is of the same quality with the former worship of the goat in the wilderness, which Moses stigmatises as whoredom, and warns against as a heinous transgression. The expression "for the Seirim and for the Agalim" is equivalent to, "for the Agalim which are = Seirim." How little the writer intended to charge Jeroboam with the worship of the goat in an absolute sense, appears from 2 Chron. xiii., where, in Abijah's speech, containing a full enumeration of all Jeroboam's misdeeds, not a word is said of the goat-worship, though its introduction, if such had really been the case, would have been one of his gravest offences.*

2. According to the Scripture history (1 Kings xii. 26) Jeroboam, by the institution of the calf-worship, designed to keep the people from going up to the Feast at Jerusalem, and thus to dis sever entirely the connection between the Ten Tribes and the dynasty of David. The religious separation was meant to render the political disunion perpetual. When the *communia sacra* no longer existed, all efforts for civic unity would cease. The continuation of the worship on the high places in the kingdom of Judah, Vatke remarks, is in favour of the contrary; it is not probable that even a great number of the inhabitants of the northern parts regularly sacrificed at Jerusalem. Of Dan we know *for certain* (!) that the priesthood established there in the time of the Judges continued till the overthrow of the kingdom. Judges xviii. 30, 31. Against the objection, that Jeroboam had the design of drawing off his subjects from the pure religion of Jehovah, and thereby to secure the government to himself and his family, it is to be urged that Jeroboam's family were more faithful to the service of Jehovah than Solomon and his immediate successors; "besides, that stroke of policy would have, in fact, a contrary effect, provided a majority of the people possessed a pure knowledge of Jehovah." The writer of the Chronicles represents, in-

* BOCHART has correctly stated the relation of the Seirim to the Agalim. *In materia religionis profanum est, quidquid non habet deum auctorem. Itaque hi vituli prodiis vocantur diaboli 2 Chron. xi. 15. Et horum mystæ pro sacerdotibus במריים, sacrificuli. . . Et locus pro Bethele, Bethaven. Mutato enim unguento in venenum lethiferum non debuit manere pyxidis inscriptio.*

deed, all the priests and Levites and the pious worshippers of Jehovah, as coming to Judah and Jerusalem, but his account deserves no credit. We dispute the truth of this representation on the following grounds. If it is maintained that no religious central point was in existence for the people, that Jeroboam therefore could not have had the intention to separate a part of the circle from the centre, as is shown by the worship on the high places—a totally false conception of that worship lies at the basis of this system. We do not consider it necessary to refute this representation here at great length. **MOVERS**, in his work on *Chronicles* (p. 285), has satisfactorily shown that worship on the high places, before the separation of the kingdom, was, through all Israel, and after the separation in the kingdom of Judah, a mere private institution, a mere appendage to the national worship: the Tabernacle with the Ark of the Covenant was the only national sanctuary to which the people went up at the great feast, where the national offerings were presented and the affairs of the nation were discussed. The same writer also refutes the assertion that no great number of the inhabitants of the northern parts regularly offered sacrifices at Jerusalem. Whoever makes this assertion must set down as falsehood what we are told in the accredited history respecting the condition of religion in the time of David and Solomon; but then it must consequently, or rather in all fairness, be admitted that we know nothing whatever respecting this period—not even whether any persons whatever went up to Jerusalem or not. The assertion, also, that Jeroboam was more faithful to the worship of Jehovah than Solomon and his immediate successors, requires various deductions, and what remains will be of little use in the argument. Solomon and some of his immediate successors were certainly given to an idolatry from which Jeroboam was free. But they gave it only a subordinate attention: the worship of Jehovah, in its pure and original form, still held the first place in their estimation. Their “heart was not perfect with the Lord” (1 Kings xv. 3), but the worship of Jehovah, to which they were attracted by one part of their nature, and that of idols, to which they were drawn by another part, were separated by them outwardly by a clear line of demarcation. In this state of things, the worship at Jerusalem was always very attractive to the subjects of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes; and

on the principles of worldly prudence, the plan adopted by Jero-boam, was a very likely expedient. MICHAELIS mentions a remarkable parallel to his conduct out of the history of Arabia. A khalif resorted to a mosque at Jerusalem very often in order to draw off his subjects from going on pilgrimage to Mecca, that they might not be filled with reverence for the family of the prophet, and become alienated from his own family. The account in 2 Chron. xi. 13–17, of the departure of the whole tribe of Levi, and of the pious people, into the kingdom of Judah, is unceremoniously rejected. If this account stood alone, it ought to be regarded as correct, till the contrary could be shown by valid reasons, which are here altogether wanting. But it is supported by statements given elsewhere. According to 2 Chron. xv. 9, a multitude of persons who once belonged to the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, became naturalized in Judah. According to 2 Chron. xvi. 1, Baasha, king of Israel, “came up against Judah, and built Ramah; to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa, king of Judah.” Hence it appears that the impulse to pass over into the kingdom of Judah, must in later times have been very great, the instances must have been very numerous. For, how otherwise should it enter the thoughts of the king, to cut off the passage by fortifying Ramah, which commanded the access to Jerusalem? Particularly the accounts in the Chronicles of the deposition of the priests on account of their opposition to the kings of Israel, of which the necessary consequence was their leaving the country, as they had no other means of support than what they received for their services, are expressly confirmed by the books of Kings. Vatke, indeed, denies this. “The account in the Book of Kings,” he remarks (p. 403), “does not state that the Levitical priests were set aside or excluded for the future from the priesthood; it rather mentions freely the appointment of the non-Levitical priests, since it proceeds on the incorrect supposition that Jeroboam had appointed the collective priests of the kingdom, and thereby comparatively influenced their view of the later Jewish priesthood.” But this denial need not disturb us. It is said in 1 Kings xii. 31, “He made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi.” מִקְטוֹרֵי הָעָם, *ex extremis populi*, has been correctly explained by BOCHART, *ex universo populo, quin extrema pertinent ad com-*

plimentum rei, Judges xvii. 2; 2 Kings xvii. 32. Besides Bochart, see DE DIEU on Ezek. xxxiii. 1; and WITSIUS *de decem tribubus Israelis* appended to his *Ægyptiaca*, p. 316. Further, 1 Kings xiii. 33, "After this Jeroboam returned not from his evil way, but made again of the lowest of the people priests of the high places; whosoever would, he consecrated him, and he became one of the priests of the high places. And this thing became sin unto the house of Jeroboam." While the author, in the first passage, stated the simple fact, so that every one might form his own judgment upon it;* in the second passage he gives his own opinion. If Jeroboam sinned by the appointment of non-Levitical priests, it necessarily follows that there were Levites on the spot, whom he deprived of the dignity assigned them by God and the laws.

3. "If the temple-worship at that time really possessed the distinction of a central and universal worship, it was in Jeroboam's power to have established a similar one for the kingdom of Israel, especially since Jerusalem had not been long the centre of the kingdom; and prophetic expressions, if interpreted historically, and as a Divine arrangement and confirmation of the temple-worship, might as well sanction the establishment of an Israelitish central worship, as they sanctified the independent constitution of this kingdom. 1 Kings xi. 29, xiv. 7, &c.;" VATKE, p. 400. But if it is asserted that Jeroboam could have maintained his ground by merely erecting a temple similar to that at Jerusalem (not to say that this was not so easy a matter, since he did not possess the means for the erection of a building that in its exterior could at all vie with Solomon's)—one very im-

* The historian adopts the same course in reference to Jeroboam's renunciation of the worship at Jerusalem. He simply mentions in ch. xii. 28, that Jeroboam said, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem." He expresses his own judgment indirectly and incidentally, first in ch. xiv. 21, "And Rehoboam reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city which the Lord did choose out of all the tribes of Israel, to put his name there." These words contain a literal reference to the law respecting the unity of the sanctuary in Deut. xii. 11; compare ch. ix. 3, where God, after the building of the temple, says to Solomon, "I have hallowed this house which thou hast built, to put my name there for ever;" also ch. viii. 29. That the writer takes this method, that he does not think of pointing out at length the impiety of Jeroboam's alterations, nor notice these pleas which might be set up in his defence, that he had no view of a polemic or apologetic tendency, shows how firmly he was aware of the objective foundation of his subjective view.

portant circumstance is overlooked—the Temple at Jerusalem had something which Jeroboam could never give to his, the Ark of the Covenant. How this was at all times regarded as the nation's most precious jewel, as the centre of its whole existence, so that by means of it the sanctuary and the priesthood each received their peculiar character, has been fully explained in the *Christologie*, iii. 524, where it is also shown, that among the pious in Israel, the manifestation of the Lord over the Ark of the Covenant was the magnet which drew them continually towards Jerusalem. The temple which Jeroboam built wanted the *presens numen*, and hence left this desire unsatisfied. Hence he was forced to think of some means of giving an apparent satisfaction to this desire, something which might bring the distant God near, and be his representative; for this purpose nothing appeared to him better adapted than the golden calf.

As to the prophets, it was impossible for them to give a sanction to an Israelitish temple, since this temple wanted the Ark of the Covenant; and for the same reason, if the sanction were given, it could not be esteemed valid by the pious part of the people; it would stand in direct contradiction to matter of fact. The appeal to the language of the prophets in reference to the political separation, is quite irrelevant, since, in the promise to David of the dominion of his family over all Israel, it was added that the Lord reserved to himself the punishment of his backsliding descendants, while the injunction respecting the unity of the sanctuary was unconditional, and the existence of only one Ark of the Covenant presented an insurmountable obstacle to those who wished to set it aside.

4. It is alleged against the credibility of the narrative, that the prophetic expressions against Jeroboam were predictions which in part referred to very distant events, and the chief declaration of the prophet who came from Judah to Bethel is mixed up with a tale of occurrences, so passing strange, that it cannot be retained as historical (VATKE, p. 406.) But this is a view of the matter which can only be taken by an unbeliever, who rejects all miracles, and denies all prophecies. Viewed by a believer in revelation, such events as those narrated in 1 Kings xiii. would necessarily happen according to the idea and analogy, and the history only instructs us respecting the form in which the essence, fixed *a priori*, manifests itself. Here,

if anywhere, must it be shown, whether God's sovereignty among his people was merely imaginary, or truly real. Moreover, this narrative, on which doubts have been thrown, has a direct historical guarantee in 2 Kings xxiii. 15. According to that passage, Josiah pulled down and desecrated the altar of Jeroboam at Bethel, with a special reference to the prophecy of the prophet in Judah; and the people of the city were able to point out his monument, and recognised in the transaction the fulfilment of his well-known words.

We are now able, after having exhibited the nullity of the objections to the historical truth of the narrative of the separation of the kingdoms,* to pass on to the second part of our task, which is to prove that the facts before us imply the existence and the authority of the Pentateuch.

1. That Jeroboam, on introducing the calf-worship, was guided by the example of Aaron is evident from the perfect agreement of his words with those of Aaron. Exod. xxxii. 4, "These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." 1 Kings xii. 28. They are well paraphrased by SEBAST. SCHMIDT, "*Non est nova religio; hoc cultu jam olim patres nostri usi sunt in deserto.*" But even without this verbal allusion, the similarity of the transaction would sufficiently show, that Jeroboam sought a support for his innovation in that book of the law which furnished his adversaries with their sharpest weapons. "*Non orum ovo similis,*" BOCHART remarks (p. 354), "*quam Aharonis vitulus vituli Jeroboami. Eadem enim utrisque materia, aurum scilicet. Utrique ex aequo fusiles.* 2 Kings xvii. 16; Hosea xiii. 2. *Et pari de causa conflati sunt, Aharonis quidem vitulus propter Mosis absentiam; et vituli Jeroboami, quia sacra urbs (in qua erat templum, et altare et veri dei sacerdotes) Israelitis jam erat inaccessa. Ut huic, ita et illis festi dies consecrantur et offeruntur victimæ,*" &c. The agreement

* It may also be observed, that this is confirmed by 2 Chron. ch. xiii. Abijah, king of Judah, in his war with Jeroboam, reproaches the Israelites, 1. That they had revolted from the house of David, who had been appointed by God to an everlasting kingdom; 2. That they had made gods according to their own pleasure, the golden calves; 3. That they had expelled the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and had made any persons priests who could only meet the expenses of the sacrifices attending their consecration. In reply to DE WETTE's and GRAMBERG's doubts on this narrative, see DAHLER, p. 93, and KEIL, p. 444.

can so much the less be accidental, since, as we have shown, the calf-worship at that time was wholly unknown in Israel, and had not been practised since the occurrence at Sinai. Jeroboam also, in imitating Aaron, had been preceded by Gideon, who, in manufacturing his ephod, certainly did not by mere accident adopt the same plan as Aaron in reference to the calf. Bochart has remarked (p. 335) on Judges viii. 24: "*Hæc historia non est absimilis. Nam ut Aharon, ita et Gideon aureas inaures a populo petit, ut convertat in usum idolotaticum, et has ultro oblatas expansa veste accepisse dicetur quomodo Aharon in marsupio recondidisse.*" Further, that Jeroboam "took counsel," 1 Kings xii. 28, (BOCHART, p. 355: "*Inito consilio, i. e. in consilium adhibitis seculi hujus prudentibus, qui dummodo stet respublica religionem susque deque habent*")—that the result of the consultation was the choice of so mischievous an expedient—that he made the chief seat of his new worship not his capital, but Bethel, a place consecrated by events in the patriarchal history—all this shows how difficult the affair was, which it would not have been, apart from the declarations of the Pentateuch respecting the unity of the sanctuary, and from the sanctity of the Ark of the Covenant, which was attested by the Pentateuch.

2. When Jeroboam introduced the calf-worship, and forbade his subjects from uniting in the worship at Jerusalem, the priests and Levites left the Ten Tribes and betook themselves to the kingdom of Judah. "And after them out of all the tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel, came to Jerusalem to sacrifice unto the Lord God of their fathers." Also at a later period many more followed this company to Jerusalem. The Levites gave up their whole earthly means of subsistence. When a numerous body unanimously resolve to make such a sacrifice, there must be, according to the constitution of human nature, reasons so palpable as to exclude and repel all those excuses and sophisms which interest suggests in abundance. In the present case the reasons could rest upon nothing but the clear letter of the law, the violation of which must brand its ministers, as they indeed felt, even in the eyes of those who desired it from them, and shared it with them. Why should the pious go from Israel to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices there? Why should Jeroboam consider it absolutely necessary to forbid the pilgrimage to Jerusalem? Why

did so many citizens of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes leave their houses and possessions to sojourn as strangers in Judah? Why, but for this reason, that the Pentateuch strictly required one sanctuary, distinguished the Ark of the Covenant as the only sanctuary of the nation, and stigmatised the worship of images.

3. Jeroboam celebrated the feast of tabernacles "in the month which he had devised of his own heart," 1 Kings xii. 33, where there is an allusion to Num. xvi. 28. Why did Jeroboam alter merely the month, and retain the day of the month, the 15th? Because he wished to keep as near to the law as his main object—the dissolution of the religious connection between Judah and Israel—permitted.*

It now only remains to examine the arguments which PAULUS (*Comm. ü. d. N. T.*, iv. 230), DE WETTE (*Beitr.*, i. 204), and GESENIUS (*de Pentat. Sam.* 6), have brought against the existence of the Pentateuch among the Ten Tribes at the time of the separation of the two kingdoms. The introduction of Jeroboam's form of worship, say they, implies the non-existence of the Pentateuch. Could Jeroboam have undertaken to introduce a worship which is so directly opposed to a reiterated law of the Pentateuch? How could he, if he found the Pentateuch in the hands of his subjects, choose exactly that image for the national god which their ancestors in the wilderness had rebelliously set up? Would it not have been a mockery of this statute-book of their religion, if Jeroboam had introduced the ancient idolatry with the identical words employed by Aaron when he erected the golden calf?

Reasoning *a priori*, this argument has considerable plausibility, provided attention be not paid to the nature of the human mind and the facts of history. But on examining it more closely, it loses all force. The history of all religions shows, that in their sacred records, no command or prohibition has existed, however clear and distinct, which a wrong bias has not attempted, by all the arts which a mind averse from the truth has at command, to free itself

* WITSIUS excellently describes the object which Jeroboam had in view in his alterations: *Eo consilio omnia ut substantiam quidem et corpus quasi religionis commune cum Judæis Israelitæ retinerent, ne nimia novatione animi turbarentur; in circumstantiis tamen notabilis esset diversitas, quæ utriusque regni populos, quod optandum Jeroboamo erat, magis magisque a se invicem alienaret.* ÆGYPTIACA. Basil 1739, p. 247.

from, without impugning the authority of the original record. By such argumentation as the above, how plainly it could be shown that the Scriptures were not in existence in the sixteenth century, or in short, that they never existed! To take only one out of numerous examples, what a plausible proof of the non-existence of the New Testament might be drawn from the present practice of divorces, and the marriages of the divorced by ministers of the church? The expressions relating to this subject in the New Testament are quite as decided and clear as the expressions in the Pentateuch which Jeroboam explained away. A Jewish or Mohammedan teacher would not think it worth while to quote and refute the subterfuges by which it is attempted to evade them.

But the following remarks may be worth consideration. The Scriptures take no notice of the morals which proceed from a corrupt will, which are attributable to caprice, and to the excuses which a sophistical understanding would find for them. To refute them would be a kind of recognition. Certainly those persons who, in the kingdom of Judah, were united by Solomon in the worship of Jehovah and idolatry, would not be wanting in pseudo-theological arguments very weakly constructed, by which they would attempt to reconcile incompatibilities; and so it would be with those who, after the erection of the Temple, preferred the worship on the high places. But the Scripture have not preserved these arguments for us; we can only conjecture what they were from some scattered hints. That Jeroboam and his successors invented such arguments, is evident from 2 Kings xvii. 9, where it is said of the Israelites—"They *covered* (this is the only explanation that is to be depended upon of סִפְּרוּ) words, who are not right concerning the Lord their God," *i.e.*, "they emboldened themselves, by a multitude of perversions and explanations of his word, to conceal its true form." And in what these arguments consisted we can learn with tolerable certainty from the various alterations which Jeroboam made in the law. He transposed the Feast of Tabernacles, which, according to the law, was to be celebrated in the seventh month, to the eighth. According to the expressions in the Book of Kings, which mention this month which he himself had fixed upon, it might appear as if he did it without any reason or pretext. And yet it is not difficult to find one. A BARBANEL, and after him J. D. MICHAELIS, have remarked,

that he probably fixed upon it because the harvest and vintage were later in the northern part of his dominions than in the rest of Palestine. How the erection of a new place of Divine worship in Israel, in opposition to Jerusalem, was vindicated, is never expressly said; but it arises from the peculiar character of these places themselves. They were clearly such as had been rendered sacred by historical associations, while Jerusalem could boast of no such distinction. The Samaritans, in this respect, at a later period, trod in the footsteps of the Jews. Their ground of justification for the worship on Gerizzim is always the ancient dignity of that mountain. See the remarkable account in EUSEBIUS (*Præp.* ix. 17). The rejection of the tribe of Levi found its apparent justification in the opposition of this tribe to what were maintained to be the lawful alterations of the king who constituted himself, as he must properly be considered, the spiritual superintendent and supreme expounder of the law, see 1 Kings xii. 32, where we are told he sacrificed, and burnt incense, and consecrated the priests; also Amos vii. 14 (13), where the chief priest Amaziah says to the prophet, "Prophesy not again any more at Bethel, for it is the *king's* sanctuary." Certainly this opposition to the king came very opportunely—for now, by one decisive step, he would be altogether free from those, who, if they had at first connived out of weakness, could not have done otherwise than be averse from his innovations. With all Jeroboam's worldly prudence, there still remained an *error in calculo*. He had left the prophetic order without notice, who opposed the abuses of religion in the service of a selfish political interest, more powerfully and successfully than the priesthood would have done. As to the calf-worship, it is perfectly clear that Jeroboam sought to justify himself by appealing to Aaron's example. By what sophism he endeavoured to set aside the application of what Moses said and did against this worship (and that his conscience felt the force of these things appears from 1 Kings xiii. 6, compared with Exod. xxxii. 11), we can merely hazard a conjecture. Perhaps he maintained that the people at that time, when the religion of Jehovah was so far from being firmly established, and the impressions which they had received from the Egyptian idolatry were still so fresh and strong, were not yet ripe enough for an institution that in itself was good; and that the full time was now arrived when

they had attained such a degree of illumination that the symbol and the means would no longer be confounded with the thing signified and the end, and they would henceforth never lose sight of the distinction between the God of Israel and idols. Even a J. D. MICHAELIS has maintained (*Mos. Recht*, v. 245) that image-worship is not manifestly irrational, if only it be properly explained; that it is only under particular circumstances a dangerous means of devotion. Let a comparison be made between Jeroboam's conduct and the manner in which learned men of the Catholic Church have endeavoured to explain away the clear language of Scripture and of the Fathers, against image-worship (the substance of which may be found in DAILLE *De cultu imaginum*), or among Protestant theologians, the way in which the language of Scripture, on divorce and capital punishments, has been treated, and any one may be convinced that the justification of his conduct, which we have attributed to Jeroboam, is not so absurd, that he could not venture to offer it. It is indeed weak enough, but not weaker than the arguments by which Solomon had already tried to justify his idolatry, or by which the people in Judah defended their obstinate adherence to the high places against the pious kings, whose labours to remove them entirely were always ineffective (see MOVERS, p. 286; KEIL, p. 290); and weak indeed they must have been, since they satisfied only the unthinking, whether of higher or lower rank, those who in religious matters had no sound and independent judgment. These arguments were rejected by the Levites, by the prophets, by all the truly pious, and were not thought worth contradicting or mentioning. But what worldly power can do with the dead members of an ecclesiastical community, history sufficiently teaches. In David's time, and in the beginning of Solomon's reign, such an apology would have had little success; but the decay of religion and morals, in the latter days of Solomon, preceded Jeroboam's accession. Let it be recollected that even in the wilderness the golden calf was set up, after the strongest prohibition of idolatry. This prohibition is so clear and distinct, that it seems to leave no exception, and yet the people and Aaron must have succeeded in inventing an apparent reason for not considering the prohibition as applicable to that particular case.

That our opponents themselves are not so much in earnest

with this argument, may be gathered from an indirect confession of Gesenius. As such, we consider what he remarks (p. 9), against those who maintain that it is improbable that Manasseh had communicated the Pentateuch to the Samaritans, from which the unlawfulness of his marriage with a foreign princess would be manifest—*verum enimvero a sacerdotum progenie, quos paulo post in novis cultus favorem tam violentis, non solum interpretandi, sed etiam emendandi artificiis usos esse comperimus, facile expectabis, in promptu eos habituros fuisse excusationis speciem.* If the truth of our position be acknowledged by our opponents when they need it, they must allow its validity in cases where it may occasion them inconvenience.

We have now proved that the Pentateuch, from the time of the separation of the two kingdoms, was in existence, and legally introduced among the Ten Tribes. Having gained this position, we can with greater security advance further. The expedients which Jeroboam employed in order to bring his innovations into agreement with the Pentateuch, and to set aside the prerogatives of Judah, were so violent, that the choice of these desperate measures is only conceivable by admitting that the conviction was general among the people, that the Pentateuch, as a complete whole, had Moses for its author, and was the common property of the whole nation. Besides, what would have been more convenient than to have rejected either the whole, or such parts as were unsuitable for his purpose, as interpolated or forged?

History sufficiently shows that a forced interpretation is only resorted to when this easier and more certain expedient fails. But how could a conviction of the authenticity of the Pentateuch, diffused among a whole people in the time of Jeroboam, be otherwise accounted for than on the ground of its truth? It adds to the difficulty of any other explanation, that the composition of the Pentateuch cannot be placed in the period of the Judges, on account of the peculiar circumstances of those times. There remains, therefore, only the age of David and Solomon. But to be able to secure the reception of the Pentateuch as a work of Moses, if not composed till a period immediately preceding that in which there would be a most powerful interest to maintain the contrary, would indeed be a task!

ON THE NAMES OF GOD

IN THE

PENTATEUCH.

THE first trace of any notice of the different names applied to the Divine Being in the Pentateuch we find in TERTULLIAN. Hermogenes had urged, in behalf of the eternity of matter, that God had not been always *Lord*. Tertullian admits this, but thinks that it occasions no difficulty, since the Scriptures represent God as becoming Lord not till the creation, and in consequence of it. In Gen. i., ii. 2, 3, we have $\acute{\omicron}$ Θεός, but in ii. 4, $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}$ Θεός, by which the LXX. translate יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ .* “The Scripture supports us by distinctly allotting each name to him, and using it at the proper time. For it speaks of him immediately as God, because he always was. ‘In the beginning, God made the heavens and the earth;’ and afterwards, while he was making those things of which he was to be the Lord, it only uses the name *God*, and never *Lord*,—‘and *God* said,’ ‘and *God* made.’ But when he had finished all things, and man himself, who would be regarded as lord, and is called lord, then it adds the name *Lord*—‘and the *Lord* took the man,’” &c.

Augustine accounts for the difference of the first and second sections of Genesis by supposing, that it was designed to intimate the relation of absolute dependence in which man stands to God. “It

* Scriptura nobis patrocinator, quæ utrumque nomen ei distinxit et suo tempore ostendit. Nam deus quidem, quod erat semper, statim nominat; in principio *Deus* fecit cælum et terram: ac deinceps, quandiu faciebat, quorum dominus futurus erat, deus solummodo ponit; et dixit deus, et fecit deus, et nusquam adhuc *Dominus*. At ubi uniuersa perfecit, ipsumque vel maxime hominem, qui proprie dominum intellecturus erat, dominus etiam cognominatur, tunc etiam dominus nomen adiunxit: et accepit dominus hominem, etc.—*Adv. Hermog.* c. 3, ed. Semler. ii. 61.

is, I think, far from useless, and designed to teach us an important truth, that, from the very commencement of this Divine book, of which the first words are, 'In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth,' as far as this passage it is never said, 'Lord God,' but only 'God;' but when man's being placed in Paradise, and the injunction given to him that he should dress it and keep it, is mentioned, the Scripture language is, 'The Lord God took the man whom he had made and put him into Paradise to dress it and to keep it;' not because God was not the Lord of the creatures that had been already mentioned, but because this was written neither on account of angels nor other created beings, but for man, to admonish him how desirable it was for him to have God for his Lord, that is, to live obediently under his control, rather than licentiously to abuse his own power; so that the Scripture has not used this phraseology till it comes to placing man in Paradise to dress it and to keep it."*

Both these writers have evidently got upon the right track; they recognise a real difference between the two names, and repudiate the notion of the change being accidental. The general relation is also correctly determined by them so far, that *Dominus* marks a more special relation than *Deus*. But, in more exactly defining this relation, they were not so successful; from ignorance of the language, they could not place their enquiry on its proper philological basis; and since *κύριος*, *Dominus*, the terms which they had before them, are not a translation of יהוה, but of אדני, which the Jews superstitiously read instead, it gives a very incomplete idea of the former. But even had they correctly known the fundamental relation of יהוה and אלהים, such a thorny, laborious investigation as that respecting the change of these names in the

* Proinde nullo modo vacare arbitror, sed nos aliquid et magnum aliquid admonere, quod ab ipso divini libri hujus exordio, ex quo ita cœptus est, in principio fecit deus cœlum et terram, usque ad hunc locum, nusquam positum est: *dominus deus*; sed tantummodo *Deus*; nunc vero ubi ad id ventum est, ut hominem in paradiso constitueret, cumque per præceptum operaretur et custodiret, ita Scriptura locuta est, et sumsit dominus deus hominem, quem fecit, et posuit eum in Paradiso operari eum et custodire: non quod supradictarum creaturarum dominus non esset deus, sed quia hoc nec propter angelos, nec propter alia, quæ creata sunt, sed propter hominem scribebatur, ad eum admonendum, quantum ei expediat habere dominum deum, hoc est, sub ejus dominatione obedienter vivere, quam licentiose abuti propria potestate, nusquam hoc prius ponere voluit, nisi ubi parventum est ad eum in Paradiso collocandum, operandum et custodiendum. (*De Genesi ad litteram*, viii., ii. ed. Bened. Cler. iii. 176).

whole Pentateuch was by no means suited to the age of the Fathers, so that we cannot look to them for its satisfactory discussion.

CHRYSOSTOM, whom the sudden change of the Divine names did not escape, saw as plainly as Tertullian and Augustine, that it could not be accidental, but must have some positive reason, yet, in assigning this reason, he erred in a very superficial manner. "And God took (the Scripture says) the man whom he had made." Immediately following the introduction, it properly placed the two names—it did not say Lord, and stopped, but added Lord God—by this teaching us something hidden and concealed—that we may learn, that, if we hear the Lord, and if we hear God, there is no difference in the names; and, on this account, the Scripture uses these names indifferently, but those who are disputatiously disposed may not be allowed to disturb the correctness of doctrines by any of their private notions.* Chrysostom distinguishes himself from Tertullian and Augustine, by perceiving that there must be a reason given why both names should here be used in connection, while the latter only attempted to justify the separate use of *Dominus*. But since, instead of deducing the use of the terms jointly from the intention of marking the identity of the person, he makes both the names of equivalent meaning and the alternate use arbitrary, he renders it impossible to take a correct view of this change in all that follows, and thus became the first who paved the way for the hypothesis of distinct Jehovah and Elohim documents. For as soon as the use of these two divine names is proved to be a matter of indifference, this hypothesis has won the game, as will plainly appear in the sequel.

During the middle ages, as might be expected, the investigation was carried no further by Christian scholars. An obstacle, indeed, lay in their way, which remained there for centuries. First of all, PETER LOMBARD (*Sentent. l. i., dist. 2*) asserted that the plural

* Καὶ ἔλαβέ, φησιν, ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃν ἔπλασε. Καλῶς εὐθέως ἐκ προοιμίῶν τὰ δύο τέθεικεν οὐδὲ γὰρ εἶπε κύριος καὶ ἐσίγησεν, ἀλλὰ προσέθηκε κύριος ὁ Θεός, λανθάνον τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον ἐντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς διδάσκων, ἵνα εἰδέναι ἔχομεν, ὅτι κἂν τε κύριον ἀκούσωμεν, κἄντε Θεόν, οὐδεμία ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐστι διαφορά . . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀδιαφόρως ἡ γραφή τούτοις κέχρηται τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἵνα μὴ ἐξῆ τοῖς φιλονείκως διακειμένοις τὸ ἐξ οικείας ὑπονοίας ἐπισφάξει τῆ τῶν δογμάτων ὀρθότητι. (*Hom. 14 in Gen. Orp. i. p. 119. Francof.*)

form of the name אֱלֹהִים was to be explained by the plurality of persons in the Divine essence. This view, which was recommended by an appearance of credibility, soon obtained universal acceptance, which was only partially, and for a short time, interrupted by the opposition of such men as CALVIN, MERCER, PAREUS, DRUSIUS, BELLARMINE (compare the proof in BUXTORF, *de nomm. dei Hebraicis* in his *Dissertatt.*, p. 270). As long as it lasted, nothing else could be done. By means of it, אֱלֹהִים from being the most general indefinite appellation of the Deity, was changed into the most definite and special; from being the lowest name, it became the highest. Henceforth the relation between Jehovah and Elohim was distorted and inverted.

But if we turn to the Jewish scholars of the middle ages, we find among them, in reference to the ground-work of the investigation,—the determination of the relation between Jehovah and Elohim,—some highly valuable remarks, although scarcely any progress was made in the proper application of the principles to the Pentateuch.

Above all others, the author of the book *Cosri* (R. JEHUDA HALLEVI in the 12th century) distinguished himself; the copious explanations which he gives (p. 256, ed Buxtorf.) are truly surprising. The plural form of אֱלֹהִים is explained as intended to oppose idolaters, who called every personified power אֱלֹהִים, and all together אֱלֹהִים, *non respiciebant ad virtutem s. facultatem primam, a qua omnes illae facultates prodeunt*. Hence, in opposition to these, the name אֱלֹהִים was given. According to this view, אֱלֹהִים is the most general name of the Deity; it distinguishes him only in his fulness of power without reference to his personality or moral qualities—to any special relation in which he stands to men—either as to the benefits he bestows, or to the requirements he makes. On this account, where God has witnessed of himself and is truly known, another name is added to *Elohim*—this is the name *Jehovah*, peculiar to the people who received his revelation and his covenant: *Elohim vocatur in genere v. communiter sed Jehovah singulariter et proprie*, (p. 257.) The name Jehovah is unintelligible to all who are not acquainted with that development of the Divine essence which is represented by it; while Elohim distinguishing him as God in those respects which are known to all men, is universally intelligible; *qui deum prorsus ignorat, ex hoc nomine*

solo eum non cognoscet, sicut Pharaon dixit; quis est Jehovah. The name *Jehovah* is the *nomen proprium* of God, and being one that expresses the inmost nucleus of his essence, is only intelligible where God has come forth, laid open the recesses of his heart, and has permitted his creatures to behold them, so that, instead of an obscure undefined being, of whom thus much only is known and affirmed, that he is powerful, that he is immense—he here exhibits himself the most personal of all persons, the most characteristic of all characters. It is a truly heathenish question (Cosri, 258), “*Quomodo vero nomine (proprio) insignire possum eum, de quo nullum exstat indicium sed cujus aliquam tantum probationem habemus ex ipsius operibus?*” To those to whom God has not made himself known, and who are not thus become his people, a name like *Jehovah*, which relates not to the circumference but the centre, appears like gross anthropomorphism. The Jew replies (p. 259), *At habentur ejus indicia prophetica et visiones spirituales.* To these *experiences* in which God descends to men, he then opposes the reasonings (*ratiocinationes*) by which men in vain attempt to rise to God. *Penes nullum horum* (those persons who only depend on reasonings) *exstat nomen aliquod proprium, quo eum designent.* *Apud eos vero, qui ejus verba, præcepta, prohibitiones, premia pietatis and pœnas transgressionum audiverunt, exstat.* Far more correctly and profoundly than those who, in modern times, have in a crude way described the name *Jehovah* as that of the national God of the Israelites, he attributes it to the revealed and known God, and hence dates its rise with Revelation itself, and therefore with the first beginnings of the human race. *Adamus hunc qui in verbo et apparitione se ei patefecit, designavit et vocavit nomine Jehovah.* *Absque his enim substitisset in nomine Elohim, per quod non clarum est, quid deus sit an unus an plures uno, an sciat particularia, an vero non,* (p. 260.) Not till a later period, when the manifestation of the Divine Being was confined to Israel, did the name become peculiar to Israel: *nomen hoc Jehovah peculiari privilegio nostrum est, nec quisquam alius veram ejus notitiam habet, præter nos,* (p. 261). But adopting this view, a key is obtained for the correct perception of the interchanged use of the Divine names in Genesis and the first part of Exodus, of which all those persons are destitute whose notions are limited to the na-

tional God of the Israelites. But to set the author's views in the clearest light, we must quote an important passage in p. 293 : *Sensus nominis אלהים apprehendi potest per ratiocinationem, quia intellectus docet, mundum habere dominatorem et directorem : et de hoc diversæ sunt hominum sententiæ pro diversitate ratiocinationis ipsorum ; probabilissima omnium est sententia philosophorum. Quod vero intelligitur per יהוה non apprehenditur ratiocinatione, sed per visionem illam propheticam, per quam homo quasi a specie sua separatur et abstrahitur et accedit ad speciem angelicam spiritusque alius in eum ingreditur. . . . Et tunc recedunt e corde hominis dubia praecependia, quæ de deo habuit, ut ludibrio habeat ratiocinationes illas, per quas consueverat pervenire ad deitatem et unitatem : tunc etiam homo veneratione et amore ejus, quem veneratur, corripitur ut propter amorem ejus animam quoque suam morti exponat.* Hence it is not enough, in order to be truly raised from *Elohim* to *Jehovah*, that a man should outwardly belong to the people of the Covenant. In their history, indeed, *Jehovah* has unfolded his nature ; but to understand this outward revelation there needs an inward revelation, which is known by the *visio prophetica*, the immediate intuition, in opposition to reflection. All other appellations by which the Deity is more clearly distinguished, more exactly defined, rest, according to this writer, on experience, on facts, on a self-revelation of the invisible God, whom no man by his own efforts can draw forth from his mysterious concealment, whom no one can appropriate, unless by a grant from himself. (Compare p. 264) *Neque enim cuilibet pro libitu dicere licet, אלהים אלהי, deus mi, sancte me, nisi improprie per modum traditionis, sed vere id nemo dicere potest, nisi propheta, vel sanctus aliquis, cui res divina adhaeret. Hinc dixerunt olim ad prophetam ; deprecare quaeso faciem dei tui. 1 Regg. xiii. 6.*

The philosopher Maimonides enters far less deeply into the nature of the subject. He says (*More Neb.* p. 106, ed Buxt.) *omnia dei nomina derivata sunt ab operibus ejus, unico excepto יהוה quod est nomen dei proprium.* This teaches clearly *de substantia creatoris*. The remark is quite correct, but gives us no assistance in explaining the use of the Divine names in Scripture, nor shows how the God of revelation must appropriate exactly

that name which denotes the Deity in his inmost essence—the practical side of the idea of Jehovah is not recognised, nor is it brought out beyond the Platonic *ὄντως ὄν*.

ABARBANEL (in BUXTORF, p. 266), thus expresses himself on the relation of the two names:—*Deus sub duplici notione consideratur a nobis, respectu nempe nostri, cum nonnisi una sit ex parte dei; primo respectu essentiae et quidditatis ejus simplicissime et perfectissime que incomprehensibilis est aliis prout in se est. De hac docet nomen Tetragrammaton יהוה; deinde respectu influentie in omnia alia, que influentiam ab ipso accipiunt secundum perfectionem ejus. De hac docet nomen אלהים quia scilicet hæc influentia fit secundum potentiam ejus infinitam.* The fundamental relation of the two names is here correctly conceived. JEHOVAH denotes God according to what he is in himself; ELOHIM according to a certain obscure impression made on those that are only brought into communication with him outwardly by means of his power, the single attribute of his nature which is directly related to them. But this definition of JEHOVAH is deficient, inasmuch as it is not added that the name, as it denotes God's essence in itself, denotes also his relation to his creatures in all its extent; and it is defective in the definition of ELOHIM, since it is not expressly said that as a name of relation it does not go below the surface.

Thus a right foundation was laid by the Jewish teachers for the inquiry respecting the Divine names in the Pentateuch. But instead of continuing to build upon it, instead of examining into particulars—why, here one name, and there another name of God, was used—though perceiving that this could not possibly be accidental, since the use of one or the other Divine name was often retained through whole sections, and since the intentionality of this use was so often forced on their notice—they neglected the foundation, to which the unfortunate view already mentioned respecting the meaning of אלהים contributed. Satisfied with their small and yet unlawful gain, they closed up the path to what would have been great and lawful. It is here shown very plainly how much the Christian scholar ought to be on his guard, lest, instead of looking solely and alone at the truth, he should allow himself to be dazzled by an appearance of credibility. When men have rendered themselves incapable of giving the correct explanation of

facts that lie openly and undeniably before them, they prepare the way for a false explanation with all its dangerous consequences, which can only be obviated by the correct one. If we look through the commentaries and other works relating to this subject in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the first half of the eighteenth, we shall be astonished at the carelessness which is shown in reference to the use of the Divine name generally, and especially in the Pentateuch, and so much the more, the greater the care and exactness we find in other far less important things, and the more visible the progress made by exegesis in these respects. If, for instance, we go through the marginal notes in J. H. Michaelis' edition of the Hebrew Bible (Halle, 1720), which contain the quintessence of what had been done up to that time, we shall meet nowhere with a single useful hint on this subject.

The false explanation was first proposed by the physician ASTRUC in his work, *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*. Brüssel, 1753. Setting out with the assumption that the alternate use of the Divine names in the Pentateuch was determined by no internal difference—an assumption which he never once thought of justifying, since no one in his times maintained the contrary; withal rightly perceiving that the change could not be accidental, he tried to explain it from external grounds, namely, that Moses had compiled Genesis from different writings—two principal documents distinguished by the exclusive use of יהוה and אלהים, and ten distinct *memoirs* besides, the use of which was confined to a very few places in Genesis.

The impression which this work made at the time of its appearance may be best learned from H. SCHARBAY'S "*Vindiciæ Geneseos contra auctorem anonymum libri, conjectures sur la Genèse*, contained in the *Miscellanea Lubecensia*, vol. i., Rost. 1758, p. 39–106, an essay in other respects of no great value. The impression cannot have been very powerful, for the author of this refutation, which did not appear till five years after the book itself, frequently apologises for spending some of his leisure hours in refuting this *ineptissimum conjecturarum systema*, and appeals to the example of LA CROZE, who condescended to write against HARDOUIN'S absurdities. What was dangerous in ASTRUC'S attempt, (who, in proof of his hypothesis, alleges supposed useless repeti-

tions, disorder, perplexity, and contradictions), is well understood by him. He treats him throughout as an enemy of revelation; for instance (p. 44), "*impuras injicit manus divinæ revelationi et res sacras atque coelestes scurriliter tractat.*" (P. 68), "*Ita enim omnem Genesios et divini Scriptoris auctoritatem labefacture audet, et omnem erga sanctissimum codicem venerationem abjecisse rideatur.*" But as to the main question, the correct explanation of the facts on the false explanation of which ASTRUC's hypothesis is based, he has done next to nothing. The author evades the main point by saying, "*Nemini vigilantibus hæc excidere potuerunt, cum per totum sacrum codicem promiscua, sed veneranda variatio occurrat. Pauca sunt Mosaicæ historie capita, ad quæ provocare potest, et vel omni exceptione deberent carere in tam angusto spatio, si salva saltem videri posset regula vel conjectura. Obstant loca Gen. ii. 21; iii. 11; iv. 10; iii. 1-3; iv. 25; v. 25; vi. 2, 5; vii. 16; ix. 27.*"

It may here be seen very plainly how dangerous it is to satisfy oneself with a superficial examination of a dangerous hypothesis—to let its foundation stand, and merely loosen the masonry of the superstructure a little—while one takes for granted that the spirit of the times to which it is opposed will refuse its admission. No powerful and plausible error whatever can be put down by neglecting to examine its grounds, or by abuse. It always returns at its hour—that is, when the spirit of the age lends it that aid which was before granted to its opponents, when it is far more dangerous, and difficult to conquer, even with valid reasons. In the middle of the last century, the conviction of the Divine Scripture was too firmly rooted in Germany for ASTRUC's hypothesis to meet with much favour. It soon sunk into total oblivion. But the times changed. What bearing a hypothesis had on the Divine authority was then no longer asked. When EICHHORN, in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, renovated and embellished ASTRUC's hypothesis, it met with general acceptance, and spread with amazing rapidity, so that only a few eminent scholars remained, who refused to do it homage.

It cannot here be our business to recount the names of all who have assented to this view, nor to state the exact differences between EICHHORN and his principal follower, ILGEN, nor the modifications which others have given to the hypothesis. This

has been repeatedly done by others, as by VATER, in his *Essay on Moses and the Authors of the Pentateuch*, in his *Commentary*, iii. § 90; and by HARTMANN, in his *Enquiries respecting the five books of Moses*, p. 88. We are concerned only with the fundamental principle of the hypothesis—the assertion that from the change of the Divine names in Genesis, we are to infer that it is a piece of tessellated work, composed from different documents. If this assertion can be disproved, which we shall attempt in the following pages, it will not be very interesting to know that Eichhorn assumed the existence of two original documents, and Ilgen of three; or what were their reasons for this difference of opinion?

Let us now turn to the opponents of the hypothesis. Among these, HASSE, in his *Entdeckungen in Felde der ältesten Erd- und Menschengeschichte* ii. Halle; so far occupies a honourable position, that he is aware that the attack must necessarily be directed at the foundation of the hypothesis. He says (p. 226), “JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, before the giving of the law, are not perfectly synonymous—they do not convey exactly the same ideas. The first book of Moses would be quite misunderstood, if both words are translated “GOD.” The same writer will call up quite different conceptions in the mind of the reader, when he uses ELOHIM, and when he uses JEHOVAH. The enigma is explained in Exod. xx., “I am JEHOVAH the ELOHIM; besides me is no ELOHIM;” and till then ELOHIM operated differently from JEHOVAH. These names, therefore, are historical. But here HASSE’S merits end. In determining the meaning of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, he errs so arbitrarily and strangely, that it would not be worth while to examine his view any further.

VATER allowed the foundation of the hypothesis to stand; he never thought of admitting an internal difference in the two names. He went exactly so far in combating the document-hypothesis, as to leave the change of names available for a fragment-hypothesis, which he advocated. Against the former he urged that it was too artificial; no branch of ancient criticism presented any thing similar; the distinction of the Divine names was too inconsiderable, and yet this was always to be the final ground of decision, and determine the connection or separation—the frequent breaking off of verses and alteration of the Divine names from mere conjecture

was inadmissible, &c. The difference of the Divine names, taken alone, he maintains, form no argument; though, in connection with other grounds, they may possess some weight. The fragments must be distinguished into three classes, those in which the name ELOHIM, and those in which the name JEHOVAH stands with equal constancy, and often; and lastly, those in which both the Divine names are used in conjunction. From such attacks the document-hypothesis has not much to fear. Not what they were in themselves, but the form they assumed at that time gave them importance. This appears very evident if we compare the latest form which they assumed in EWALD'S hands. In that all VATER'S objections fall to the ground at once.

The first really important attack* was undertaken by SACK, in his Essay, *De usu nominum dei אלהים et יהוה in libro Geneseos*, in the *Commentt. ad Theologiam historicam*, Bonn, 1821, with which compare the remarks of the same author in his *Apologetik*, p. 157. By this author, the enquiry what were the principal points, the determination of the general relation between JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, was again brought back to the point at which the author of the book *Cosri* had left it; and, besides, the attempt was successfully made to explain the use of these names in a single chapter of Genesis, from the essential difference in their meaning. The author begins with showing that the different relations in which God stands to the human race makes a twofold name necessary; *alterum quo generalis dei notio vel idea munitur, alterum quo illa victus qua deus se manifestavit, significatur*. The first name denoting nothing more, *nisi existentiam quandam infinitam, omnipotentem, incomprehensibilem, ex qua res finitae et visibiles originem duxerunt*, is found, with the idea which it expresses among all nations; Polytheists also have a word, not for the *singularis victus cujusque dei*, but for the *natura divina omnibus communis*. The existence of the latter name is a necessary consequence of a Divine revelation. As soon

* Contemporary with SACK, H. VON MEYER wrote an essay on the Divine Names, which was printed in the *Blättern für höhere Wahrheit*, Th. viii. 372. The author is a decided opponent of the fragment-hypothesis; he also correctly perceives that a satisfactory confutation of it must proceed on establishing the material difference of the two Divine names; but in attempting to discriminate this difference, he makes several arbitrary assertions.

as this is communicated, the general name is no longer sufficient; *deum quatenus iis se manifestaverat, eum iis locutus erat, alio nomine, quam numen supremum, cujus effectus in tota natura conspicitur, appellare debebant.* Yet, even where the special name is in use, the general one is still kept up, to be employed in all cases when the Deity in general is spoken of; which very often occurs to the author of the history of God's revelations; *nomine universali אלהים utetur in iis omnibus narrandis, quæ a divino quidem effectu pendent, eo tamen, qui ex rerum naturalium connexu cognocitur, ita quidem ut scriptor specialem dei providentiam neque negare, neque confirmare velit.* This essay has not met with the notice it deserves. It has either been entirely passed over, or when mentioned, as by HARTMANN (p. 142), has been dispatched with some slight remarks.* It certainly deserves better treatment, though the style of its execution has in part occasioned it. The author has neglected laying the foundation necessary for his work, that is, to prove the meaning he attaches to the two Divine names to be correct from themselves (their derivation)—from explanations of the Pentateuch, and from passages in the remaining books of the Old Testament. The only proof of their correctness which he attempts to give is this, that, by assuming these meanings, the alternate change of names in Genesis, (which throughout must not be separated from the remaining books of the Pentateuch), can be sufficiently explained. Towards proving this point a good deal is certainly done; but a great number of important and difficult passages are altogether passed over in silence, and in others the explanation given of the use of the Divine names is quite incorrect and forced. Especially a numerous class of passages is left unaccounted for, in which the insertion of אלהים instead of יהוה (where we might expect the latter) is founded simply and alone on a reference to a plain and glorious display of God in what follows; and the author of the Pentateuch in this reference always observes the same conduct. *Before every*

* However, the following remark of NITZSCH, in his *System der Christlichen Lehre*, § 63, may be considered as a tacit acknowledgment of the result obtained by SACK:—“In every instance where *God* and *Lord*, *θεὸς καὶ κύριος*, *Elohim* and *Jahv*, are conjoined or contrasted, the former expresses more specifically the causality of the world; the latter, the aspect which the Divine Being bears towards the human race, socially considered, and to the Church.

fresh period of God's revelation, he adopts the frequent use of ELOHIM, while, at the beginning of the period, he makes frequent use of JEHOVAH, till at last, after reaching the highest stage, after ELOHIM has perfectly become JEHOVAH, the change occasioned by reference altogether ceases. This he seems never to have surmised.

A second more serious attack on both hypotheses of original documents and of fragments was made by EWALD in his work *Die Composition der Genesis kritisch untersucht*, Braunschweig, 1823. But the chief merit of this work is not in relation to the point now under discussion. The other arguments in favour of the document-hypothesis and fragment-hypothesis, taken from the supposed fragmentary quality and disorder of the narrative, the titles, repetitions, differences of idiom, contradictions, are here refuted in a most striking manner. In proving the internal connection of Genesis, the mutual relation of the parts, EWALD has acquired great reputation. He has laid the foundation on which RANKE has since very ably built. On the other hand, the investigation respecting the alternate use of the Divine names is very defective, and falls far short of what SACK had already effected. This appears evident, before we go into particulars. For if we only look at EWALD's proposed determination of the fundamental relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, it seems impossible to attain a satisfactory result. ELOHIM, denoting the Deity in general, is the common and lower name; JEHOVAH is the national God of the Israelites. All the acts, therefore, which the Israelites, in pursuance of their religion, perform contrary to heathen customs, are effected through their national God JEHOVAH—he stirs up heroes to defend his people—he inspires holy seers—in honour of him, feasts are celebrated and sacrifices are offered; no heathens are permitted to take his holy name on their profane lips. ELOHIM, on the other hand, is used where the Deity is not regarded as the national God of the Israelites. This distinction, which is taken without the necessary philological foundation, merely from the induction of a number of passages from the later historical books, although containing an element of truth, is evidently defective. This appears from the simple fact, that EWALD, in a considerable number of passages examined by him on this point, is reduced either to a forced alteration of the reading, or to an arbitrary interpretation. Thus (p. 24) he asserts, that, in 1 Kings xii. 22,

יהוה must be read instead of יהוה אלֹהִים, on the false assumption, that JEHOVAH must necessarily be used in reference to all the peculiar theocratic relations; while only this can be said, that יהוה stands in such cases when there appears no particular reason for using אֱלֹהִים as more suitable; as, for example, in the so often expressed or implied contrasts between the Divine and the human. Thus 2 Sam. xiv. 13 must be read Jehovah. The expression אֱלֹהִים נָתַן לִי בָרָרִי, which is used both of Saul and David, he explains as referring to a private feud; the language is not used respecting national enemies; what occasion, then, for introducing the name of the national God? As if the contest for the dignity of the Lord's anointed was not a truly theocratic one—as if David, in numberless passages of the Psalms and the historical books, did not ground his hope of victory on JEHOVAH who had exalted him to that dignity. If in Joshua xxiv. 26 mention is made of a סֵפֶר אֱלֹהִים in order to point out that Joshua wrote the words in the *divine* book of the law, and not in a *human* book, the reference there is misinterpreted that Joshua was not worthy to write in a book of JEHOVAH. The הַכְּנִיחַ אֱלֹהִים, which is attributed to Solomon in opposition to lower human wisdom, must stand a step lower than the הַכְּנִיחַ יְהוָה, which did not belong to Solomon, whereby all the passages must be passed over in which he attributes this wisdom to himself, or it is attributed by others. Of the numerous passages which contradict the assertion, that the rule is at all times observed, not to put JEHOVAH'S name into the unclean lips of one who was not an Israelite, nor generally to use his name in conversations, only two (2 Kings xviii. 22, Is. xxxvi. 15) are adduced, and disposed of in a very unsatisfactory manner. Yet the objections which may be raised to EWALD'S conclusions from the remaining books do not affect their basis, and only serve to modify them. Very naturally; for after the erection of the theocracy the God of revelation was indeed exclusively the God of Israel, although not a "*National God*" in EWALD'S sense. But no sooner do we attempt to apply these conclusions to the use of the Divine names in Genesis and the first part of Exodus, than we see at once that they essentially contain an element of falsehood. It can scarcely be supposed possible that any one, from the assumption that JEHOVAH was the designation of the national God of the Israelites, without making this relation dependent on a

higher idea, on a more general reference, could think of explaining the use of the name JEHOVAH and its designed alternation with ELOHIM in a whole section of Genesis, before the chosen people were in existence, as well as in numerous passages of a later period, where there is no reference to the chosen people; as, for instance, in Gen. xiii. 13, "But the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners before JEHOVAH exceedingly;" xix. 24, "Then JEHOVAH rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from JEHOVAH out of heaven." Although Ewald has with great acuteness attempted to affect impossibilities, yet he has not succeeded in concealing from others the internal contradiction of his views, and it can scarcely be supposed that it was altogether hidden from himself when he published them. Even the artifice that, in arranging the proofs of the applicability of his conclusions to Genesis, he begins backwards, and now, when at the beginning of the book the expressions recur, which he could scarcely explain, when found where JEHOVAH was certainly the national God of the Israelites, hints at the explanations already given as suitable also here, betrays a consciousness of a bad cause. So also the circumstance that he entirely passes over in silence so many passages which were exactly opposed to his views; for instance, those in which Laban, who was not an Israelite, speaks of JEHOVAH. In a number of very forced explanations and violent make-shifts we are vividly reminded of STUHR's excellent remark, "In the department of scholarship the essence of falsification consists not merely in falsifying the original records from which the materials are taken, but in making use of those records in an intentionally arbitrary manner for a specific purpose."* But the greatest service of the author remains to be mentioned, that he has exhibited most impressively how suspicious a thing it is, when a critic feels himself obliged, in all the other books of the Old Testament, to account for the change in the use of the divine names from a difference in their meaning, but to make Genesis an exception, and thus to isolate it from the rest of sacred literature.

It was easy for GRAMBERG† and STÄHELIN,‡ who defended the

* Untersuchungen über der Ursprünglichkeit und Alterthumlichkeit der Sternkunde unter den Chinesen und Indiern. Berlin 1831, p. 19.

† Libri Geneseos sec. fontes rite dignoscendos adumbratio nova. Leipz. 1828.

‡ Kritische Untersuchungen über die Genesis. Basel 1829.

views that Ewald had attacked, to expose some of his weak points ; in doing this they thought their task was finished, and believed themselves justified in passing over the stronger parts of his work. With some scanty and slight alterations the old document-hypothesis was again brought forward. But how truth always makes a way for itself, however much it may be obstructed by error, is shown very plainly in the influence that EWALD'S representations exerted on the views of other scholars who applied themselves, at a later period, to this subject. As their representative we shall name only HARTMANN. This writer not merely exposes *con amore* numerous instances of caprice in GRAMBERG'S meagre statement of the document-hypothesis, and gives this whole hypothesis, with the remark that the objection of improbability attaches to all its modifications in so great a degree "that we have not the slightest hesitation in declaring it to be a completely unsuccessful attempt to solve an important problem;" but also, for supporting the fragment-hypothesis which he approves, he places very slight dependence on the use of the Divine names, and is not very far from entirely giving up the use of this argument. He acknowledges that a real difference exists between the two names JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, which he determines in the same external manner as Ewald, and admits that the author of Genesis regarded the near relation in which JEHOVAH stood to his people and monotheism with careful consideration and a delicate tact (p. 138). He only reserves a moderate number of cases, in which he explains the use of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH, not from their internal difference, but by his favourite arbitrary method. But even in these cases, he does not venture to make use of the change of the Divine names *alone*, but only in connection with the proofs for a difference in the written materials of the Pentateuch, which shows how insecure he felt himself on the ground which nevertheless he tried to maintain, as he perceived that the change for which he himself could find out no real reason, might very probably have one ; and he felt how doubtful it was in some cases, in which the use of the Divine names had to be determined by a mere groundless preference and custom. After acknowledging that in by far the greater number ELOHIM only stands where JEHOVAH could not, or would not be so suitable, and that JEHOVAH only stands where ELOHIM would not be in place, he gives the result in the follow-

ing words (p. 147)—“ If an author, without visible marked occasion, uses a denomination, whether that of ELOHIM or that of JEHOVAH, in a long section exclusively, he thus shews for it a certain preference, and hence may be considered as distinct from another narrator who moves forward in an opposite direction.” If we only succeed in pointing out for the *casus reservatos* “ a visible, marked occasion,” the author’s last weapon is broken, and we may expect that (in this conflict) he will leave the enemy’s camp.

That EWALD himself, in the review of STÄHELIN’S *critical enquiries on Genesis* in the *Studien und Kritiken* 1831, part 3, has partly retracted his view, cannot surprise us, after the remarks already made, but must, indeed, appear quite natural. If “ the production of his nineteenth year” ought not to be the source of lasting censure to the author, only the choice remains between such a partial retraction, and an improvement of the idea of JEHOVAH there set forth; and that the author would adopt the latter method cannot be expected, since the correct idea of JEHOVAH can only be found in connection with the right method of contemplating Sacred History. But we have equal reason for expecting that EWALD will not return to the document-hypothesis in its early crude form. His present view, if we must not rather say, his view of 1831, is the following. The result of his former investigation respecting the difference of the Divine names in the other books of the Old Testament remains, he asserts, unshaken (p. 598). He only erred in transferring the later usage without ceremony to the times antecedent to Moses, and therefore to the narratives in Genesis. For the name JEHOVAH, as the name of *the Mosaic national-God*, could only be given to the people first by Moses, and was closely connected with the national worship. In the earlier more simple times before Moses, God might be called by such a general name as ELOHIM, or a narrator might so name him, to establish a contrast to the Mosaic revelation. A writing which always calls God אלהים as far as Exod. vi. 2, forms the primary ground-work of the whole Pentateuch, according to the belief or historical recollection that the name JEHOVAH was first known by Moses, and was connected most intimately with the constitution of the Mosaic worship. With this might be interwoven another, which, as it contained in general not

so faithful and distinct a recollection of antiquity, so also distinguished the Deity, even in the time of the Patriarchs, with the Mosaic name JEHOVAH, though using besides the name ELOHIM, so that there might be sections in which ELOHIM was exclusively used, but none in which (except by accident) JEHOVAH was exclusively used. These writings a later hand had united in a whole, independently, and not without suitable connection and selection, so that Genesis, in its present form, may appear as the connected work of an individual. By the greater scope which in this manner is given to the talents of the writer, in opposition to the earlier view, which set him in the light of a mere compiler, several of the early cheap objections against the document-hypothesis are certainly disposed of, such as the necessity of arbitrarily altering the Divine names in favour of the hypothesis, and separating part which are evidently connected; an advantage which GRAMBERG rightly acknowledged. But this modification of the hypothesis has again its peculiar difficulties.

If JEHOVAH is the name of the Mosaic national God, it would be used as such by all the authors of the remaining books of the Old Testament, who lived in the most distant ages; if this meaning were universally acknowledged, and the distinction between JEHOVAH and ELOHIM admitted in the popular mind, how in the world came among all the children of Israel the two unfortunate wights, the Author of the second writing and the Collector of both, to use the name of the national God before the existence of the nation? *These persons* could not have taken it for the name of the national God, or they must have been out of their senses; as little could they suppose that it was identical with ELOHIM; on the contrary, that such an identification is incompatible with the popular apprehension of the difference, the fact acknowledged by EWALD (p. 599), proves that often they evidently used the names with a consciousness of their difference. Thus it is certain that they connected an idea with the name JEHOVAH, which possibly and necessarily occasioned its use in the pre-Mosaic times; and if this idea is found to be one which includes in it that of the national God, without being identical with it, only one thing remains, to prove that in the portions where ELOHIM is exclusively used, this fact can and must be explained in another way than by supposing that the author considered the name JEHOVAH as unsuitable for

the whole period. If this be done, the three imaginary writers vanish, and only one appears as their rightful substitute. That everywhere, on good grounds, either JEHOVAH alone, or ELOHIM alone was used, or JEHOVAH and ELOHIM were used together, is the proposition to be proved, and with its demonstration all those infinitely multiform *opinionum commenta* must fall to the ground, never to rise again.

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME JEHOVAH.

Our first business must be to determine the derivations and primary meaning of the two Divine names. We begin with יהוה. Here the question at once arises, Is the name of home or foreign origin? for only on the former supposition are we justified in proposing a Hebrew etymology.

Several writers have attempted to find an Egyptian origin for יהוה. This is the object of GESNER'S essay, *De lade Dei apud Aegyptios per septem vocales* in the *Commentt. Götting.* i. 245, *ad an.* 1751. He tries to prove, that the Egyptians were accustomed solemnly to sing the name Jehovah in their public worship. But the refutation of this hypothesis (which is founded on a misunderstood passage of EUSEBIUS in his *Praeparatio*), by DIDYMUS TAURINENSIS, in his learned and able work, *De pronuntiatione divini nominis quatuor literarum*, Parma, Badoni, 1799, is performed with so much ability and research, that we must regard it as absolutely complete.* Others appeal to the inscription, which, ac-

* As the work of DIDYMUS is not common in Germany, and is accessible probably to few of our readers, we shall quote at length the paragraphis relating to this subject:—

Quum in Praeparatione Evangelica vir plurimorum librorum lectione in primis praestans omnia undique studiose conquiret, unde probabiliter sibi videretur posse colligere gentes caeteras accepisse aliquid ab Hebraea, Aegyptios etiam eo accenset argumento, quod septem conjunctis vocalibus arcanam quandam complexi dicerentur appellationem, quam quatuor elementis Hebraei. Habes verba 'Επει και τῶν ἐπτὰ φωνηέντων τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σύνθεσιν μιᾶς τινος ἀπορρήτου προσηγορίας περιέχειν φασὶν ἐκφώνησιν, ἣν διὰ τεσσάρων στοιχείων παιῶδες Ἑβραίων σημειούμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνοσάτω τοῦ Θεοῦ δυνάμεως κατατάττουσιν, ἄλεκτόν τι τοῖς πολλοῖς και ἀπόρρητον τοῦτ' εἶναι παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐιληφότες. Jam de Hebraica ἀπόρρητῳ προσηγορία, quam voluerit Eusebius significare, nequit dubitari quin sit יהוה. Hæc sonuerit Jehovâ: non inepte a Gesnero expressam futehere septem vocalibus Ι ε η ω ο υ α, existetque vocabulum, quo si animum induxeris credere Mystas Aegyptios appellasse

according to PLUTARCHI, (περὶ Ἴσιδος, § 9), was to be seen in the temple of Isis at Sais; ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὄν καὶ ἐσόμενον, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον οὐδεὶς πω θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψε. But these words cannot be regarded as the explanation of a name; and

divinitatem, ejusmodi profecto habebis explanationem verborum Eusebii, quae vim conclusionis ejus praestet maximam. Sed cur, quod erat planissimam, ipse non scripsit Eusebius, fuisse in Ægyptiorum caerimonibus ἐκφώνησιν usurpatam *ιερωουα* divino consonam nomini apud Hebraeos ἀπορήτη? Quia nimirum id quidem ita expresse nec somniaverat ipse, neque erat usquam a quoquam memoriae proditum. Sed quaedam legerat, ejusmodi illud est libri Demetrio inscripti περὶ ἐρμηνείας, § 71. Ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ . . . τοὺς Θεοὺς ὑμνοῦσι διὰ τῶν ἐπτά φωνηέντων οἱ ἱερεῖς. Unde opinionem quamdam hauserat indefinitam religiosae alicujus ἐκφώνησεως, quae septem vocalibus tota constaret. Legerat autem literis vocalibus totum constare Dei nomen Hebraeis religiosissimum. Itaque conjecit ab hoc illam ἐκφώνησιν exstitisse: levi, fateor, conjectura, sed non insolitae levitatis in hujusmodi argumentis. De qua ne dubites, verba ipsa Eusebii perpende, ac maxime illud φασιν, et μιᾶς ΤΙΝΟΣ προσσηγορίας ἐκφώνησιν; tum ἀλεκτόν τι, et quo postea epigrammate confirmet, quod de septem vocalium apud Ægyptios συνθεσεῖ scripsit perliberi, hoc nempe, quod *eis* Σάραπιν quidam inscribunt.

Ἐπτά με φωνήεντα Θεὸν μέγαν ἄφθιτον ἀνεῖ

Γράμματα, τὸν πάντων ἀκάματον πατέρα

Ἐμὶ δ' ἐγὼ πάντων χέλυσ ἄφθιτος, ἢ τὰ λυρῶδη

Ἑρμοσάμην δίνης οὐρανόιο μέλη.

Senties obscuritate sermonis Eusebium sen involvere sibi non compertas certe satis. Et qui potuisset habere compertas? Plurimos ille quidem legerat libros, qui perierunt. At laudasset profecto, si quem habuisset rei testem adeo dignae animadversione hominis Christiani, itemque Hebraeorum. Quam cur nunquam animadvertissent Ægyptii doctissimi Philo, Clemens, Origenes? Cur, quum tot habeamus a veteribus memorata Ægyptiacæ vocabula superstitionis, nusquam tamen invenitur illud *ιερωουα*?

Quid quod Gesneri commento verba repugnant Demetrio inscripta, ab ipso memorato Gesnero? Finge enim *ιερωουα* appellationem quamdam Ægyptiam fuisse Divinitatis? Quid stultius poterit excogitare argumento Demetrii, qui quum inde a § 68, ἐνφωνίαν oratori commendare suscepit, quam e concursu vocalium ipse contendit existere, earum suavem esse concursum inde conclusisset, quia in hymnis Ægyptiis divinum audiretur nomen septem vocalibus constans? Quasi vero Deorum nomina in Lymnis canenda sint nulla, nisi quae suavia sint ipsa compositione literarum. Plane aliud voluit auctor quicumque fuit libri περὶ ἐρμηνείας. Quod equidem mihi adhuc videor probabiliter omnino explicuisse in *Literaturæ Copticae Rudimento*, p. 44. Ibi enim adnotavi Græcas vocales *a, e, η, ι, ο, υ, ω*, musicas in Ægypto notas, itemque appellationes fuisse sonorum *si, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*; quibus quemadmodum nunc canitur *solfeggiandó*, ita septem illis vocalibus caneant sacerdotes, utque idem perhibet, *tibia loco æcytharæ literarum harum sonus cantioque adhibebatur quod profecto non fuisset institutum, si vocalium ingrata auribus accideret consecutio.*

Quum autem eadem vocales etiam essent astronomicæ notæ Lunæ, Mercurii, Veneris, Solis, Martis, Jovis, et Saturni, chorus astrorum divinas laudes ita concinere quodammodo videbatur; et accedente notis musicis astronomica significatione, transitus evasit facilis ad apotelesmaticam amuletorum superstitionem; ut inscriptiones omittam Basilidianas, et quae multa ejusmodi exstant in Musæis *κειμήλια* similiter notata Græcis literis vocalibus varia successione pluries permutatis. Quorum quaecumque sit ratio, epigramma certe ab Eusebio laudatum ita explicatur optime; quo

the resemblance which, at first sight, they present to the Mosaic meaning of יהוה is purely external, and vanishes altogether on a closer examination. Isis is the personification of Nature, into whose interior no created spirit penetrates, from whom all existing things proceed, and into whom all that perish return. See CREUZER'S *Mythologie*, i. 519, ii. 6, 7; and MOSHEIM on CUDWORTH, i. 399, who quotes a remarkable passage from ATHENAGORAS (*legatio pro Christianis*, c. 19), ἡ περὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος (*quid de Iside dicam*) ἦν φύσις αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἔφυσαν, καὶ δι' ἧς πάντες εἰσὶ λέγουσι. Moreover; the genuineness of this inscription is very doubtful. None of the ancient writers on Egypt mention it, and the only one who, according to Plutarch, knew of it, Proclus, takes refuge with it, not without reason, in the *Adytum*; while, according to Plutarch, it must have been visible to all at the entrance. MOSHEIM has already pointed out that the very contents of the inscription must excite suspicion, since such a refinement of religious sentiment—such an elevation of Polytheism into Pantheism (which indeed, from the first, lay at the basis of the former, but more unconsciously, so that the finer and grosser elements were intermingled), belongs to a later age. With how little exactness the philosophers, in an age in which various religions were mingled together, to whom it was of the greatest consequence to adduce ancient authorities for their views, quoted such testimonies is well known, and is evident from the circumstance that Proclus gave without ceremony, as an original part of the inscription, an addition in all probability forged by him (see Mosheim), καὶ ὃν ἔτεκεν καρπὸν, ἥλιος ἐγένετο, which as an exposition is very good. VON BOHLEN (*Genesis*, 104) gives up this proof of the Egyptian origin of JEHOVAH, but thinks he has found a new one in the fact that Pharaoh

videlicet sive Natura omniparens, sive Creator Deus laudari se ait quum septem canuntur literae vocales, quae quum singulae singulorum soni astrorum habeantur, horum concentum exhibeant; ipse vero, adjunctis quasi septem chordis caelestium orbium sonis, quasi quaedam sit clychys, eorum conversione quaedam edens veluti lyricos modos.

With these investigations may be compared a passage quoted by Tholuck (on the hypothesis of the origin of the name Jehovah from Egypt and India; *Litt. Anzeiger*, 1832, p. 212), from a review by O. Müller. In this Milesian inscription is treated of, in which the invocation of a god occurs, who, in a formula repeated five times, is designated by the seven vowels, which appear always twice after one another, but every time placed differently. Müller considers it to be most probable that the seven vowels denote the seven tones of an octave.

(2 Kings xxiii. 34) changed the name of Eliakim into Jehoiakim. But for the same reason it might be asserted, that the name was indigenous among the Babylonians, when the King of Babylon gave the king whom he had appointed instead of Jehoiachin, the name of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 17.) This analogy shows that as long as it was not determined to deprive the conquered altogether of their national independence, and to incorporate them with the conquerors (as, for example, was the case with Daniel and his companions), the latter satisfied themselves to make this subordinate relation known by imposing a new name, without introducing this relation into the name itself. As for the rest, we refer to the *Christologie*, iii. 540, where it is proved that the alteration of the name Eliakim into Jehoiakim was at the wish and proposal of the Jewish prince; and only remark further, that the fact is suited to prove exactly the reverse of that which it is alleged to prove; for if JEHOVAH had been an Egyptian name of God, how could this God be distinguished instead of the destroyer, as the supporter of the kings of Judah? The heathen gods had never anything to do in a friendly way with any nations but their own, and certainly it was more in the spirit of heathenism, though in this instance not true, when GROTIUS advanced an opinion that Pharoah wished the conquered king should take not the name of the conqueror's god, but of his own. But besides, in the whole of Egyptian antiquity there is not the slightest trace of the name יהוה, and even VATKE acknowledges that no God existed in Egypt whose character corresponded in the remotest degree to Jehovah (p. 680). As a positive proof, if not of the total unacquaintedness of the Egyptians in the time of Moses with this name, yet certainly that the name and idea did not peculiarly belong to them, that they distinguished none of their gods by the name JEHOVAH, that this name was not to them as to Israel, "*a great and terrible name,*" and that only by the bitterest experience they learned to know how great and terrible he was, we appeal to the language of Pharoah, "*Who is JEHOVAH that I should obey his voice, to let Israel go? I know not JEHOVAH,*" Exod. v. 2, and to the answer of Moses, "*the God of the Hebrews.*"

From the Egyptians, enquirers have turned to the Phœnicians. That the name is derived from Phœnicia, HARTMANN remarks, is shown by the fragments of Sanchoniathon, in which, besides other

points of agreement with the scriptural narratives, we find several designations of the Divine Being, which we likewise discover in the Old Testament, at least in substance, without difficulty. This leads to a connection between Phœnicia and Palestine, in a religious respect, and probably the name JEHOVAH was borrowed from the same source. Then it might, at the earliest, have been engrafted in the religious language of the Jews in the times of David. We can hardly believe our eyes when we find such trifling in a book which has for its title "*Historical and Critical Enquiries!*"

1. Where are the fragments of Sanchoniathon, to which Hartmann appeals? How can any one venture to adduce the miserable patch-work of a deceiver, Philo Byblius, who lived under Nero to the times of Hadrian (without staying to notice those who, with DODWELL at their head, have proved him to be such),* as a production of a pretended ancient writer, behind whose authority he conceals himself? Certainly it would not have fared so well with the pretended Sanchoniathon, if inclination had not mingled with the enquiry—if it had not been *believed by opposite interests that the fraud might be usefully taken for granted*. In the times of the Fathers the pretended Sanchoniathon had been found useful both in defending and attacking revelation; and in modern times, to these two interests a third has been added, the mythological; see CREUZER, *Mytho.* ii. 17. Here also the despicable *medio tutissimus* has kept back many from the full knowledge of the truth, and misled them to the middle view, that Philo made use of a work by Sanchoniathon; but unfaithfully, and with many additions of his own. But how far these are from approving the use attempted to be made of it by Hartmann, ORELLI'S words will show, in the preface to his edition of these fragments (p. vi.), *Haec itaque Fragmenta, si quis in rebus singulis ad veritatem historicam ac chronologicam accommodare cumque sacrorum et profanorum auctorum testimoniis comparare voluerit, is sane, ut Herderus judicat, oleum et operam perdidisse dicendus sit*. As to the pretence that Philo had taken his materials from Sanchoniathon, there are no external arguments in favour of it, but decidedly the contrary.

* For an account of the works on this subject, see MEUSEL, *Bibl. hist.* ii. 1, and his final judgment, p. 6, "nulla igitur aut valde exigua salus in Sanchuniathone."

He is the first writer who makes mention of a Sanchoniathon, and, even later, we have no authority independent of him for the existence of such a person. ATHENÆUS speaks only of a *Suniai-thon* (iii. p. 126, ed. Schweigh) ; and from his incidental expressions nothing more can be gathered than an *obscura fama* of a certain Phœnician writer of that or a similar name. DODWELL, in his *Discourse concerning Sanchoniathon*, has shown how important the *testimonium a silentio* is in this case—how inconceivable the passing over the writings of Sanchoniathon, if any such existed, in all preceding time, and how surprising the silence of Josephus, who was so attentive to the Phœnician sources of history, and for whose purpose their writings would have been so serviceable. Nowhere can a Phœnician etymology of the name be found. BECK (*Gesch.* i. 256) asserts, indeed, very positively, that it means the *friend of truth* ; but if we look away from the external authorities, which can only be adduced for this meaning from a misapprehension, we shall find ourselves in the greatest perplexity in order to establish it. Let us only notice the arbitrary methods HAMAKER (*Miscellanea Phœnicia*, p. 207) has adopted to attain this object. But if we examine the contents of the work, suspicion must be awakened in the most candid mind. The dogmatical object which Philo so visibly pursues (see ZOEGA *de obeliscis*, p. 536, who saw clearly the kind of writer he had before him ; ORELLI, p. 4), namely, to establish his atheism, by proving that, at the origin of the human race, everything went on in a purely human and natural manner—that those whom the illusory notions of later times exalted to gods had been men, and, for the most part, men of the worst kind, laden with the grossest wickedness—deprives him of all historical authority. This dogmatical view he expresses very clearly and frankly himself (p. 6 of Orelli's edition) ; and we cannot conceive how any one who has read only the Proœmium of PHILO, can attach the slightest importance to his performance. He was obliged, if he wished to attain this object at all, to attribute the work to an older author, for only in this way could his fiction assume the appearance of history, and be admitted as evidence. “The groundwork, the leading ideas,” says CREUZER, “have been held by the most learned inquirers in modern times to be ancient and originally Phœnician.” But if here and there a solitary

notice occurs, for which confirmation may be found elsewhere in Phœnician antiquity, it no more follows from this that Philo made use of an ancient Phœnician work, than from the numerous confused coincidences with the history of the Old Testament, that he had the books of that also lying before him. Certainly Philo made use of Phœnician tradition in no other way than the Hebrew. From those parts where we are able to check his statements, we must conclude respecting the rest. If he has evidently in one place raked together hearsays in order to twist them into accordance with his own notions, we cannot doubt that he has done so elsewhere. The only thing he had to do was to give his statements something of a Phœnician colouring, and the materials that he needed for that purpose were to be obtained easily and cheaply. To have recourse to Philo for the purpose of ascertaining ancient Phœnician representations, is certainly as irrational as if we attempted to fill up or correct the Old Testament statements from his remarks on the introduction of circumcision—on אֶלְדֵּרִים, עֲלִירָן, &c.

2. It is most absurd to suppose that a miserable deceiver, belonging to an age in which literary forgeries were the order of the day, could inform us respecting things of which he could know nothing (the *Inscriptio nuper in Cyrenaica reperta* after two thousand years has become no source of history), and to oppose his authority to that of Moses and the whole of Hebrew antiquity. But the extreme of absurdity is, that the notice in question is not among the pretended fragments of Sanchoniathon, but PORPHYRY, whom Dodwell rightly terms *rafrum hominem atque ob id ipsum haud immerito suspectum*, gives it at his own risk without citing any authority. To have overlooked this is less pardonable, since GOGUET (*Origin of Laws*, i., p. 383), and after him JAGER (in ORELLI, p. xii., *Tenendum est, Pophyrium modo mentionem facere Hierombali, non Philonem, hunc vero alios fontes, quibus usus sit Sauch. commemorare*) have expressly noticed this fact.

3. Even Porphyry never says what HARTMANN—(what a difference!)—attributes to Sanchoniathon. He does not mention *Ἰεωῷ* as the name of a Phœnician god, but exactly the contrary, as the name of the God of the Jews. His words (in EUSEBIUS *Praep.* i. c. 9. p. 31, and in THEODOR. *de graec. affec. cur.* § 2), show this incontrovertibly—“*Ἱστορεῖ δὲ τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων ἀληθέστατα, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς τόποις καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι αὐτῶν συμφωνό-*

τατα Σαγχονιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος, εἰληφώς τὰ ὑπομνήματα παρὰ Ἱερομβάλου τοῦ ἱερέως θεοῦ τοῦ Ἰευώ." That Sanchoniathon furnished information respecting the Jews, so true and so accordant with their own records, Porphyry explains from the circumstance that he had taken it from a Jewish reporter contemporary with himself. Evidently this statement is a pure invention of his own, for Philo, the only writer from whom Porphyry knew anything of Sanchoniathon, was quite ignorant of such Jewish sources. Porphyry had reason to invent another source of information in addition to that forged by Philo. If the accounts relating to Jewish Antiquity were at all suited to serve his polemic object—if they were not to be set aside with the remark that Sanchoniathon could not enter the lists against the ancient national historians—if the suspicion must not be excited that everything which appears in the pretended work of Sanchoniathon relating to Jewish antiquity, was a mere fresh compilation from the biblical records—he was obliged to trace these accounts, if possible, to a contemporary Israelitish voucher. For such an one he looked round in the same age in which Philo had placed Sanchoniathon, and there Gideon or Jerubbaal at once struck him as the most conspicuous personage. ORELLI, after the example of VON DALE, does not declare himself against Gideon, but manifestly only from want of insight into the whole affair, since he took Porphyry's account for an actual historical tradition, not for what it is, a supposition, or rather a falsehood in a historic dress. Here then we have an example how closely incredulity and credulity are allied. Into such mistakes men fall, when rejecting what is truly credible and ascertained, they set out in quest of whatever may tend to overthrow it. Besides, how could any one be so deluded as not to perceive that the Sanchoniathon of Philo, even if he expressed what is attributed to him, would deserve no more credit than the Berosus of the monk Annius of Viterbo ?*

Still we must examine the arguments which HAMAKER, in his *Misc. Phœn.*, pp. 174, 175, has adduced for his assertion that heathen names were compounded with JEHOVAH. In the form

* As to the pretended newly discovered Sanchoniathon, the question can only be, whether Philo's patchwork has really been found in a complete form, or whether some one else has inflicted the *jus talionis* on Philo—the latter supposition, as the matter now stands, seems far more probable.

in which Hamaker has put forth this assertion, it is not, we must allow, directed against the peculiar right of Israel to this name. He does not think that the name among heathen nations could be original and indigenous. He supposes that they only borrowed it from the Israelites, agreeably to that mixture of religions which was inherent Polytheism. "*Nec sane video,*" he says, "*quidni illi homines superstitiosi Jehovah, Israelitarum deum, cujus potentiam sæpe senserunt, cum suis nominibus conjungere et pari honore afficere potuerint.*" He appeals to Hiram's language upon hearing of Solomon's accession to the throne. "*Blessed be JEHOVAH this day, which hath given to David a wise son over this great people,*" 1 Kings v. 7. And yet this Hiram was an idolater, as appears from the account given by Josephus of his building temples to Hercules, Astarte, and other divinities. But unless Hiram had used this expression "blessed be JEHOVAH," in reference to something that concerned himself, it would be nothing to the purpose. He regarded JEHOVAH only as exercising influence over the affairs of Israel. For the Phœnicians he was not even one among many other divinities. And apart from this, it is one thing to acknowledge JEHOVAH's power in some single arrangement or event, as Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus did on certain occasions, and another to adopt his name as the name of an object of personal devotion, to whom the individual would dedicate himself and acknowledge him as the guide of his whole life. No one would place himself in this relation to a *foreign* god, and hence, in case the evidence should be found valid, it would be much more plausible to modify the assertion, that the name Jehovah was perhaps an *epitheton* of one of their domestic gods—still the question remains whether the priority of its use did not belong to Israel. But it would not be difficult to invalidate this proof. Hamaker appeals first to *'Αβδαῖος*, the name of a Tyrian in Josephus, which appears to be identical with אֲבַדְאִיִּם , but then allows that it is more probably the same as אֲבַדְאִיִּם *servilis obsequens, cum terminatione adjectiva Chaldaica, quæ scriptio certe nomen Græcum Αβδαῖος accurate exprimit*; and the meaning, which is seen at once on writing it, is more probable, and is raised to certainty by the practical irregularity which the other would involve to so great a degree that nothing but the most cogent reasons, founded on the structure of the

language, would gain it admittance. Hamaker then appeals to the instance of Uriah the Hittite, the husband of Bathsheba. But that Uriah belonged to the people of the covenant is clearly determined by 2 Sam. xi. 11. אֲרִיָּהּ is a genuine Israelitish name. This is shown (not to mention various other circumstances) by the necessity of distinguishing this Uriah from other persons of the same name then living, by the appellation of the Hittite. Hamaker objects that his parents who give him the name, might not belong to the chosen people. But how can this be proved? To argue that his father's name was unknown, because it is not mentioned, is indeed very weak. But supposing that Uriah's parents were heathens, still it may be fairly asked whether he owed his name to them, or whether it was not most likely given him when he joined the chosen people? It was the universal custom of the East in ancient times, to give a new name, joined with their own, to those persons who either voluntarily, or by compulsion, adopted a new worship, and thus to dedicate them to the new divinity, as is sufficiently shown in the instance of Daniel and his companions. And that it was specially an Israelitish custom to dedicate those who turned to the God of Israel from among the heathen by a new name, is evident from the instance of Pharaoh's daughter, who at a time when the *composita* with יהיה were very rare, on joining the chosen people, received the name of *Bithjah*, בִּיתְיָהּ, *daughter of Jehovah*, 1 Chron. iv. 18. If we compare this analogical instance and others to be mentioned in the sequel, it will appear probable from the connection of this name with JEHOVAH, that Uriah first became a proselyte, and on that occasion received the new name. The motive to assume a name thus compounded the relation of life to the true God expressed by the name, could not be felt so powerfully in the case of those who were brought up in this relation, as of those who entered into it by a voluntary act. From the high importance which we shall presently point out, which generally in antiquity, and especially among the Jews, was attached to *names*, from the close connection in which they were placed with *facts*, it could not be expected that they would allow the old names to remain when the life was become new. The name of Araunah the Jebusite (2 Sam. xxiv. 18) is next to be noticed, which need not detain us long. For, supposing that this name was really compounded with

יהוה, though some difficulty on this point arises from the various ways in which the name is written,* yet the remarks made in reference to Uriah are equally applicable here; for that the Jebusites were then incorporated with the chosen people, as it is universally admitted, needs no further proof. Hamaker makes another appeal to the Ammonite Tobiah. But that this Tobiah was a proselyte to Judaism is evident, not to mention that his son Johanan had a Jewish wife. Neh. vi. 18. That he had married his daughter to a distinguished Jew is evident from Neh. xiii. 1-3, compared with ver. 4. All his hatred arose from the circumstance, that Nehemiah, in strict observance of the Mosaic law, which did not admit the Ammonites to the full enjoyment of the rights of citizenship before the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 3), would not acknowledge the respect readily paid to him by others who were influenced by personal considerations. This is very evident from ch. ii. 20, where Nehemiah, in opposition to the pretensions of Sanballat and Tobiah, declared that they had "no portion nor right" in the privileges of the chosen people. PRI-DEAUX, indeed, considers Tobiah to be a heathen. But had he been so, would he have so earnestly desired to obtain a chamber in the temple? Neh. xiii. 5, 7. This desire sprung from the same source as the assumption of the name Tobiah—from the *niti-mur in vetitum semper petimusque negata*. To obtain what was refused to his whole nation, to break through the mound of an inviolable law, was, for an ambitious character like Tobiah, an object for which he would strain every nerve, and to indulge a burning hatred against those who would repel him from it, when just within his grasp, was perfectly natural and unavoidable.

Lastly, Hamaker makes use of the name of the city בִּזְיֹהָב *Biz-jothjah*, Josh. xv. 28, which occurs in the list of conquered cities that were assigned by Joshua to the tribe of Judah. But the interpretation of this name is doubtful. That given by Hamaker, *liberationes, redemptiones Jehovae*, is certainly objectionable, since it is contrary to the use of בִּיה in Hebrew and Aramaic. HILLER's interpretation, which has been adopted by GESENIUS,

* יְהוָה Ornan, 1 Chron. xxi. 15-28; 2 Chron. iii. 1. יְהוָה 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 (C'tib.)
 יְהוָה 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 (K'ri) 20, &c. יְהוָה 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 (C'tib).—T γ .

contemptus Jehovae, would express a polemical reference to the God of Israel, but is certainly not probable. And, according to the interpretation of SIMONIS (Onomast. p. 526), *spolia domini*, i.e. *locus deo adjuvante subjugatus* יְהוָה: *spolium, præda*, from בָּיָא = בִּיָּא the city, would here be called, after a frequent custom, by a new name, which it received when captured by the Israelites. In both cases, therefore, the names would furnish no evidence in favour of Hamaker's assertion. It would still be a question whether the ending is to be considered as a contraction of יְהוָה, and particularly since יְהוָה is never, or very seldom, found in the names of cities.

As to the fancies of those who pretend to find traces of the name JEHOVAH in China, THOLUCK's refutation has already done them sufficient honour (p. 223); and the pretended oracle of Apollo Clarius in MACROBIUS, i. 18, to which VON BOHLEN so confidently appeals anew, as proving that Dionysus and the Sun bore the name 'Ιάω, has been long ago proved to be the fabrication of a Gnostic Christian, who tried to smuggle the doctrines of his sect into the Egyptian system of religion—so that to appeal to it any longer, until some one has undertaken to refute the arguments of JABLONSKY (Pantheon, i., p. 250), which VON BOHLEN has not attempted, is much the same as if one would prove the heathen origin of the name Jehovah from the *inscriptio nuper in Cyrenica reperta*, in which it certainly appears.

It now only remains to notice the similarity of the names JEHOVAH and JOVE, to which DE WETTE (*Beitr.* ii. 183), VON BOHLEN (*Eiul.* p. 102), and VATKE (*Bibl. Theol.* p. 673) have attached great importance. The two names, however near they seem to stand to one another, on closer inspection will be found far asunder. The *o* common to both vanishes, because, as we shall show afterwards, it belongs, not to יְהוָה, but to אֱלֹהֵי. On the other side, the *jod* common to both will be taken away. A communication between the Latin and the Hebrew can be effected only through the medium of the Greek. We must therefore, first of all, know the form in which *Jovis* (which in the ancient language is also found as a nominative, see GESNER *Thes.*, s. v., that *Jupiter* = *Jovis pater* is acknowledged) appears in Greek. Without doubt Ζεὺς Διός here corresponds to *Jovis*, as Ζυγός passes into *Jugum*. (See the proofs in DIDYMUS, p. 82; PASSOV, Wörterb.,

s. v. *Zeus*, &c.) Even in Latin the form *Jovis* is of later date; according to Varro, the ancient form was *Diovis*. So nothing remains in common but a solitary *vau*, and whoever would prove by means of this the identity of the two names, in order to oppose that view of the origin and derivation of יהוה which the Old Testament gives us, forsakes the ground of philosophical inquiry, and is not deserving of a confutation. We smile at those persons who, giving up the historically accredited etymology of the word *Missa*, and merely following a similarity of sound, derive it from the Hebrew *מִזְבֵּחַ* *altar*, *מִצְעָה* *opus* or *מִצְהָה*, *oblatio voluntaria*, or from *מִצְוֵי* in Dan. xi. 38, or from the Greek *μύησις*, or with Bishop Albaspinaeus, from the pretended northern *mess*, *a feast, an assembly*. (See on this etymology, GRÄSER, *Die Rom. Kath. Liturgie*, i. p. 1.) The derivation of JEHOVAH from *Jovis* is still more ridiculous; for the similarity of sound is less, and the connection between the people to whom the words belong far more distant. And were the similarity in sound ever so great, yet it must be considered as entirely accidental, as long as no trace of JEHOVAH could be proved among the people who formed the connecting link between the Romans and the Hebrews. VATKE (p. 684) has indeed tried to go further than the similarity of sound, and to settle the relation on a firmer basis. According to him, the use of the name JEHOVAH in Israel reaches beyond the Mosaic age (p. 677). It was brought with them from the land of their progenitors on the other side the Euphrates. In Upper Asia, the worship of light, and, as it seems, without images, has been indigenous from ancient times. There the Hebrews had the name and acquired the associated idea. This hypothesis is assailable on all sides. Light-worship exists only among the Persians; that it was prevalent in the native country of the Hebrews, Mesopotamia, is a totally unfounded assumption. Neither there, nor in Babylon or Assyria, is there a trace of it, and as little of the name Jehovah. The origin of the Hebrews, from Mesopotamia, is testified by their name. עֲבַר הַנָּהָר, or עֲבַר, denotes, not all the countries which lie between Palestine and the other side the Euphrates, but specially the countries from the Euphrates to the nearest large river, the Tigris. Farther, the light-worship, according to Vatke's own principle of gradual and progressive religious development, cannot have been the original form of religion among the Persians

On this supposition, they must have passed through various stages of the crude worship of nature, before they attained to a knowledge of this "natural identity." Lastly, if the Jehovah of the Hebrews was originally personified light, how comes it to pass that the traces of light-worship among them have so completely vanished? The "light-god" meets us neither among the pious nor the impious party. The first show a clear knowledge of the perfect supernaturality of God; among the latter, we constantly find the worship of nature in its grossest forms. The supposition that the former by degrees raised themselves above it, and the latter sunk below it, could only be admissible, if positive evidence could be adduced for the originality of light-worship, for which at present we have only a gratuitous assertion. And on Vatke's principles, a descent from a higher to a lower stage cannot be allowed. If this be generally admitted, the principal reason vanishes which Vatke draws against the originality of the pure worship of JEHOVAH in Israel, from the continued growth of the elements of natural religion among the people till later times. And on what is the justification founded for maintaining the whole untenable hypothesis? After all, on nothing more than a distant similarity of sound. Men who proceed in this manner must cease to ridicule the etymological combinations of the learned HUET, or to make a parade of their philosophical pretensions.

Thus we have ascertained that the Heathen nations, in such memorials as were strictly their own, never pretended that the name JEHOVAH peculiarly belonged to them; and whenever they employ it, as narrated in the Old Testament, they do it in such a manner (which will be shown more fully afterwards) as to make its Israelitish derivation apparent. We have, therefore, gained the fullest justification for tracing it to a Hebrew etymology.

But in entering on this discussion, the preliminary question arises—Is the present pronunciation of JEHOVAH correct? Do the vowels affixed to it, in the Hebrew text, belong to *it*, or to *אֱלֹהִים*?

It is antecedently improbable that the pronunciation of יהוה, as JEHOVAH, can be correct. It is historically certain, that the

Jews, from ancient times, held it to be a capital crime, grounded on Lev. xxiv. 16, to pronounce the name JEHOVAH; and that, in reading the Holy Scriptures, they use in its stead יהוה; not as J. D. MICHAELIS supposed, in his *Translation of the Old Testament*, and STANGE, who followed him in *Contributions to Hebrew Grammar*, p. 107, though Michaelis afterwards, in the *Mosaïsches Recht*. § 251, retracted his obviously false opinion, according to a more correct exposition of the passage referred to. As little also, as is commonly maintained (see WINER, s. v. נקב) from a false interpretation of נקב, as if it meant *to utter*, instead of, *to curse*; the phrase נקב יהוה, followed by בְּעֵינָיו, Lev. xxiv. 11, contradicts this; “he uttered the name (יהוה), and then he cursed him;” but generally נקב is not *to curse*; this is always נקח, though it sometimes borrows its forms from נקב (see EWALD, p. 473). The preterite is never used in the sense of *cursing*; there is only an approach to this meaning in the future, where generally verbs in וי incline to those in יז. The ground of the mistake is precisely this, that it has been overlooked how the clause “he who utters the name [Jehovah],” in ver. 16, is sufficiently limited by the context; partly by the reference to the case in question; partly by implication under the general assertion in ver. 15, “Whosoever curseth his God shall bear his sin.” “And thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel, saying, whosoever curseth his God, shall bear his sin, (a phrase, in the first place, expressive of his liability to punishment in general; more definitely, of capital punishment; and, lastly, in the strictest sense of capital punishment, by stoning). And whoever uttereth the name of Jehovah (in the way denoted in the preceding verse, and as a transgressor of the law would do it), he shall surely be put to death; all the congregation shall certainly stone him, as well the stranger as he that is born in the land; when he utters (in this way) the name, he shall be put to death.” According to this false construction, the meaning of the law has been generally understood to be as PHILLO explains it (*De vita Mos.* l. iii. ; vol. iv. p. 227, ed. Richter). “If any one, I do not say, should blaspheme the Lord of men and gods, but should only utter his name unseasonably, let him suffer death,”* εἰ δέ τις οὐ λέγω βλασφημήσειεν εἰς τὸν αν-

* What are we to say, when VON BOHLEN (*Eiul.* p. 103), unhesitatingly sets aside

θρώπων καὶ θεῶν κύριον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τολμήσειεν ἀκαίρως αὐτοῦ φθέγγασθαι τὸ ὄνομα, θάνατον ὑπομεινάτω τὴν δίκην. In the same book, PHILO describes this name as one, "which only those who have ears and tongues purified by wisdom, have a right to hear and to utter in holy places; but no one besides elsewhere," ὁ μόνοις τοῖς ὦτα καὶ γλῶτταν σοφία κεκαθαρμένοις θέμις ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν ἐν ἁγίοις, ἄλλω δ' οὐδενὶ τὸ παράπαν οὐδαμοῦ. Josephus says (*Antiq.* ii. 12, 4), ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαν περι ἧς οὐ μοι θέμις εἰπεῖν. "God announced to him his own name, concerning which it is not lawful for me to speak." The LXX. have substituted κύριος for יהוה, and throughout the Apocrypha and the New Testament JEHOVAH never occurs (compare the passages in the Talmud relating to it in BUXTORF'S *Lex. Chald. s. v.* יהוה, and in DIDYMU, p. 27). As it is certain that the name JEHOVAH was not uttered, so likewise the points affixed to יהוה could not belong to this word. For the points serve solely for utterance, and there is no word to which points are affixed, which is neither to be read nor uttered; where a K'thib and Q'ri exist, the vowels, without exception, belong to the latter. Hence DIDYMU very justly remarks (p. 31), *Propero ad id quod consequitur, nempe a punctis non modo non indicari legendum esse Jehovah, sed argumentum contra exhiberi, unde colligamus, alium quemvis potius fuisse ejus nominis sonum.*

Yet there have been several critics, who, from a misplaced predilection for what has been once established, have ventured to defend the pronunciation JEHOVAH, as the original mode; among these are FULLER, GATAKER, and LEUSDEN (whose dissertations are reprinted in the *Decas exercitationum philol. de pronunciatione nominis Jehovah, c. præf. Relandi*, Utrecht, 1707). But their arguments are mostly of a kind which do not deserve to be quoted. Even some that are at first sight plausible, taken from the יהוה in proper names which are compounded with יהוה, on a nearer inspection, become directly the reverse. This has been pointed out by SCHIED (*ad Ps.* i. p. 56), DIDYMU (p. 45), and

the historically ascertained dread of pronouncing the holy name, and substitutes, as a probable reason, that they were afraid lest hostile priests should banish the divinities away! But the day is gone by for such arbitrary criticism.

lately by HITZIG (on *Isaiak*), and EWALD (his *Smaller Grammar*, 2 ed. § 348.) On the other hand, the principal arguments of those who oppose the pronunciation JEHOVAH (DRUSIUS, CAPPÉL, BUXTORF, (in RELAND), and DIDYMUS) appear incontrovertible. We cannot express them better than in the words of Reland, in the preface to the Collection of Dissertations above-mentioned. 1. *Quia si puncta illa essent propria nominis Jehovah semper ita ei adhaerent; atqui quando concurrat cum Adonai (ne bis legatur adonai, adonai) habet puncta nominis Elohim, et legitur Jehovi.* 2. *Quia praefixa מַלְלֵב non praefiguntur nomini יהוה uti nonimibus Jehuda, Jehoschua et aliis solent, per chirik, sed plane tanquam si praefigerentur nomini אֲדָבִי atque ita יַלְלֵב accipiunt Patach et זֶרֶז Zere.* 3. *quia litterae בְּדִבְרֵי post nomen יהוה Dages lene recipiunt, quod recipere nequeunt, siquidem יהוה Jehovah, quod in litteram quiescentem destitit, olim lectum fuerit.* To these reasons must be added, that the name, if pronounced JEHOVAH, admits of no legitimate derivation, so that we shall have a mere sound without any included meaning, while yet, as soon as יהוה is allowed to be an original Israelitish name of God, it is certain that the word must have a Hebrew etymology. For a name of God as *a primitive* is, as we shall afterwards show, unsupported by any analogy in Hebrew, and absolutely inconceivable. Then, lastly, we shall adduce the reasons to prove that the only correct pronunciation is JAHVEH.

Therefore, if the false vowels are set aside, which form the basis of the current pronunciation,* it now remains to determine the correct vowels, by which the word should be expressed, and originally was really expressed, before that Jewish superstition took its rise, in the times succeeding the return from the captivity.

* We would nevertheless retain this pronunciation for common use. The name JEHOVAH has been naturalised and taken its place in our religious vocabulary. JAHVEH, although *literally* more correct, is *practically* less suitable, since, as matters now stand, in its departure from ecclesiastical usage, it would favour the idea of an Israelitish national God. We cannot avoid an unpleasant feeling in reading Ewald's version of the Psalms to notice the invariable recurrence of *Jahveh*. Even classical philologists would in such a case have a more compliant conscience! On the same principle, no astronomer should talk of the rising and setting of the sun. But write JAHVEH as often as we please, JEHOVAH will retain its place in popular usage. We should therefore act more wisely to write JEHOVAH, and satisfy ourselves with explaining the precise matter of fact.

Several writers, and lately HARTMANN (p. 149), who decides for the pronunciation JAO, have believed that implicit credit must be given to the notices which occur in the heathen and Christian writers of antiquity on this subject. DIODORUS and PLUTARCH, HARTMANN thinks, have faithfully preserved the name; ORIGEN and JEROME have also here drawn from the credible sources of their Jewish teachers. Let us, first of all, present in one view the notices in question. Besides the *Ἰενώ* of PORPHYRY, we find among the ancient writers the readings *Ἰαού*, *Ἰαονέ*, *Ἰαβέ*, and *Ἰαώ*. But of these the first *Ἰαου* is probably to be struck out. It occurs, indeed, in CLEMENS ALEX., (*Stromata* v. p. 666. Oxon., vol. iii. p. 26, ed. Klotz), in the text; but in a catena on the Pentateuch in a Turin manuscript, as DIDYMUS has noticed, the following sentence is found with the name of Clement affixed: *καὶ τὸ τετράγραμμον ὄνομα τὸ μυστικόν, ὃ περιέκειτο οἷς μόνοις τὸ ἄδυντον βάσιμον ἦν, λέγεται ἰὰ οὐδὲ, ὃ μεθερμηνεύεται ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἐσόμενος*. The *ε* probably was put out, because it seemed strange that a name distinguished as *τετράγραμμον* should have five letters. The *Ἰαβέ*, according to THEODORET on Exod. vi. (t. i. p. 133, ed. Hal.), belongs to the Samaritans; *καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Σαμαρεῖται μὲν Ἰαβὲ, Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ Ἀϊά*, which latter form is manifestly not for יהוה, but for יהוהא, Exod. iii. 14, which, perhaps, was uttered by a Jew in answer to the question of THEODORET respecting the pronunciation of יהוה, as he dared not to pronounce the exact word. The reading *Ἰά*, which is found in the Augsburg Codex, collated by SCHULZE, and in the first Greek edition, edited by PICUS, is to be rejected as a mere arbitrary attempt to bring the word somewhat nearer יהוה, especially since the same form also occurs in the catena on the Pentateuch just mentioned, and since, after the explicit statement of THEODORET, that the Jews dared not to utter the name (*τοῦτο δε παρ' Ἑβραίοις ἀφραστον ὀνομάζεται ἀπείρηται γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτο διὰ τῆς γλώττης προφέρειν*), we must be prepared to obtain from the Jews not the pronunciation of the name of JEHOVAH, but only that of a substitute for it. To this must be added, that THEODORET, from his ignorance of Hebrew, evidently confounded יהוהא with יהוה (after the words, *ἔφη γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν; ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν*, he adds without hesitation, *τοῦτο δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις αφραστον, &c.*), and hence could not rightly frame the question. The reading *Ἰαβε* occurs in EPI-

PHANIUS, t. i. p. 296. Lastly, 'Iaō̄ is found in DIODORUS SIC., t. i. p. 105, *ed. Wess*; PLUTARCH, *Symp.*, l. 4, *prob.* 5; Origen in *Dan.*, t. ii. p. 45, *ed. Huetti*; Irenæus on the Abraxas gems, &c.*

We can scarcely imagine how any importance can be attributed to these notices as far as regards the pronunciation of יהוה by the Jews. Their differences (the pronunciation evidently varies in absolute uncertainty as to the consonants יהוה) make them suspicious, and the fact that they collectively belong to an age in which it had long been the national opinion that to pronounce the name was a capital offence—when, therefore, among the Jews themselves the true pronunciation had long ago been lost, so that a solution of the mystery could not be dreamt of—deprives them of all authority. Indeed, the very persons (some of them at least) who communicate the pronunciation, preface it with saying that the name among the Jews was ἄφραστον, *unspoken*.

Keeping these two things in mind, as to the main question, the manner in which STANGE (p. 114) accounts for the existence of these various forms, will appear very deserving of attention. "Everywhere the name JEHOVAH is met with as an inscription. Let us take, for example, the ornament on the forehead of the high priest קדש ליהוה. A Greek or Roman would naturally ask, what do these characters mean? An Israelite must then answer, the first letter is an *i*, the second an *a* or *e*, for ה can express either, the third is an *o*, and the fourth an *a* or *e*. Hence, if the letters are taken *materialiter*, a word is formed *Iaωa*, or *Ieωe*, or *Ieve*, since *cholem* is sometimes expressed by *upsilon*." So far these various forms tell us nothing to the purpose about the pronunciation of יהוה. They are mere transcripts of Hebrew consonants. This view is supported by an expression of Jerome's on Ps. viii., "*Prius nomen domini apud Hebræos quatuor litterarum est, jod, he, vau, he, quod proprie dei vocabulum sonat et legi potest JAHO, et Hebræi ἄρρηστον, i. e., ineffabile opinantur.*" We see here very plainly what ground HARTMANN had for asserting that JEROME had drawn here from the unquestionable sources of his Jewish teachers. The *legi potest* and the *et Hebræi opinantur*

* VON BOHLEN, indeed (*Gen.* p. 102 *Eiul.*) thinks that the Abraxas gems give by their sanctity a sure guarantee for the pronunciation 'Iaō̄! But of what avail is sanctity on a point respecting which *ignorance* is historically verified?

show that JEROME possessed no aids for the pronunciation besides the consonants, and in reference to them was left to himself.

The case is somewhat different with the pretended Samaritan pronunciation which THEODORET communicates. It may be thought that among them the correct pronunciation was retained. Before the period when the superstitious dread of uttering the name יהוה prevailed among the Jews, the Israelitish priests whom they had sent for from their exile to teach them "how they should fear JEHOVAH" אֵלֹהֵינוּ אֵלֹהֵי יְהוָה, 2 Kings xvii. 28, and even Manasseh, formerly a priest at Jerusalem, and of the high priest's family, might have taught the right pronunciation. Yet there is one reason which makes it very improbable that they had retained this pronunciation among them to the time of Theodoret. Among the later Samaritans we find the same dread of uttering the name יהוה as among the Jews. They regularly substitute for יהוה שֵׁמָּה or הַשֵּׁם (*the name.*) See RELAND *de Samaritanis* in his *Dissertatt.* ii. p. 22. DE SACY'S *Memoir*, &c. If, further, we take into account the great dependence we have remarked of the Samaritan theology throughout on the Jewish, especially on the Jewish of Alexandria—the zealous striving of the Samaritans to avoid everything which could serve their opponents as evidence of their not sharing in the privileges of the chosen people—it must appear exceedingly probable, even if we had no historical information on the subject,* that the superstitious avoidance of pronouncing the name Jehovah was not first practised in later times, but became current among them about the same time when the false exposition of Levit. xxiv. 16 was no longer among the Jews, what it originally was, the peculiarity of individual teachers, but ranked among the national customs.

Having thus disposed of the false external grounds of determining the pronunciation of יהוה, let us, without previously look-

* In the *Chron. Samaritanum* e. 2 (compare RELAND p. 31) Moses receives from God a command to consecrate Joshua, and among other things to impart to him the name "per quod profigerentur exercitus et gentes innumeræ." Hence it follows not only that the Samaritans at that time held the name JEHOVAH to be ἁρρητόν, but also that they thought it had always been so. This passage refutes the unfounded hypothesis of BRUNS (*über die Samar.* in STAUDLIN'S *Beitr.* i. p. 89), that they were afraid to pronounce the name only in common life, but in public reading or singing on the Sabbath would express it without scruple. Had this been the case, the name could not have been thought so great a mystery.

ing round for other external authorities, fix our attention on the word itself, and we shall find that the pronunciation יהוה or יהוה, is one (and the only one) which gives a correct grammatical derivation, and at the same time a most apposite meaning.

The form would be the regularly formed future in kal of the verb יהוה = יהוה, *to be*. That we may advance with greater security, we must here first justify the assumption of such a verb as יהוה; especially since EWALD (*Compos.* p. 10), proposes the question, how can the existence of a verb יהוה be proved? and for our object it is not sufficient to point out that he himself afterwards, in his *Smaller Grammar* (2d ed. § 292), tacitly withdrew this question, acknowledged that יהוה was the original form, and admitted the derivation of יהוה for punctuating יהוה.

Now, admitting that no trace remains of the form יהוה, excepting יהוה, there would still be no difficulty in assuming that it existed in the ancient language. For such a later transition of י into ך, has a multitude of other analogical instances in its favour, and shows itself to be founded in the historical progress of the language. "J," Ewald remarks (*Smaller Grammar*, Nicholson's translation, p. 31, § 88) "is somewhat firmer and harder than V, so that in many formations in which a consonant must necessarily always appear, V has been supplanted by J" (compare § 223 and his *Larger Grammar*, p. 390). An example, as analogous as possible, we find in the Pentateuch in the proper name ΕΥΕ, יהוה, *life* (LXX. Καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἀδὰμ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ζωή, ὅτι αὐτὴ μήτηρ πάντων τῶν ζώντων). Of the י in the root, we nowhere else find any trace, and that it had, even in Moses' time, disappeared, is shown by the explanation that follows. Yet no one has made the enquiry, whence can the existence of a verb יהוה be proved? Further, if the Hebrew should fail us, yet the original existence of a root יהוה is rendered highly probable from the fact that both the Aramaic dialects have only the form with י. But the root יהוה, though become obsolete, has left behind evident traces of itself in the Hebrew. Of the verb itself, only the imperative occurs in some passages, and this only in poetry, which prefers the older and antiquated forms, namely, in Gen. xxvii. 29, a passage which plainly, like all benedictions, wears a poetic character: "Be יהוה lord over thy brethren." Job, xxxvii. 6, "For to the snow he saith, יְהוָה־יְהוָה," not as SCHULTEUS

and others translate it, *esto in terra*, or as GESENIUS, *rue in terram*, but “*be earth*,” inasmuch as all is earth which is on the earth. On this passage SCHULTEUS has observed, “*praebet venerandum vestigium antiquitatis quo discimus יהיה et יהיה aequae extitisse ac יהיה* ;” lastly, the imperative feminine יהיה occurs in Is. xvi. 4. As to the future יהיה in Eccles. xi. 3* (as well as the proper name יהוה, *Jehu*, which is to be regarded as a future), we do not consider it as belonging to this place, since the strong Aramaic character of the form, and the book in which it occurs, suggest that it was borrowed from the Syrians. Certainly it is not by mere accident that only the imperative is retained in this ancient form. It is retained exactly where the pronunciation is naturally most rapid, where the utmost brevity and mobility are wanted; here the weak and half-dissolving *h* is still at its post. Two derivative nouns are found in biblical Hebrew, יהיה and יהיה. The derivation of either from יהיה in the sense of *to be* cannot be mistaken. יהיה denoted originally any event, and was afterwards limited to *an evil event, a misfortune*; יהיה passed through the same process, but went a stage farther, and, from meaning *misfortune, an evil suffered*, is deduced the meaning, *the evil that man inflicts*, (MICHAELIS on Micah vii. 3, יהיה *aeque atque עניל proprie aerumnam, metonymice vero nequitiam s. aerumnam activam aliisque inferendam significat*). But יהיה is not very remote in its meaning from the root יהיה. For the meaning *desiderium, cupiditas*, which, following the example of Schulteus, is taken from the Arabic, (see WINER and GESENIUS, *Theo.* p. 379), and attempted to be supported by Prov. x. 3, and Micah vii. 3, is by no means certain. The former passage יהיה רשעים יהיה is to be translated, “and he overturneth the wickedness of the impious;” for, in the Proverbs, יהיה frequently occurs, and always in the sense of *pain, wickedness*; and in Micah the meaning *desire* is not suitable. The following word יהיה is not in favour of it. Moreover, it is to be observed, that both יהיה and יהיה only occur in poetry, which is a proof how much the theme had fallen into desuetude in the later period of the languages. It is to be added, that, in the two pas-

* RELAND (Diss. ii. p. 31), thinks that the anomalous form proceeded from an endeavour to avoid coming in contact with the name יהיה; and for this supposition certainly many analogies may be adduced.

sages, Job vi. 2, and xxx. 13, the original reading, the K'thibh has יהוה, for which the marginal reading the יהוה is arbitrarily substituted, so that, even in poetry, there was a tendency to supplant the ancient form. It is also evident, that, in determining the meaning of יהוה, we must not have recourse to the Arabic, but adhere to the root יהוה in the sense of *to be*; otherwise we must also give to יהוה the sense of *voluit, desideravit, cupuit*.*

But here we must, for a little while, interrupt the course of our enquiry, in order to introduce a remark which may be of importance to us afterwards, and is closely connected with the investigation of the root יהוה. We have already seen that HARTMANN does not allow the name JEHOVAH to be in use before the times of Solomon; others, less extravagant, as EWALD and WINER, believe that it must at least be admitted, that the name was first introduced by Moses. The assumption that אלהים is the earlier and יהוה the later Divine name, may be considered as almost universal. We feel ourselves justified, on philological grounds alone, in decidedly contradicting this view. We have shown that the root יהוה, even in the Pentateuch, appears to have become obsolete. With the exception of the single passage which has been noticed, it is not to be found in Genesis. Of a future יהוה there is no trace. In the explanation of יהוה in Exodus iii., no notice is taken of יהוה, but יהוה is used, exactly as יהוה in the explanation of יהוה. Unless persons pronounce (which few will venture to do) the Pentateuch, in all its parts, to be spurious, so that no inference can be drawn from it respecting the state of the language in the time of Moses, they will be forced to carry back the formation and introduction of the name beyond the Mosaic age, from which another important consequence will follow, that the idea of the Israelitish national God cannot be the fundamental idea. יהוה here also presents an analogy. That remarks, like those of SCHUMANN, יהוה *roocabulum, ut primae mulieri nomen imponeret, non male excogitavit (!) scriptor*—are false, is proved by the name itself, since, as

* All the facts here mentioned VON BOHLEN has passed over, when he urges against the derivation of the name יהוה, as it appears in Exodus, that יהוה is thereby, as in the etymology of Eva (he has not noticed that this name is written יהוה), taken from the Dialects (p. 103). Here, as in many other cases, GESENIUS appears far more unprejudiced, who in his *Thesaurus* ii. p. 370, acknowledges יהוה as decidedly the older Hebrew form.

already noticed, not the slightest trace of the יהוה in the root appears in the Pentateuch, or in all the other books of the Old Testament.

We now resume our enquiry. Let it be settled that יהוה is the future of the verb היה , *to be*, it must be also admitted to mean *He who is to be (for ever)*. The *future* has very often the meaning of continuance “for what continues,” (says EWALD, *Smaller Grammar*, § 264), “is not finished, is always being, again done to an indefinite period.” (NICHOLSON’S *Trans.* p. 138). And this meaning is predominant in the numerous proper names formed from the third person future. This peculiarity has been noticed by SCHEID, on Ps, i. 57. *Jam vero simul tenere licebit, nomina ex futuro formata etiam ipsa per se jam continuitatem durationem firmamque quandam consistentiam indicare, uti egregie in nonnullis demonstratum dedit Simonis, Arcan. formarum, Onom.* p. 308, sqq. The name JACOB, for example, denotes, not a person who has overreached once, but *the overreacher*, Gen. xxvii. 36. The name ISRAEL denotes, not an individual who has once contended with God, but *the God-contender*, whose habitual spiritual character it is to contend with God, and to overcome. Gen. xxxv. 10, compared with xxxii. 29. Thus JABIN, *the intelligent one*; JIBSAM, *the lovely one*; JAIR, *the enlightener*; JAZIZ, *the resplendent one*, &c. v. SIMONIS, s. 419. EWALD, *Larger Grammar*, p. 267. *Smaller Grammar*, § 337. VATKE, indeed, will not acknowledge these analogies. He remarks (p. 671), “We cannot conceive why the *Acirst*, or a nominal form, formed from it, could be chosen; we may suppose this, when a single peculiarity or a characteristic act is employed for designating an individual, as in the name *Jacob*, but not when an unconditioned quality, remaining constantly the same, in accordance with its own destiny, and therefore an essentially distinct thought is to be expressed.” But we do not see why, even in the latter case, the future should be unsuitable. In proportion as a quality is grounded in the essential Being, will its action reach beyond the present and the past; it is continually becoming afresh, so that we must rather say, that in no other name does the future so stand in its full truth and propriety, as in the name JEHOVAH. It is also incorrect that the future, in other proper names, marks merely a single act, or a single unessential peculiarity. A single act it never marks; this would be exactly opposed to the mean-

ing of the future ; and the single peculiarity on which it depends must be in the view of those who assigned the proper name, always the most essential, that which would be the least subject to alteration. The view taken by the ancient Orientals, and by the Scriptures, of the nature of proper names, requires this to be admitted. Its object is, as we shall more fully show afterwards, to fix externally the leading characteristic of the person. Who ever, for example, assigned Jabin's name, wished and hoped that the understanding of the individual so named should be "a quality unconditioned, remaining constantly the same, in accordance with its own destiny," something in him that was constantly renewing youth, and never dying.

But this derivation of the name JEHOVAH, besides its intrinsic necessity, is confirmed by all the passages of Scripture in which a derivation of the name is either expressly given or simply hinted. We will give these passages in an ascending series, that is, beginning with the Apocalypse and ending with the Pentateuch, since it has been attempted, from the passages in the Apocalypse, to extract a different meaning.

1. In the Apocalypse, God is frequently designated as *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, and all expositors agree that these words form a paraphrastic interpretation of יהוה. Several, VITRINGA at their head, maintain that the above-mentioned derivation of יהוה forms the basis of this interpretation ; others, on the contrary, GROTIUS, and, last of all, EWALD, maintain that the author, like the later Jews, considered the word to be compounded of the future, the participle, or the preterite, יהוה יהוה יהוה. Against this latter view, and in favour of the former, we offer the following reasons. 1. If we keep in view the whole method of interpreting the author of the Apocalypse, it is antecedently improbable that he would here indulge in so arbitrary an etymological allusion. This would only in reason be maintained, if no other more natural explanation offered itself. But who could here maintain it, since יהוה, according to the explanation given above, though formally the future, yet practically unites all tenses in itself. 2. The supposition that the author of the Apocalypse followed this interpretation rests upon the assumption that the pronunciation of יהוה as JEHOVAH is correct. For otherwise the participle would not be marked in any characteristic manner, and

we cannot conceive how any one could hit upon such an interpretation. But we have already shown that this assumption is unfounded. If any thing is certain, it is that the vowels of יהוה belong not to it, but to יהי. 3. The authority of the later Jews, which is appealed to, would in itself furnish no evidence. Why should the author of the Apococalypse be mistaken because *they* were so? It was certainly more likely that he should adopt the version of the LXX., who translate יהוה by ὁ ὢν, which PHILO admirably explains: ὁ θεος μόνος ἐν τῷ εἶναι ἐφέστηκεν, οὐ χάριτι ἀναγκαίως ἐρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ εἶμι ὁ ὢν, ὡς τῶν μετ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ὄντων κατὰ τὸ εἶναι, δόξη δε μόνον ὑφεισθάναι νομιζομένων (*Quod det. pot. insid.* p. 184). Moreover, little is to be gained here from the authority of the later Jews. In WETSTEIN, to whom Ewald so confidently appeals, there is not one passage in which this threefold partition of the name JEHOVAH is expressed. All the passages only affirm that the name JEHOVAH alike comprehends the past, present, and future. For instance, the TARGUM of JONATHAN on Deut. xxxii. 39, *Ego ille qui est et qui fuit et qui erit.* TARGUM of JERUSALEM on Exod. iii. 14, *qui fuit est et erit dixit mundo.* That this exposition proceeded from the threefold partition of יהוה is a mere hypothesis first propounded by Jerome. ZANCHI *dei divin. attribitus* l. i. c. 13. And that this hypothesis is false,* that the Jews simply proceeded on the above explanation of יהוה as a future of duration may be proved by express testimonies. In one passage in *Shemoth Rabbah*, quoted by DANZ and DIDYMUS, p. 54, רבי יצחק אמר אל הקבה למשה אמור להם אני שהייתי ואני הוא עכשיו ואני הוא לעתיד לביא לכך כתיב אהיה שלשה פעמים the words, "I am the past, and present, and future," relate not to יהוה but to אהיה, in which it is impossible to find any lingual indication of the three tenses, and show that the meaning imposed on them was quite foreign to the Jews; and that the threefold repetition of אהיה was only intended to point to the riches contained in the אהיה alone, supposing that it is considered only as a future of duration, is shown by a remark of R. Bechai, (*ed. Venet.*

* When the Greeks, according to Pausanias, said of their Zeus, Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσεται, does any one suppose, that in their opinion the name Zeus contained the three tenses?

1544, *f.* 70, DIDYMUS, p. 55), who, after he had made a similar remark in reference to the threefold repetition of אהיה, adds, that the same meaning was contained also in the אהיה alone, ושם אהיה לבדו כולל שלשה זמנים הללו כי מלת אהיה כולל הזמן ההוא ופירושו כאלו אמר אני הוזה וכולל גם כן לעתיד וכולל גם כן לשעבר

The author takes אהיה three times in the sense *I am*, but since God thereby predicates *absolute being* of himself, he at the same time adds the three forms in which this being manifests itself; and the threefold repetition of אהיה serves to indicate this comprehensive meaning.* 4. That the author of the Apocalypse did not imagine that in יהיה the three tenses were lingually united, is plain from his contenting himself in some passages with merely *ὁ ὢν και ὁ ἦν*, and leaving out *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, as we shall afterwards see, since in these passages only the unfolding of his absolute being (expressed by the name יהיה) in the present and past was the object of contemplation. Thus, in ch. xi. 17, where *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is expressed by the Vulgate, but has a manifest preponderance of critical authorities against it; and ch. xvi. 5, where all the critical authorities unite in omitting it. It is also to be observed, that *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* never, as we might otherwise expect, according to this explanation, stands first, and that *ὁ ὢν και ὁ ἦν* alternates with *ὁ ἦν και ὁ ὢν* in ch. iv. 8.

If we wish to penetrate still further into the meaning which John attached to יהיה, we must enquire in what sense he used *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*. Indeed, if it were correct, what expositors almost without exception maintain (compare among the moderns EWALD on Rev. i. 4, and WAHL, *Clariss*) that *ἐρχόμενος* stands simply for *ἐσόμενος*, we should not be advanced a step further. But it can scarcely be supposed that so superficial an assertion can meet with general acceptance. That *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is used in its common meaning is shown, 1. By the context of the passages in which it first occurs, i. 4, 8. God hath given to John to shew unto his servants "things which must shortly come to pass," *ἀ δεῖ γενέσ-*

* Others appeal to *Lib. Jezirah*, p. 50; *Rittang*. But the passage referred to is not from the book Jezirah, but from the commentary of the later writer, MOSES BOTRIL; and even there it is not said that the name comprises in itself the three tenses, but it is said only of God, *ipse est, fuit et erit*; and the succession of the three tenses, יהיה היה יהיה, shows that the author did not think of maintaining the composition of the names from the three tenses, which lately has found an advocate in VON MEYER. (*Blatter*, xi., p. 308.)

θαι ἐν τάχει, ver. 1; “the time is at hand,” ver. 3; now after the coming things τα ἐρχόμενα were announced as at hand, follows the wish of grace and peace from the ἐρχομενος, in and with whose coming the ἐρχόμενα come. In ver. 8, ὁ ἐρχομενος plainly refers to the ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν in ver. 7. That God is He who is to come, as well as the Present and the Past, is the foundation of his announced coming. If it belonged not to God’s nature to be ὁ ἐρχομενος, the ἔρχεται would be a mere fancy.

2. That *God comes*, and that on that account his servants must wait for him in faithful obedience to his commands, in patience, in steadfastness, in hope, is the leading theme of the Apocalypse. Notice for instance ch. ii. 5, 16, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔρχομαί σοι ταχύ; ver. 25, But that which ye have, hold fast, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἤξω; iii. 3, ἤξω ἐπὶ σε ὡς κλέπτῃς, καὶ οὐ μὴ γνῶς, πότιαν ὥραν ἤξω ἐπὶ σε; ver. 11, ἔρχομαι ταχύ, κράτει. κ. τ. λ.; xvi. 15, ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαί ὡς κλέπτῃς; xxii. 7, 12, ἰδοὺ ἔρχομαι ταχύ; ver. 17, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ νύμφη λέγουσιν, ἔρχου! καὶ ὁ ἀκούων εἰπάτω, ἔρχου! ver. 20, λέγει ὁ μαρτυρῶν ταῦτα, ναὶ ἔρχομαι ταχύ ἄμην ἔρχοῦ κύριε Ἰησοῦ! Who can fail to perceive that the appellation in question refers to this leading theme?

3. That the appellation ὁ ἐρχόμενος is founded on Malachi iii. 1, the principal passage that refers to the coming of the Lord in the Old Testament, is extremely probable, from the pervading reference of the remaining passages of the New Testament, where the coming of the Lord is spoken of, to this passage, and it is still more expressly confirmed by the passage in ch. vi. 17, ὅτι ἦλθεν ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίς δύναται σταθῆναι, where the reference to Malachi is quite undeniable.

4. Only on the supposition that ὁ ἐρχόμενος retains its ordinary meaning can we account for its omission in one of the passages we have quoted. The name ὁ ἐρχόμενος = ὁ ἐσόμενος can never cease; the name ὁ ἐρχομενος in the sense of *the Coming One*, on the contrary, must be lost in the names ο ην and ο ων, when he who was to come, has come, when the future of the kingdom of God is converted into the present. Just at the point where this great consummation takes place, ὁ ἐρχόμενος is omitted in the Apocalypse, ch. xi. 17. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβάσίλευσας. VITRINGA remarks on this passage:—“*Dicere volunt constare nunc implementum*

illis vaticiniis, quae ferunt, deum aliquando gloriose et cum omni demonstratione suae majestatis in gratia esse regnaturum—hoc est illud regnum, cujus adventum Christus Jesus nos sperare et a deo prece expetere docuit, illo quidem tempore, coeptum, sed hac periodo consummandum. EWALD—“*Ab hoc inde temporis momento regnum inchoatur divinum perpetuo idem, quod quomodo fiat deinceps explicabitur. Haec igitur sententia omnes visiones ad finem usque xxii. 5, complectitur.*”

In ch. xvi. 5, he who had been ἐρχόμενος receives a tribute of blessing because in reference to a part of his destiny (the punishment of false teaching) he had become present. Indeed it is to be considered that the ὁ ἐρχόμενος, appears not only in the introduction, but in the first Theophany, the scene where the prophet first beheld, like Isaiah (ch. vi.), the glory of God; iv. 8, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄνιος, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος. Then follows a delineation of individual objects by which the ὁ ἐρχόμενος proves himself to be such, until at last he is perfectly come, and faith and hope are merged in sight.

If the meaning of ὁ ἐρχόμενος is settled, the question still remains, with what right and on what grounds the author substitutes ὁ ἐρχόμενος for ὁ εἰσομενος. We can only hint at the answer here, in order not to anticipate the later development. The idea of יהוה is to the author thoroughly practical, essentially different from that which the heathen (as Pausanias states) attribute to their Zeus: Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστὶ, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται. It is an eternity not of rest, but of power, which is attributed to God by the term יהוה. That he *was* and *is* relates to him not as enclosed in heaven, but to the practical manifestation of his being in the past and the present. And since he here makes his eternal existence known by his acts, by rendering his kingdom victorious, the ἐσόμενος is necessarily at the same time the ἐρχόμενος; and it is precisely this view of the Divine Being which imparts consolation and encouragement to the conflicting Church. On the other side of the clouds of heaven HE exists through all the future, who comes on the clouds of heaven to bless and to punish. The language is parallel to that of the Jewish liturgy: יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה יהוה. (See VITRINGA *Synag.* iii. p. 2.)

2. The second important passage in the New Testament is Heb. xiii. 8, ἰησοῦς χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς

τοὺς αἰῶνας. The preceding verse contains an exhortation to think of their believing teachers, and to imitate their faith. Here is the basis of the exhortation. Faith remains always the same; for Jesus Christ remains always the same. Wherefore they were not to be driven about by divers and strange doctrines (v. 9): CRAMER has noticed in this passage the evident contrast between him “*who is always the same*” and “*the divers and strange doctrines.*” It is implied that their teachers had published in its purity the word of God, the truth which is in Christ (see v. 7, *οἷτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ*); and on this implication the author takes occasion to remind them of the folly and sin of attempting to improve that teaching, and of all uncertain vacillation and love of novelties, and points out to them that by such conduct, Christ, who was both the object and author of the teaching they had hitherto received, would be brought down into the sphere of change, and even of non-existence. A truth which has its foundation in Christ must, like him, be eternal. If we compare the paraphrastic expressions for יהוה as we find them in the Apocalypse and in Jewish writings, the reference of this passage to that name cannot admit of a doubt, especially since the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, like the other writers of the New Testament, fully acknowledges the identity of Christ with יהוה, and without hesitation refers to Christ what is said in the Old Testament of JEHOVAH.

3. We find a parallel to this passage in the Old Testament, Mal. iii. 6, יהוה אלהינו לא יִשְׁתַּנֵּה. (See *Christologie*, iii. p. 419.) Since the God of Israel is, and is called the I AM, so in him there is no *παρὰ-λαγή*, ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα. James i. 17, “I change not,” appears only as a consequence founded on “I am Jehovah,” if Malachi has rightly explained the meaning of Jehovah. Absolute being and change are incompatible with one another; only that which is not necessarily existent is subject to change. Thus PHILO—ἴσος γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ ὁμοῖος ὁ θεός, μήτε ἀνεσιῶν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, μήτ’ ἐπί-τασιῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον δεχόμενος.—(*De incorrupt mundi*, p. 950, vol. vi. p. 18, ed. Richter, Lips. 1829.)

4. Equally certain is Hosea xii. 6 (5). *Even Jehovah, God of hosts, JEHOVAH is his memorial.* The prophet here gives the name Jehovah as a pledge, that what the Lord had done for the Patriarchs, was not something entirely past and gone—not merely

history, but also prophecy. But this meaning can only belong to JEHOVAH, if it designates God as the I AM.

5. Probably there is a reference to the name JEHOVAH (as we have explained it) in the two passages of Isaiah xl. 17. All nations are as no-being לֹא־יֵשׁ before Him; and xli. 24, "Behold ye (idols) are of nothing לֹא־יֵשׁ ." God alone is, as his name imports, the pure and true BEING. Whatever stands up in opposition to him, has only the appearance of being, and, viewed more closely, must be regarded as *no-being*.

6. We come now to the primary and most important passage in Exod iii. 13-16, "And Moses said unto God (יְהוָה), behold when I come to the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, the God of your fathers hath sent me unto you, and they shall say unto me, what is his name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses $\text{אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה}$, and he said, thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel; אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה hath sent me unto you. And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, יְהוָה the God of your Fathers, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you; this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial to all generations. Go and gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them יְהוָה the God of your Fathers, &c. hath appeared unto me." From this passage we learn, 1. in general, that יְהוָה is derived from $\text{הוּה} = \text{היה}$. 2. That it is the third person future; for if it be certain that the אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה which God uses when speaking in his own person in the *first* person future, then it is equally so that יְהוָה which he transfers to the people speaking of him, is the *third*. 3. Hence we learn that the name is to be taken in the sense of THE BEING, as the LXX. have interpreted it by $\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$, and that the reason of choosing this name is what JOANNES DAMASCENUS assigns that the $\acute{o} \acute{\omega}\nu$ is the most suitable name of God; $\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho \acute{\epsilon}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega} \sigma\upsilon\lambda\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\nu \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota \tau\acute{o} \acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota, \acute{o}\iota\omicron\nu \tau\iota \acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma \acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\acute{o}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$. Only on the supposition of this meaning being the correct one, can we account for the transition from $\text{אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה}$ to the simple אֲנִי אֶהְיֶה , and are enabled to show that they are both essentially one, that they are expressions of the same thought under different relations, so that if only one is mentioned, the other is implied. This is the first demand we must make, whatever explanation be given, and the surest test of its correct

ness. This is self-evident. Moses, on behalf of the children of Israel, asks God after his name. The name *Ehjah asher Ehjah*, which God first of all expresses to Moses, cannot therefore be essentially different from the name *Ehjah* or *Jehovah*, which he communicates immediately for the children of Israel. Now אהיה אשר אהיה can only be translated, I AM THAT I AM. For the first future אהיה cannot be taken otherwise than the אהיה standing alone, and the יהיה; and if the second אהיה ought to be differently taken from the first, the context ought to give some indication of it, which it does not. What is signified by the I AM THAT I AM, cannot be better shown than in the words of Augustine on the passage: *Esse nomen est incommutabilitatis. Omnia enim, quae mutantur, desinunt esse quod erant, et incipiunt esse quod non erant. Esse verum, esse sincerum, esse germanum non habet, nisi qui non mutatur. Ille habet esse, cui dicitur: mutabis ea et mutantur, tu autem idem ipse es. Quid est ego sum qui sum, nisi aeternus sum. Quid est ego sum qui sum, nisi mutari non possum?* These words of Augustine, while they determine the sense of אהיה אשר אהיה, show at the same time its essential sameness with אהיה and יהיה. If God be he who is, that is always the same, the unchangeable, he is also *the Being*, or *the absolute Being*, and if he be the absolute Being, then is he also the unchangeable, as it is inferred by Malachi, from "I am JEHOVAH," that "I change not." Of all which is relatively *No-being*, it may be affirmed *I am not, that I am*. Everything created remains not like itself, but is continually changing under circumstances. God only, because he is THE BEING, is always the same; and because he is always the same, is THE BEING.* That this, the only well-founded explanation, has been abandoned by several modern expositors, can only be accounted for from its being too deep for them. KOPPE (*prog. ad. h. l. in POTT sylloge* iv. p. 50) allows as much: "*Aliae delabuntur ad sententiam modumque loquendi multo subtiliorem magisque reconditum, quam ut ad*

* By this distinction, the reasoning of VATKE is invalidated (p. 670), who, from the expression, "I am that I am," concludes that the author attributes to the term יהיה the meaning of unchangeability, and then maintains that the idea of unchangeability by no means lies in a simple verbal root. It follows, from what has been said, that the Author had no thought of giving to Jehovah the meaning of "the Unchangeable."

*popularem Mosis doctrinam ulla verisimilitudine referri possent.** But it is certainly easier to rescue this explanation from the objection that it was too deep for the Mosaic age,† than

* Thus also BELLARMINÉ, DE WETTE (*Krit.* p. 182), HARTMANN, VON BOHLEN, (p. 103), and VATKE (p. 671), express themselves.

† This objection could only be valid, if the name thus explained were anything but the concentration of all the statements in the Pentateuch on the being and attributes of God. If the assertion be correct, that Jehovah appears there merely as a national God, then, indeed, this meaning must be given up, as too deep for the Mosaic age. This representation (the nationality of Jehovah) has lately been revived by Von Bohlen (p. 101 *Einkl.* p. 284 *Comm.*) "Jehovah," he says, "held the gods of other nations as his equals, although he overcame them, and (as every nation believed of its tutelary divinity) was more powerful than they, so that such a monotheism could not be called pure." But he could only venture this statement from his ignorance of all that is opposed to a view which was well nigh defunct. Before he could make pretensions to a refutation, he should have, at least, if not confuted, yet noticed what DE WETTE, *Bibl. Dogn.* i. p. 73, had said on the other side, if he had not thought the "prejudiced" JAHN worthy of being heard. Yet we would here bring forward from the abundant materials before us, at least as much as will be sufficient for those who have any pretensions to candour. That the religion of the patriarchs was not a monolatry, but a monotheism in the strictest sense, appears (i.) *positively* from what is asserted of Jehovah in the Pentateuch. Jehovah is Elohim, the God of Israel, and at the same time the Deity—in him is contained *quidquid divini est*. Compare Gen. ii. 2. Jehovah is the God of the spirits of all flesh (Num. xvi. 22; xxvii. 16); he is the Creator of heaven and earth (Gen. ch. 1); his are the heavens, and the heaven of heavens, the earth, and all that therein is (Deut. x. 14); he feeds and clothes the stranger (Deut. x. 17, 18); from him proceeded the blessing which, through the posterity of the patriarch, would come on all the families of the earth; he is the Judge of the whole earth (Gen. xviii). What is now left for other gods, since everything is occupied by Jehovah? They can only be λεγόμενοι θεοί. 1 Cor. viii. 5. They cannot even be, since they have nowhere a sphere of activity, nowhere a sphere of existence, (ii.) *negatively* from what the Pentateuch says of the gods of the heathen. They are called אֱלֹהִים, Lev. xix. 4; לֹא אֱלֹהִים, Deut. xxxii. 21; לֹא אֱלֹהִים, v. 17; גִּלְגִּלִּים, *Stercori*, v. GESENIUS, *Thes.* s. v., Lev. xxvi. 30; Deut. xxix. 16. In support of his assertion, Von Bohlen quotes three passages, Ex. xii. 12; xv. 2; xviii. 2. The last may immediately be disposed of, since it contains an expression of Jethro, who was not an Israelite. Ex. xii. 12, "Against all the gods of Egypt will I execute judgment," is set at once in a right light by CALVIN'S remark, "*deus se judicem fore pronuntiat adversus falsos deos, quia tunc maxime apparuit, quam nihil esset in ipsis auxilii et quam vanus fallaxque esset eorum cultus.*" Who in the world would conclude that he who says, "Christ has conquered the gods of Greece," believes in the existence of those gods, especially if, on many other occasions, he emphatically declared that he held these gods to be the fictions of imagination? The conviction of the nullity of idols cannot be more strongly expressed than in the second part of Isaiah, and yet we find throughout the imagery maintained of a conflict between the true God and idols, in which the latter are overthrown; see, for instance, Is. xlvi. 1. Isaiah in ch. xix. 1,

Behold Jehovah rideth upon a swift cloud,
And shall come into Egypt.
And the idols (אֱלֹהִים) of Egypt shall be moved at his presence.

When, in allusion to the passage before us, he announces the repetition of that great

that of Koppe's, from the objection that is too superficial for our own. He supposes that, by the words "I am that I am," God intimated that his nature could be expressed by no name—that he must therefore have given to the question a *nomen nescio* answer; but that the simple people might have some name to call him by, he allowed them to use this *nomen nescio* for the purpose, and to obviate all difficulties, abbreviated it, so that for אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֲנִי, which fully expressed the intended meaning, merely אֱלֹהֵי or יְהוָה was used, and so an *et cætera* must be always taken for granted after them. A mere statement of this explanation is sufficient to confute it. Moreover, as Rosenmüller has remarked, it entirely loses sight of the contrast in Exod. ch. vi. between יְהוָה and אֱלֹהֵי; the idea that God is nameless is foreign to the Old Testament. A name of such a quality was certainly not suited to administer consolation and encouragement to the Israelites in their condition at that time. On this supposition, the peculiar holiness of JEHOVAH, of his great and terrible name, would have remained unexplained, as well as the relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM. The notion that אֱלֹהֵי and יְהוָה are mere abbreviations is extremely singular. The explanation of the name in the Old Testament itself, in Malachi and Isaiah, is opposed to such an hypothesis. The *consensus* of the ancient translations is against it, which, however they may paraphrase it, all convey the idea of pure, unchangeable, eternal Being. Rosenmüller's interpretation, *ero, manebo perpetuo qui sum*, is opposed by the sameness of the tenses, and by other circumstances which may be easily understood from the preceding remarks. iv. The passage shows very plainly, that the idea of pure, absolute, unchangeable Being, as it is expressed by יְהוָה, is entirely practical, that what God is in himself, is only so far brought into view, as it serves to determine what he is for his people. Only in this light would the name be *ad rem*. The people, in asking after his

catastrophe, he avails himself of the same representation, and yet the name אֱלֹהֵי excludes the meaning that is attempted to be here imposed. On the second passage, Exod. xv. 11, "Who is like unto thee, O Jehovah, among the Elim" (בְּאֵלִים), CALVIN remarks, *Ex professo Moses opponit gentium figmentis unicum deum, cujus vigebat inter filios Abrahamæ religio et cultus*. How, then, can any one maintain that the name יְהוָה, in the sense of THE BEING, was too profound for the Mosaic age? Is the designation of God as the *God of the spirits of all flesh*, less profound? But before men will renounce their prejudices in favour of a tedious natural development, they would rather set facts at defiance.

name, wished to obtain in it a pledge and earnest of what would be granted them by God, of his extraordinary assistance in their greatest straits, and not to satisfy their metaphysical curiosity. "What man is there whom, if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone?" We shall here give merely a hint on this point, that we may not anticipate what will follow; yet we cannot forbear quoting the excellent remarks of Calvin on the passage under consideration: "*Futurum verbi tempus legitur Hebraice, sed quod presentis aequipollet, nisi quod designat perpetuum durationis tenorem. Hoc quidem satis liquet, deum sibi uni asserere divinitatis gloriam, quia sit a seipso, ideoque aeternus et ita omnibus creaturis det esse vel subsistere. . . . Etsi autem de hac aeternitate magnifice disserunt philosophi, et Plato constanter affirmet, deum proprie esse τὸ ὄν, hoc tamen elogium non scite, neque ut decet in suum usum accommodant, nempe ut unicum esse dei absorbeat quascunque imaginamur essentias; deinde ut accedat simul summum imperium et potestas gubernandi omnia.*

*. . . Ergo ut solide apprehendamus unum deum, primum necesse est, quidquid in cælis est vel in terra, precario suam essentiam vel subsistentiam ab uno, qui solus vere est, mutuari. Ex illo autem esse nascitur et posse, quia si deus omnia virtute sustinet, arbitrio quoque suo regit. Docet ergo deus se unum esse sacrosancto nomine dignum, quod perperam ad alios translatum profanatur: deinde immensam suam virtutem commendat, ne dubitet Moses sub ejus auspiciis se fore omnium victorem.**

Before we proceed any further in considering the idea of Jehovah, let us turn to the enquiry on the derivation of יהוה, since an

* By the preceding remarks, VATKE'S assertion (p. 671) is set aside, that the derivation of יהוה from יהי cannot be correct on account of the unsuitableness of the reference to the concrete idea of Jehovah, since infinite subjectivity is a far deeper and richer distinction than abstract being. But the question is not of abstract being, or of the speculative idea of being. That it was unknown to the Hebrews, may be readily granted. It must not be overlooked that VATKE is compelled, on his principles, to contradict the correct derivation of יהוה; we shall then cease to wonder at the quality of his reasons. If the name Jehovah, as he must admit, was of the highest antiquity among the Hebrews, and denotes the nature of God so deeply and so richly, as it was then known by the Hebrews—then the whole scheme of the gradual and step-by-step development of religion among the Hebrews is brought to the ground at a stroke. The perfect is then precisely at the commencement of the development, which cannot have for its object to produce the perfect, but only to appropriate it, and to incorporate it in the national mind.

accurate investigation of one of these names cannot be carried on without a reference to the other.

After EWALD had given his opinion that עֱלֹהִים was perhaps of the same origin as אֱלֹהִים, GESENIUS directly affirms that אֱלֹהִים is a *primitive*, and that עֱלֹהִים is derived from it (*Theol.* i. p. 49). If this view were correct, all hope would vanish of throwing any light on the meaning of אֱלֹהִים from its derivation. The word would then be an arbitrary sign for an idea which then must be found out in some other way. But this view is inadmissible, for the following reasons:—1. The assertion that אֱלֹהִים is a *primitive*, is destitute of all reason and occasion, since the theme אֱלֹהִים, in the sense of *being strong*, has numerous derivations in the language. 2. That אֱלֹהִים was formed from אֱלֹהִים is an arbitrary assertion. Some rare and late formations, taken from Simon's (*Onomasticon*, p. 508), in which the H *quiescens* passes into H *mobile*, can prove nothing. A perfectly analogous example, first ו into ה, and then ה into ו, is not to be found in the whole language. 3. A name of God as a *primitive* is quite inconceivable, and is found in no language. The etymology may be doubtful, the root may be lost, but a derivation, an original meaning, always exists. JAHN has remarked, in reference to the Semetic languages (in the preface to his *Syriac Grammar* in German, 1793, and inserted as an appendix in Oberleitner's Latin Translation, 1820, p. 10), *primitive nouns* only occur in those objects which affect the senses, and especially the sight and hearing strongly and frequently, and consequently arouse the attention; and that this remark in essential points is correct, that the formation of *primitives* only takes place in those objects which fall under the notice of the senses, is shown by the Catalogue of *Primitives*, which is taken (p. xiii.) from AURIVELLIUS. EWALD remarks, in his *Larger Grammar*, p. 225, "If such words do not consist of interjections or imitative sounds, the root is commonly lost on account of some special meaning assumed at a later period."

Having, in this manner, justified ourselves in seeking for the etymology of אֱלֹהִים, since the root אֱלֹהִים has been lost in Hebrew, we find it, if any where, in the Arabic. ٱللّٰه in that language means *coluit, adoravit*, and ٱللّٰه *stupuit, pavore correptus fuit*;

and how the first meaning has been developed from the latter, has been clearly pointed out by SCHULTENS on Job, pp. 3, 4, "*Obsero hanc ipsam rem adorandi, cultu religioso venerandi, videri secundariam ab altera ejusdem radices pavendi stupendive. Nam אלהים etiam per تَحْسِيرٍ attonitus stupuit, et فزع pavore correptus fuit a Gieuhario et Firubazadio declaratur unde אלהים numen tremendum designare apparet.*" Following the example of COCCEIUS and GOUSSET, GESENIUS, in his *Thesaurus*, maintains that the verb was formed later than the noun, and borrowed its meaning from it; but this assertion loses its plausibility, as soon as it is recollected that אלהים, as we have shown above, is necessarily formed from a verb; the Arabic lexicographers, DSHEUHARI for instance, derive, without hesitation, the noun from the verb; if the verb were a derivative, we might expect, instead of the first, one of the derived conjugations, namely, the second or the fifth: moreover, the meaning of the noun which we maintain, if we derive it from the verb in this sense, has no inconsiderable number of analogies in its favour, and is perfectly natural and suitable. "*Fear,*" NITZSCH remarks, "stands at the head of the passive religious emotions; veneration at the head of the active." Examples of appellations of the Godhead which are taken from fear, are given by J. D. MICHAELIS, *Krit. Collegium*, p. 229, and *Beurtheilung der Mittel*, p. 49. Lastly, this derivation appears peculiarly suitable, if we keep in view the historical use of the name אלהים. This name always appears to be the widest and most general, and for this reason we are naturally led to such a derivation. The feeling of fear is the lowest which can exist in reference to God, and merely in respect of this feeling is God marked by this designation. He is the great unknown which infuses fear. Of his interior nature nothing is expressed; the name is merely relative, and, as such, superficial; for the deepest relations of God to man, those which proceed from his holiness and love, are not included in the name. The annexed plural ending leads also to such a vague character, to an investigation of which we now proceed.

Let us first enumerate the various explanations of this plural ending. I. The Rabbins generally explain the plural as *pl majesticus*. R. BECHAI does this very ably and profoundly on Gen. i. 1. אלהים יראשו בעל הכחות בלב, *Elohim. i.e., dominus poten-*

tiarum omnium. . . . Et sic dii sancti ipse. Jos. xxiv. 19, nam ipse complectitur sanctitates omnes. Sic etiam consuetudo lingue est, loqui de dominio humilium (hominum :) in manum קטה אהנים ; idque propter amplitudinem excellentie domini istius, et multas species domini, quod habet ipse. Si hoc dicitur de carne et sanguine, quanto magis de deo, cujus multiplicis domini non est numerus et a quo solo quicumque dominantur dominum suum possident, qui unus est, sed potentie ejus plurimæ.” ABEN ESRA and KIMCHI treat the subject far more rudely and superficially ;* they explain the plural by the *consuetudo honoris*, and compare it with the usage of modern languages. In this form the explanation has been repeated by Gesenius in modern times ; but in its more refined form by EWALD, who, in his latest work, the *Smaller Grammar*, thus expresses himself with a tacit retraction of his earlier statements : “ The word אלהים appears always in the plural in prose from that time (the ancient period before Moses) not so much on account of its resemblance to the idea of *Lord*, as because they conceived the Deity in ancient times as infinitely numerous and divisible, and yet as conjoined.” (Nicholson’s *Transl.*, London, 1836, p. 231.) 2. Following PETER LOMBARD,† some have found in the plural אלהים an intimation of the mystery of the Trinity, a view which has been opposed by CALVIN, MERCER, CAJETAN, BELLARMINI, DRUSIUS, (whose opinions are given in the *Essay de Nonime Elohim* in the *Crit. Sacr.*, vi. p. 2166), BUXTORF (*Dissert.*, p. 270), GEO. CALIXT (*de præcep. Christ. relig. controv.* p. 11) who alludes to the late introduction of this explanation, of which ORIGEN and JEROME were totally ignorant, without being able to supplant an opinion which was favoured by the spirit of the age. It is against this view that it does not serve to explain the use of the name אלהים for the Deity in the most general sense, and is necessarily inapplicable to it. A single passage like that in 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, “ I saw אלהים

* See the passages in Buxtorf. *Theo. Gramm.* p. 434.

† WAGENSEIL, in his *Telis* (Ann. zu Lipm., p. 129, 130), wishes to prove from a passage in the book Rabbot, that the reference of Elohim to the Trinity, on the part of the Trinity, was much older ; but the closer examination of the passage shows that the disputants who were here opposed were not Christians, but either polytheists or scoffers at religion, who endeavoured to puzzle the Jews with their monotheism by the plural אלהים. It is argued against them that the connection with the singular verb ברא אלהים shows that the אלהים cannot denote a plurality of persons.

ascending out of the earth," where even the idea of Divinity is too definite; where it conveys only the vague notion of *unearthly*, not *human*, is sufficient to settle this point. Moreover, we find that אלהים is used for particular divinities.* 3. Others, as LE CLERC, HEIDER, DE WETTE, (*Beitr.* i. 197). EWALD in his earlier writings (*Composition d. Genesis kritisch untersucht*, 1823, p. 32, 33, and *Larger Grammar*, p. 641) HARTMANN (p. 122) maintain that the name originated in polytheism. From that system the religion of the Israelites was formed slowly and by degrees, and the name ELOHIM is a memorial of its descent. On the other hand—that such a gradual formation of the Old Testament out of polytheism contradicts all history—that the consequence of this view that ELOHIM would be the earlier, and JEHOVAH the later appellation (see Hartmann, p. 141) is proved to be not only unsupported, but totally false, since there is good reason for believing that both names existed from early times contemporaneously; that at least the Israelites could have no conception of such an origin of the name JEHOVAH, for otherwise, in those times at least in which it is universally admitted that monotheism had taken firm root among them, they would carefully have abstained from this name—a people who, viewed from a certain position, may be justly reproached with intolerance, but never with indifference; that the authors of the Holy Scriptures, if they always continued to make use of this name without any scruple, must have proceeded on a different etymology, which, if then agreeable to the language, must have been acknowledged as the original one, until another had been proved to be such with an overpowering necessity; that from this view the remaining plural designations of God cannot be explained. As, for example, אלהי משה , Job. xxxv. 10, "*God my Maker*," באוריאל , *thy Creator*, Eccles. xii. 1, אלהי בניך , *thy husband is thy Creator*, literally *mariti tui sunt facto-*

* Yet it is not to be denied that this erroneous view involves a portion of truth. The plural form, as it indicates the infinite riches, the inexhaustible fulness of the Godhead, serves to combat the most dangerous enemy of the doctrine of the Trinity, that abstract monotheism of which Schelling (*Über die Gottheiten von Samothrace*, p. 87) admirably says, "Mohammedanism may indeed be called monotheism, which only allows one personality or one simple power to the name of God. That this is not in the style of the New Testament requires no proof; that it is not agreeable to the Old Testament, see *Weltalter*, Th. i." Since *Elohim* is opposed to this view, which, in many respects, stands below polytheism, it contains certainly the germ of the doctrine of the Trinity.

res tui, Is. liv. 5. According to EWALD (*Larger Grammar*, p. 641), these names must be of a later poetic formation after אֱלֹהִים. But this view would have an appearance of probability, only if the passages were of the same kind as Ps. lviii. 12. "ELOHIM only is אֱלֹהִים upon earth;" for we might suppose that the ELOHIM, standing there alone, had exercised an influence on the term. But since, in the passages above quoted, אֱלֹהִים does not appear there, designations of God like אֱלֹהֵינוּ (literally *my lords*), must be regarded independently of the ELOHIM, and every explanation of the latter must be regarded as false, which will not equally apply to them, and give a satisfactory account of them. Lastly, all the analogies of language are against the two last views, by which the first is shown to be correct.

There is in the Hebrew language a widely extended use of the plural, which expresses the intensity of the idea that is conveyed in the singular. To this peculiarity belong, 1. The use of the plural in the formation of the abstract nouns, on which Ewald remarks in his *Smaller Grammar*, p. 225, "The plural seems to collect the scattered individuals into one higher idea, so that it touches very closely on the idea of the abstract;" and, in his *Larger Grammar*, p. 326, "The method of thus expressing the abstract by the plural appears even older and more sensuous than that which is more frequent in the language, to employ the feminine singular for the abstract." The abstract, forming the quintessence of the separate individuals, becomes equivalent to a plurality of them, and is regarded as comprehending them in itself. 2. The use of the plural also for the individual being, the individual thing, when in this the idea comes fully apparent, as happens in a multitude of appearances, so that the thing exists according to this multiplicity. This use borders closely on the preceding. One such individual being is the incorporated abstract; the contrast of *the abstract* and *the concrete* is lost in it. To this class belong, first, the nouns which have the idea of dominion or possession, such as אֱלֹהֵינוּ and אֱלֹהֵיךָ. It is worth noticing that these in general are used for individuals in the plural only with suffixes (אֱלֹהֵינוּ, "a cruel lord," Is. xix. 4, is an exception), GESENIUS *Lehrgr.* p. 663; EWALD'S *Smaller Grammar*, p. 226. For that which is ruled over, or possessed, concentrates in itself the idea of rule, of possession in some one ruler or possessor. This is equal to a whole number. Ana-

logous is our *Herrschaft, Verwandschaft, Bekanntschaft*. But the use goes far beyond these individual classes of nouns, at which a stop is usually made. One of the most remarkable examples is חֵכֶם in the Proverbs, as a designation of wisdom $\kappa\alpha\tau' \epsilon\acute{\xi}\sigma\chi\eta\nu$, the *sapientia hypostatica*, in whom he hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. EWALD, indeed, in his *Smaller Grammar* (§ 344 Nicholson's Transl. p. 217) would construe this חֵכֶם as singular, but the reasons for the contrary are, 1. That no certain trace of such a form of the singular can be found. 2. The connection with the plural. Ps. xlix. 4 (3). My mouth shall speak חֵכֶם , and the meditation of my heart shall be חֵכֶם ; though Prov. xxiv. 7 must be doubtful. 3. חֵכֶם in the Proverbs is never used for Wisdom as an attribute, but always for the *sapientia hypostatica*. חֵכֶם in ch. xiv. 1, is to be construed differently. It is the construct state of the plur. fem. "The wise of women builds her house"—"the wise of women" being here used as a collective noun. The correct explanation of the plural חֵכֶם has been given by Michaelis, "*Pluralitativus nominis habet emphasia, significans ingens aliquid ac πολυποίκλον, Ephes. iii. 10, sicut mortes, Is. liii. 9, et salutes, Ps. xlii. 12, Intelligitur autem is, in uno sunt omnes sapientie et cognitionis thesauri, Col. ii. 3, increata nimirum, incomprehensa et hypostatica sapientia*. Then there is חֵכֶם , as a designation of the hippopotamus. Whether the word originally had an Egyptian etymology, is as doubtful as it is indifferent for our object. (It is time at last to check the good-nature with which such Egyptian etymologies have been taken from JABLONSKY and others.) For it is certain that the word in its present form must be considered as the plural of חֵכֶם , and that "the firstling of the ways of God" חֵכֶם is distinguished by this name, because in him the idea of the brute creation was realized, in him, as it were, the whole brute creation was concentrated. Further, the *Urim and Thummim*, by which the LXX. ($\delta\eta\lambda\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, JEROME, *doctrina et veritas*, and LUTHER, *Licht and Recht*) acknowledges that the plural is no common plural. The highest *medium*, by which Israel became a partaker of light and infallible truth, is designated as the assemblage of all light, and all blamelessness and infallibility, as light and infallibility in the highest intensity. 4. If, in relation to earthly objects, all that serves to represent a whole order of beings

is brought before the mind by means of the plural form, we might anticipate a more extended application of this method of distinguishing in the appellations of God, in whose being and attributes there is everywhere a unity which embraces and comprehends all multiplicity. And this we find to be the case on closer examination. God is distinguished (Mal. i. 6) as אֱלֹהִים Lord in the highest sense, Lord of all lords, and as it were comprehending all lords in himself. The name אֱלֹהֵי, literally *my lords* (only pointed thus to distinguish it from אֱלֹהֵי, because that is used in speaking of *human lords*)—is never applied to *one* human lord—to avoid placing human lords on an equality with God, is pointed with Kametz, and is one of the standing appellations of God. To the examples already adduced, we add another; JEHOVAH is שֹׁמֵרֵיךָ literally “*thy keepers*,” thy keeper in the highest sense, who comprehends in himself all keepers, who realizes in perfection the idea of keeping, Ps. cxxi. 5. Then the passage in Prov. ix. 10, “The fear of JEHOVAH is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Most Holy (קְדוֹשִׁים רַעִי) is understanding;” when Michaelis (contrary to the parallelism and the parallel passages in Hosea xii. 1 (xi. 12), in which קְדוֹשִׁים stands parallel with אֱלֹהִים, and in Joshua xxiv. 19, JEHOVAH—for he is a holy God (אֱלֹהִים קְדוֹשִׁים)—explains רַעִי קְדוֹשִׁים by “*cognitio, quæ sanctos facit et sanctis propria est* ;” עֲלֵינוּם, in the sense of *the Most High*, in Chaldee; and, lastly, אֱלֹהִים in Ps. xxix. 1, where every effort to escape the *plural majestatus* is vain. EWALD (*Psalmen*, p. 101) maintains that the plural is twice expressed in the phrase בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים “once, in the first member, where it is easiest, especially according to the meaning of בֶּן, and again in the second.” But, for so illogical a reduplication of the plural, not a single analogy can be produced; and a plural בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים is inconceivable, since the two words are not formed into a *nomen compositum*, which can only happen by the greatest frequency of use. The phrase בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, after which בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, is manifestly formed only as a poetical form, also favours an opposite conclusion, so that the plural in both cases must necessarily be explained in the same way; as a lifeless imitation of אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹהִים cannot be considered, and, for the same reason, the root, of which the plural appears in ELOHIM, could not be obsolete.

If we keep all these analogies in view, the use of the plural in אֱלֹהִים cannot admit of a doubt. It answers the same purpose which

elsewhere is accomplished by an accumulation of the Divine names, as in Joshua xxii. 22, אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה. The thrice holy in Is. vi. 3 ; אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי in Deut. x. 17. It calls the attention to the infinite riches and the inexhaustible fulness contained in the one Divine Being, so that, though men may imagine innumerable gods, and invest them with perfections, yet all these are contained in the one אֱלֹהִים.

The plural אֱלֹהִים is accordingly, in some respects, more comprehensive than the singular אֱלֹהִים,* of which the infrequent occurrence may be accounted for, on the ground that, according to the original meaning of אֱלֹהִים, which did not enter into the interior of the Being of God, the plural was needed as an essential perfectionating and extension of the idea, and perhaps also that the singular was first formed from the plural, at a time when, to represent the personality of God, other names were in use. Only in Job אֱלֹהִים is found more frequently, because the author, according to his plan, could not use Jehovah, and אֱלֹהִים, if used invariably, would be monotonous.

But, on the other hand, the plural is also lowering. It could not, with propriety, be employed in a name of God, which, like JEHOVAH, is intended to express the innermost being of God, the essence of his personality. It is in place only where regard is had to the plenitude of power, and in it all other things—unity, personality, holiness, are forgotten.† It forms a kind of analogy, when for the *person* of an earthly king, is substituted the state, the government, the authority. Thus also, what on one side is considered an ascending scale of authority, if viewed on another

* The two passages Is. xxii. 22, and Ps. l. i, are worthy of notice in this connection, while the three names אֱלֹהִים (= אֱלֹהִים) אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים form a climax, so that אֱלֹהִים is the lowest designation, אֱלֹהִים the highest, אֱלֹהִים the middle. The climax is from אֱלֹהִים through אֱלֹהִים to אֱלֹהִים. Several critics, very lately EWALD (*Psalmen*, p. 238), consider אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים as in the construct state, "God of Gods." But the accents are opposed to this interpretation, and besides, as COCCEIUS has remarked, we might expect to find אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים as elsewhere. The comparison requires a similarity in the appellation of the objects compared.

* The idea of אֱלֹהִים sinks to the lowest point in 1 Sam. xxviii. 13, where the witch of Endor says to Saul, "I see Elohim ascending קָלִים out of the earth." Here nothing remains but the vague notion of an unearthly, superhuman power, which the woman beheld entering into the sensible world in one appearance. How much those who have not correctly understood the fundamental nature of Elohim, are at a loss on this passage, may be seen in the remarks upon it by KIMCHI, GROTIUS, and SEB. SCHMID.

side, is a descending scale. An analogy of the same kind is our Deity. However comprehensive this designation is, no one would easily use it in a truly devotional prayer, with a sense of the exceeding nearness of God.

We shall now attempt to determine exactly the relation of יהוה and אלהים. The first point to be examined is, whether the two names existed contemporaneously from the beginning, or whether אלהים was originally the only designation of God, and יהוה was introduced at a later period.

The first view is supported by the following reasons. 1. The language itself. We have already shown that, from considerations of language, יהוה could not have come into use first in the Mosaic age. Then, 2. The constant use of this name along with אלהים in Genesis, from the very origin of the human race, and in the first chapter of Exodus. That this use cannot be explained as LE CLERC and others suggest, by prolepsis, is evident from the circumstance that we do not find it merely where the author speaks, but also where the persons to whom the history relates are introduced speaking. All these passages furnish an indirect but not obscure intimation of the author respecting the originality of יהוה. And this often repeated historical testimony must be regarded as valid, until, from other grounds, the author has been convicted of error. The supposition of a prolepsis is a mere attempt to disturb the point of view, to evade this evidence, and the concession that the vindicators of the antiquity of the name Jehovah are in the right. 3. Although in Genesis the composition of *nomina propria* with אל is throughout predominant, which indicates that the knowledge of יהוה was yet feeble and vacillating; that men did not yet properly venture to associate Him, the High and Holy One, with earthly things, and satisfied themselves in what was constant and invariable, rather with the lower and more general names of God, which corresponded to the general and prevailing state of religious knowledge and sentiment, yet at least there is one *nomen proprium* which indisputably is compounded with יהוה, namely *Moriah*, exactly that in which the יהוה could with least propriety be wanting, whether we look at the first great event by which the place was consecrated in the Patriarchal life, or keep in view the later historical development. That the name was first

formed on the occasion of the event mentioned in Gen. xxii., is expressly stated in i. 14, so that the use of it in ver. 2 must be considered as proleptic. The name is compounded of the participle in hophal of the verb ראה and of an abbreviation of יהוה, literally, *the shown of Jehovah*; that is, the appearance of Jehovah. This derivation is supported by, 1. The only admissible etymology, joined with the demonstrable falsehood of any other. The hophal of the verb ראה occurs in the Pentateuch four times, and nowhere else, and certainly in the sense of *being caused to see*. Thus Exodus xxv. 40, "Their pattern which *was shewed thee*" ("thou wast caused to see." Marg.) אֲשֶׁר אָפָה לְרֵאֵהָ בְּרָאָה; xvi. 30, "the fashion which *was shewed thee* אֲשֶׁר הִרְאִיתָּהּ עַל הַר הַצִּיּוֹן." Deut. iv. 35, Unto thee it *was showed* that thou mightest know אֲפָה הִרְאִיתָּהּ לְדַעַתָּה that the Lord he is God." Lev. xiii. 9, And shall *be showed* unto the priest, וְהִרְאִיתָּהּ אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן. That the participles of the passive conjugations frequently are used as substantives is well known. The following are analogous examples: מִשְׁתָּה, *the stretched out, the stretching out*, Isa. viii. 8; מִדְּמָה, *the darkening*, and מִדְּמָה, *the oppressing*, v. 23; מִדְּמָה, *persecution*, xiv. 6. Compare Ewald's *Larger Grammar*, p. 257; WINER'S *Gram.* p. 189. The objection of MICHAELIS (*Suppl.* p. 1551), that in Abraham's time, although the name יהוה was known, yet its abbreviated form יי was not, is quite baseless, since no proof can be given of the later introduction of this abbreviation. It appears also in the Pentateuch in a separate form (Exod. xv. 2); and assuming the pronunciation יְהוֹה as correct, it is most easily formed, and in a proper name, where there is a natural tendency to shorten, must be formed spontaneously. The trifling deviation from the common form of *the participle hophal* has been sufficiently justified by FULLER (*Miscell.* ii., c. 14). As to other derivations, in refutation of SIMONIS, who (p. 414) appeals to the LXX. (εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλήν) and *Aquila* (καταφανῆ), and takes the word as feminine, from מִדְּמָה, *clatus*; besides the reasons already adduced by Fuller against these ancient translations, vox *Hebraea perperam ab utraque versione pro nomine adjectivo habetur, cum revera substantivum existat ut vel ipsa constructio delucide satis indicat* (in Genesis הַמִּצִּיבֵי הַמַּוֹדֵי, in Chronicles הַיְהוּדִים הַמִּצִּבֵי)—it may be observed that no trace whatever exists of a verb מִדְּמָה or מִדְּמָה in the sense of *being high*. Both the version

of Symmachus, εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ὀπτασίας, and that of the Vulgate, *in terram visionis*, are opposed by the non-occurrence of *ראה* in the sense of *visio*, and the irregularity of the formation. *Secondly*, This derivation and meaning of the name is alluded to in 2 Chron. iii. 1, "Then Solomon began to build the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah, where he appeared to David his father, *אֶשְׁרֵי נִרְאָה לְדָוִד אָבִיהוּא*; compare 1 Chron. xxi. 16, "And David lift up his eyes, and saw the angel of Jehovah stand between the earth and the heaven" 1 Sam. xxiv. 17. The name Moriah had been revived under David; the appearance of the Lord, of which it was a memorial, had been repeated to him. On this account Solomon chose exactly this spot for the sanctuary of the Lord. According to the current interpretation, indeed, (J. H. MICHAELIS, *qui ostensus fuerat Davidi patri ipsius*; and thus DE WETTE, WINER, and others; but J. D. MICHAELIS in his *Supplem.* p. 1552, gives the correct version), this passage could not be used for our purpose, and in fact has been employed by SCHUMANN and others to oppose the right view. But the impropriety of this interpretation is most evident. *ראה* in *niphal* cannot mean *was shown*, but only *was seen, appeared*; the meanings of *showing* and of *being shown* belong only to *hiphil* and *hophal*. *Thirdly*, This derivation forms the basis of the passage in Gen. xxii. 14. "And Abraham called the name of that place JEHOVAH JIREH, *the Lord will see*, as it is said to this day, in the mount of Jehovah *he will appear*." The name of the place, in its peculiar form, occurs in v. 2, and is assumed to be universally known. For this reason an explanatory paraphrase is substituted for it in *ראה יראה*; and, in such a case, throughout Genesis, it is usual to give not a strict etymological derivation, but only an allusion to the etymology. That *God's seeing* here, where it is mentioned with a reference to v. 8, is only so far noticed as it is inseparately connected with his *being seen*, his *appearing*, the following words prove: "As it is said to this day," &c. The hope of the future appearing rests upon the certainty of the present appearing. On Moriah, the place of God's appearing, he has appeared, and there faith hopes he will manifest himself in the future. Thus the expression, "as it is said to this day," &c., is to be regarded as a prophetic anticipation, on account of Exod. xv. 17, where this anticipation, the hope of a future and more

glorious revelation of God upon the site of the former, is yet more clearly expressed, "Thou shalt bring them in and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established." ABEN EZRA'S and ROSENMÜLLER'S interpretation of הר *terra Cananæa montosa*, deserves no attention. That the Mount Moriah, as the place which the Lord would hereafter choose for the habitation of his name, is intended, the two following clauses show plainly enough. It might, to be sure, be said, on the other hand, that the author had transposed to the patriarchal times a name of later origin, but this objection would only have force if other decisive reasons rendered it necessary to fix the origin of the name Jehovah in a later age. Thus much may be inferred with certainty from the occurrence of the name Moriah, that the writer never imagined a later origin of the name Jehovah, and with his authority on our side, we need not be alarmed at every slight attack.*

* What VON BOHLEN (*Eint.* p. 104) has adduced in favour of his scheme of the first "Rise of Jehovalism" in the days of David and Solomon, scarcely deserves the name of argument. He appeals to proper names, that, first with and after David, came into use compounded with יהוה . Every one immediately thinks of *Joshua* (יְהוֹשׁוּעַ); and Von Bohlen does not forget, but naturally avails himself of the fact, that he was originally called Hoshea. This is indeed correct; but if the name Joshua was not a product of the Mosaic age, if it had not been given him, as the Pentateuch informs us, by Moses himself, how did it obtain universal acceptance among the people? It would be carrying mythical notions to an extravagant length to maintain that the nation had never retained the right name of their distinguished commander-in-chief—that he received a new name in the age of David or Solomon. Yet let us now turn from what the author thought, to that, which escaped him, who so often asserted without examining, and that with inconceivable confidence. No small number of *Nomen. propr.* in the times preceding David are compounded with יהוה at the beginning. Thus Jochabed (*domini gloria*, v. SIMONIS, p. 517) the mother of Moses, whose name certainly was not of later formation; Joash, the father of Gideon, Jud. vi. 11; Jotham, Gideon's youngest son, Judg. ix. 5-7; Jehonathan, priest of the Danites in the time of the Judges, Judg. xviii. 30; another Jehonathan, 1 Chron. ii. 32, and so several more. Besides these are those names that stand on the same footing, which have an abbreviated Jehovah at the end, as Morah—Abijah the son of Becher, the grandson of Benjamin—Bitjah, &c. Thus much, however, is correct, that, as LÖSCHER (*de causis l. Heb.* p. 62), has noticed, names compounded with יהוה become much more frequent from the time of Samuel. But this lends no support to Bohlen's view, and is easily explicable from facts, which the accredited history presents to us. Owing to the prevalent view in Israel of the close correspondence of names and things, it could not be otherwise than that the powerful theocratic excitement in the times of Samuel and David would create a demand for the composition of *nomina propr.* with the theocratic name of God; and what

The only argument which the opponents of the ancient origin of the name JEHOVAH can produce, rests on the passage in Exod. vi. 2, which we must here quote at length, since we intend to commence with it in the examination that follows on the internal relation between יהוה and אלהים. “And ELOHIM spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I, JEHOVAH. And I appeared unto Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, as EL SHADDAI, בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי, and by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them, שְׁמִי יְהוָה לֹא נִדְעָתִי לָהֶם. And I have also established (וְגַם הִקְדַּמְתִּי) my covenant with them, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage,

at first proceeded from living reasons, would in aftertimes (which leant upon that period, so splendid both internally and externally) be adopted from standing usage. What an effect the state of the public mind has on names, has been exemplified clearly among ourselves by the relation of names, in an age of unbelief, to those of the preceding believing times. Since the *nomina propr.* with Jehovah had not yet had sufficient time to become naturalized, and since, in the period of the Judges, only a few living roots were in existence from which such names could be formed, we could not expect beforehand to find them very numerous at that time. VON BOHLEN, moreover, appeals to ancient phrases, such as the form of an oath and proverbial expressions, that still adhere to Elohim. Here we have only to notice the form of an oath; for as to proverbial expressions he appeals only to ch. xxx. 2, “Am I in God’s stead?” (v. *Comm.* p. 294), where Elohim, as we shall see in the sequel, must stand, on account of the contrast. But in reference to the form of an oath אֱלֹהִים אֶל־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי, &c., it is to be observed, that it was not used at all in solemn oath-takings, where always the appeal is to יהוה, but for protestations in ordinary life. Here, from a religious dread of an abuse of the name of God, the most general designation was intentionally employed, a proceeding for which analogies may be found among other nations. The most ancient Greeks, for example, swore merely *ναὶ τὰν per illam*, without uttering the name of the goddess. (*ναὶ τὰν, οὕτως οἱ ἀρχαῖοι, θεῶν ὀνόματα μὴ προστιθέντες.* HESYCHIUS). Among the Hebrews the frequent total omission of the form of an oath, and using the mere hypothetical particle אִם, *if*, was only a stronger operation of the same motive which occasioned the use of אלהים in the form of an oath. When Von Bohlen still further maintains that the idea of Jehovah presupposed the time of princely splendour, the assertion will apply not specially to Jehovah, but to the whole Israelitish idea of God. But how can it be denied that the Israelites from the beginning of their national existence, without having kings of their own, had before their eyes an earthly substratum of the kingly power of God, which God so essentially inhabited that it only required a little excitement in order to complete the requirements of religion in this respect? The patriarchs stood in constant intercourse with kings; Moses grew up in a palace in the midst of princely splendour. When, finally, Von Bohlen adduces, that in the Psalms of Korah, Elohim is almost the exclusive name of God, one scarcely sees what inference he means to draw, since he will not transpose these Psalms, which in part belong to a very late period, to the times preceding David. Any one who would argue on such grounds with a total blindness to the internal difference of Jehovah and Elohim, must also maintain that Jehovah was not yet come into general use at the time of the composition of Ecclesiastes.

wherein they are strangers. And I have also heard (יגִי־עֲרֵב) the groaning of the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage; and I have remembered my covenant. Wherefore, say unto the children of Israel, I am JEHOVAH, and I will bring you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians, and I will rid you of their bondage, with a stretched out arm, and with great judgments; and I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God, and ye shall know that I am JEHOVAH, your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it you for an heritage; I, JEHOVAH."

From JOSEPHUS down to HARTMANN it has been the opinion of several critics that this passage states explicitly that the name JEHOVAH was not known to the fathers of the Israelitish nation; others, as CALVIN, do not consider this passage as proving such a statement. "*Neque,*" says CALVIN, "*tamen deus h. l. per nomen syllabas v. literas intelligit, sed gloriæ et majestatis suæ notitiam, quæ major et amplior resplenduit in ecclesiæ redemptione, quam in ipso foederis exordio.*"

We must here premise, before deciding the special question, a general inquiry respecting the biblical meaning of the term *name*, since this is necessary to the former. We believe that we may indulge in some fulness with less hesitation, since the investigation will be of importance for other topics in the Pentateuch belonging to an *Introduction*; and it seems most suitable to enter into details here, to which we can refer in the sequel.

In the interpretation of מִצֵּי ὄνομα there is danger of a twofold mistake. Some persons transfer to the Scriptures the separation of the name from the thing, as has become customary among us through misuse, and therefore regard מִצֵּי ὄνομα entirely in the superficial sense of *name*. Thus, for example, VITRINGA, who, in his *Obs. ss. i. p. 813*, remarks on the phrases being baptised εἰς ὄνομα and ἐν ὀνόματι: "*Alterum valet ad id baptizari, ut quis nomen illius personæ, in cujus nomen baptizari dicitur, colat, prædicet, celebretque; alterum alicujus jussu et auctoritate baptismi sacramentum accipere, et per id religioni Christianæ initiari.*" BINDSEIL on the baptismal formula, *Stud. 1832, p. 410*, explains

leading by baptism into the name of any one is to cause a person to be called after another. Others fall into the opposite extreme, while they do away with all difference between the name and the thing, *to be called*, and *to be*, and without further inquiry maintain that the name stands pleonastically, that it is a mere paraphrase. Commonly the two opposite errors are made use of by the same persons in different passages, according as the one or other point overlooked in one of them, seems explicable by means of the other. Thus MAIMONIDES (*doct. perpl.* p. 115, ed. Buxtorf) "*Scito nomen domini quandoque significare solum et nudum nomen, ut quando dicitur: non assumes nomen dei tui in vanum. Item, qui expresserit nomen domini et sic saepissime. Quandoque vero significat essentiam et veritatem ejus ut: et dicent mihi: quod est nomen ejus.*" Only a few persons have adopted the right view which is applicable to all passages; thus, for instance, OLSHAUSEN on Matt. xviii. 19, "*ὄνομα* is the personality, the essential being, and that not in its state of not recognising, or not being recognised, but in its manifestation." THOLUCK, (*Bergpredigt*) "*ὄνομα* originally denoted in the Old Testament what is actual in the conceptions of man;" "man seeks to express by names the whole extent which he gives to things." NITZSCH (*System*, § 64), "God's name, or name simply, Exod. xxiii. 21; Levit. xxiv. 11, 16, is the revelation and presence of God in his Word and in his Church." Von MEYER (*Blatter* viii. p. 238), "To be named by God, and according to God's will, is not only as much as, but more than *to be*; it is the unveiling of the Being."

That the present relation of the name to the thing is unnatural, and therefore not original, is shown by the verbal wit which by this relation gains credit—the attention it excites, when the name and thing exactly correspond, or stand in sharp contrast—the endeavour, when new names are given, to place them in close reference to the thing, and even by nicknames to cure the craving which is not satisfied by proper names.

This craving, which now by custom has for the most part been brought to silence, was prodigiously active in ancient times. "In an age," CREUZER remarks, "when the art of writing was not known, when it was desired to hand down to posterity a memorable action or event, or the remembrance of a distinguished man,

the choice of a suitable name was the means of aiding the recollection." Thus HOMER,

τόν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, ἀντάρ οἱ ἄλλοι
'Ἀστυνάκτ'· οἷος γὰρ ἔρύτετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

IL. vi. 402.

. Him Hector called
Seamandrios, but Astyanax all else
In Ilium named him, for that Hector's arm
Alone was the defence and strength of Troy.

(COWPER.)

The same writer, in reference to the significance of all names in Sanscrit, reprehend's LANGLES (in MILLIN'S *Magaz. Encyclop.* 1807), and observes (p. 117), "The busy power of imagination, especially among the Orientals, which so readily paints with lively colours, and especially the passions, which address themselves so powerfully to the senses, chose such speaking names and allusions."

But the view of the significance and importance is exhibited most strikingly in the case of the Hebrews, and among them most strongly in Genesis. And quite naturally; for in proportion as a child-like simplicity marks the human character, will be the strength of intuition. Reflection will exert a less powerful control; the contact with the external world will be more lively and immediate; and as the impressions of it are stronger, so much more powerful will be the impulse to express by a name, not what a thing is in itself, but what it is to the individual, which represents and comprehends for him the thing, as far as it is for him. It follows that the same thing may obtain different names, according to its different relations—that when the thing alters, so does the name, so that the newness of the situation may be distinguished by the reception of a new name; compare, for instance, Is. lxii. 2, lxxv. 15; Revel. ii. 7, iii. 12; that the name is always fleeting and changeable, so that it is considered as given anew, when the Being to which it is applied makes itself known afresh in a lively manner; that by the authors of the Sacred History a particular attention is paid to names, which, according to what has been remarked, must form the nucleus of the whole history; that God himself, in his revelations, allows names to occupy an important place. He himself not unfrequently fixes

the names, or, when this is not the case, yet there is generally some secret superintendence in reference to them (*ex. gr.* Saul, David, Solomon), so that in the whole history of revelation, there scarcely occurs an unmeaning name belonging to any person of importance. *

To confirm and illustrate the preceding remarks, we will examine in detail every thing important on this subject that is contained in the book of Genesis.

How close the connection is between name and thing—how the invention of the former is a proof of having penetrated into the latter—how the Name is, as it were, a natural production, a necessary offspring of contact with the Thing—is shown in Genesis ii. 19, where JEHOVAH ELOHIM brings all the creatures to Adam, “to see what he would call them, and whatsoever the man called every living creature, that was the name thereof.” With Adam to see and to call were one: the development of self-knowledge by the extension of his knowledge of creation, as it was designed by God, took the form of giving names. And, since the names were not arbitrary signs, but natural productions, they were also permanent. As often as Adam saw a living creature, its name would rise afresh in his mind.

When God declared to the woman that in sorrow she should bring forth children, Adam expressed the new knowledge which he had received by this declaration of the nature and destiny of woman, in the new name *Chavvah*, Life = the mother of all living.

The names of their two first sons must have served our first parents as a memorial of their situation. Cain (*the acquired one*) appeared to them as a pledge of the restoration of the Divine favour; in Abel (*vanity*) they beheld an image of their misery.

All the sorrow which Noah's parents suffered on account of the curse which, in consequence of sin, burdened the earth, and the intensity of their longing after redemption, were expressed in the name of their son, *rest*; “this same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands,” ver. 29.

* We shall by this means ascertain what is to be thought of VON BOHLEN's assertion (p. 199), that the etymologies of Genesis are extremely forced. It is much easier to hazard such assertions than thoroughly to examine the meaning of the names. But when this is done, these assertions vanish, as would the complaint expressed (p. 99) of the “perplexed character of Hebrew Literature.”

The angel of the Lord knew of no more effectual method of imparting the comfort which he had to bring to Hagar, or of any more powerful method of enabling her to follow his command, than by enjoining her to call the son whom she would shortly bear, ISHMAEL = *God heareth*; and therefore permitted her even in what she then experienced, to behold a prophecy and a pledge of the future; the mere allusion to this name, which after it was once given would be for ever flourishing, was sufficient to dispel all Abraham's anxieties. Gen. xvii. 20.

All that Hagar thought and felt at this great juncture (the deep feeling of her own unworthiness and of the holiness of God), was concentrated in the name which she gave to the place (ch. xvi. 13), *בְּאֵר לַחַיִּים* *the fountain of the living vision*, where God made himself known to his feeble creature without her being destroyed. In this name a memorial of the whole transaction was perpetuated for her and for all her posterity.

Before the promise to Abram that he should be "the Father of many nations" (xvii. 5), and to Sarai that "she should become nations" (xvii. 16), found the beginning of its fulfilment in the birth of Isaac, the promise was incorporated in the new names given by God, ABRAHAM (*Father of Nations*), and SARAH (*a Princess*). Compare "kings of people shall be of her." The Lord, for the present, could give no stronger support to their weak faith, than in this manner to instal them as it were in their future possessions; he could impart for the future nothing more powerful to allay every anxiety about human causality, than the *name*, long before the *thing* which it expressed.

The name acts a peculiar important part in the history of Isaac, so that it may be regarded throughout as its central point. How all its lines meet in this name, the author makes apparent, since he returns to it from the most opposite directions, never lightly alluding to it, but so that all the references have a true and deep reality, and are as so many lines reaching from the circumference to the centre. In this centre, we are placed most securely by the passage in Gen. xviii. 12-14: "Therefore Sarah laughed within herself. And the Lord said unto Abraham, wherefore did Sarah laugh, saying, shall I of a surety bear a child, which am old? Is any thing too hard for Jehovah? Here we see very plainly, that the laughter of Sarah arose from a contrast between the fact and

the idea ; on the one side, her barrenness, and, on the other, the promise of God—a contrast which only God's miraculous power could remove, by a reference to which her laughing is here represented as without reason. To make this contrast of the idea and the fact visible and palpable, that the adjustment might afterwards be evidently acknowledged as God's work, and Isaac recognised as the son of the promise, is the object kept in view in all the Divine leadings relative to his birth. It is evidently so in ch. xvii. 17–19, “Then Abraham fell upon his face and laughed, and said in his heart, Shall a child be born unto him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, that is ninety years old, bear? And ELOHIM said, Sarah thy wife shall bear thee a son indeed, and thou shalt call his name Isaac,” (one who laughs, one who excites laughter) ἔλλημιστὶ γέλωτα ὀνομασθήναι. MELO in EUSEBIUS, *Praep.* 9, 19. And here it is manifest, that the laughing was not a laughing of joy, but that it arose from the contrast between the fact and the idea; which indeed in this case, when it is occasioned by God's omnipotence, brings joy with it. By these two plain passages, another may be explained, which in itself is doubtful; ch. xxi. 6, “And Sarah said, a laughing hath God prepared for me; every one who heareth shall laugh on my account.” והאנין שפך ערה קצתה לי אלהים כל־השמע נשחקו לי. There are two modes of explaining this verse; according to one it is the laughter of joy and of congratulation (LXX., *συγχαρεῖται μοι*. ONKELOS, *gaudebit mecum*; ROSENMÜLLER, *ridendi s. lactandi causam mihi deus praebuit—mihi gratulabitur*); according to the other, it is laughter as an expression of wonder, of astonishment. JON. *mirabitur me*. The latter is the correct one. “I myself,” says Sarah, “must laugh, and others will laugh;” a laughter like that alluded to in the Sacramental Hymn—

Beider Lachen und auch Zittern,
Läset sich in mir jetzt wittern.

There is an element of joy, but joy is not the basis. Verse 7 supports the correct interpretation, which attributes the laughter to wondering astonishment. “And she said, who would have said unto Abraham that Sarah should have given children suck; for I have born him a son in his own old age.” The passage in ch. xxi. 9 still remains. “And Sarah saw the son of Hagar the Egyptian,

which she had born unto Abraham, יִצְחָק.” The apparently mild expression, for which Paul has substituted a stronger one more corresponding to the fact, ἐδίωκε (Gal. iv. 29) acquires a fearful strength by the reference to the יִצְחָק, by the contrast contained in this reference between what Ishmael did, and what he ought to have done. Isaac, the object of holy rejoicing, serves him as a butt for his unholy merriment, his profane jesting. He rejoices not, but he banters and makes others laugh. The little helpless Isaac a father of nations! Unbelief, envy, pride upon carnal grounds of pre-eminence, were the motives of his conduct. Since he understands not what that means, “Is anything too hard for the Lord?” such a connection of present littleness with future greatness strikes him as ridiculous.

The relation of Gen. xxi. 31 to xxvi. 33 strikingly illustrates the close connection between names and things. The first passage contains an account of the transactions that passed between Abraham and Abimelech: “Wherefore he called that place BEER-SHEBA = *Seven wells*; generally but incorrectly rendered, *the well of the oath*. Neither שְׁבַע nor שְׁבַע־אֵלֶיךָ means *an oath*; and the “wherefore,” לָמָּה relates to the seven ewe-lambs mentioned in the preceding verse, which Abraham gave to Abimelech. Not that the difference is material between “the well of an oath” or “seven-wells.” For the presentation of seven lambs was a usual symbol at that time—the incorporation of the transaction and the oaths—“because there they two made an agreement by means of seven,” כִּי שָׁם נִשְׁבְּעוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם = “they swore both of them.” In the second passage, we are told that on the day when Isaac made a covenant with Abimelech, he dug a well, and found water. “And he called it שְׁבַע־אֵלֶיךָ, *Shebah, i.e. Seven*, therefore the name of the city is Beer-sheba (*Seven wells*) unto this day.” That Isaac on giving this name to the place had the earlier instance in his thoughts cannot admit of a doubt, if we notice the close imitation of his proceedings throughout, to those of Abraham. But it looks at first sight, that the author speaks of the name as if it was then first given, without intimating that here he merely gives an account of its renewal. This can only be explained by considering the close connection in his mind of the name and the thing. A dead name was to him the same as if it had never existed. The relation of which the name Beer-shebah

had served for a memorial had ceased. By the renewal of the event, the name again came in vogue; it was the same as if newly given.

The native character of Esau and Jacob, of the latter especially, the author considers as expressed by their names. The importance of names is shown in the two belonging to Esau. The hairiness to which the name Esau refers, can be regarded only as an emblem of a rough disposition, a rude demeanour. The name Edom expresses far more strikingly than any abstract word the character of rude sensual eagerness. That the accidental circumstance which first occasioned the application of the name Jacob, was viewed afterwards only in its symbolical application, so that the name would not have been permanent if it had not been thus verified in Jacob's character, is shown in ch. xxvii. 36, where Esau says, "Is he not rightly named Jacob (*Over-reacher*), for he hath over-reached me these two times? he took away my birthright, and behold now he hath taken away my blessing." *Artifice* is a leading feature in Jacob's natural character. It shows itself in his conduct to Esau, to his father, and to Laban.

The unfixed quality of names is shown by the variations in those of Esau's wives, which perhaps has not been noticed from transferring our manners to those of that age.

But Jacob appears to have been particularly fond of giving names, which may be traced to the predominance in his mental qualities of imagination and intuition. The place where God first appeared to him could not be a Bethel to him, without being, at the same time, called so. He invented the name when he had made himself master of the thing. The giving of names proceeded from the same sense of want as the anointing of stones; the craving after a *נֵר* for the idea.

The names of all Jacob's sons are memorials of certain relations—an expression of the sentiments which, at their birth, most strongly affected their mothers. How natural this practice of giving names is, is shown by the multitude of false etymologies among the heathen, which have most unsuitably been adduced as evidence for the existence of etymological myths in the Pentateuch. But this purpose they cannot answer, unless it could be shown that the etymologies of the Pentateuch are equally false. But if this is not done—if they show themselves, on the contrary, to be

throughout agreeable to the laws of language, as standing in the strictest relation to the objects they represent, then of course the conclusion to be drawn will be directly the reverse.

In Gen. xxxi. 46, the name Galed or Gilead is the necessary product of the preceding event; and thus likewise the name Mahanaim, xxxii. 3 (2).

In Gen. xxxii. 29, Jacob receives from God the name of Israel (*the combatant of God*), after, by the great victory which his faith had won, he had gained for ever a firm spiritual character, so that the new man who, as well as the old, had now attained maturity, made it requisite that besides his old name he should receive a new one. The question why the name *Abraham*, after it had once been given, should destroy even the least trace of *Abram* while Jacob is continually alternating with Israel, can only be answered from our point of view, and not from a crude external consideration of the names. The name Abraham denotes the divine appointment. After the promise had been once made, the name was unalterably associated with the event. The name Israel, on the contrary, denotes a subjective state, or at least is grounded upon it. Here the old continues to exist along with the new. That the name stood in the closest relation to the thing, so that it was constantly renewed when the thing appeared again in life, is shown by the manner in which the name Israel was a second time given to Jacob without any reference to the former occasion, or any hint that he was already Israel, Gen. xxxv. 9, &c., "And God appeared unto Jacob again, when he came out of Padan-Aram, and blessed him. And God said unto him, Thy name is Jacob; thy name shalt not be called any more Jacob; but Israel shall be thy name, and he called his name Israel." The erection of the altar at Bethel was the culminating point, the accumulation of all former gratitude, the *resumé* of all the worship of his past life. Jacob there solemnly acknowledged God as the God of Bethel; and to this the solemn appointment of Jacob as Israel corresponded. The way from Bethel is to end at Bethel. Jacob has built an altar to God who heard him in the day of his distress, and was with him in the way wherein he walked. And in this way it is that as ELOHIM became JEHOVAH, so Jacob became Israel. He is designated Israel first at the place where he realized what the name imports, and thus entered into a new relation with

God ; but in a preliminary manner. The solemn announcement was first issued after he had become confirmed in his new acquisition, at the place to which it legitimately belonged. Now that Jacob in the full sense had become Israel, the repetition of the promise connected with the bestowment of the name, had a far higher significancy than before. In this manner we account for its being said, with apparent abruptness, in ver. 15, “and Jacob called the name of the place where God spake with him, Bethel.” Only a superficial observer would infer from this, that the author has been quite ignorant of the earlier naming of the place, or had forgotten it. Jacob’s whole soul is filled with the present revelation of God ; and the appropriateness of the name strikes him with a freshness as if used then for the first time. After a succession of independent living Bethels, Bethel became a dead and mere outward proper name.

We return to ch. xxxii., where ver. 30 (29) presents us with a valuable contribution for our object. “And Jacob asked him (after he had wrestled with God and overcome) and said, “Tell me, I pray thee, thy name ; and he said, Wherefore is it that thou dost ask after my name ; and he blessed him there.” Why the inquiry after the name is evaded, is shown by the parallel passage in Judges xiii. 16–18. Manoah there asks the angel of the Lord, whom he took for a man, after his name ; and he replies, Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is wonderful ? מַה־שְּׁמִי כִּי־אֵלֹהִים. Manoah had not yet understood the nature of the appearance ; and as long as this was too vast for him, a proper name expressive of that nature (and a name as a mere sound is not worth a thought) lay beyond his mental horizon. And so with Jacob. He felt that God was known to him in a higher style than as אֱלֹהִים or אֱלֹהֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל ; for the new fact he wished to have a new form ; he desired that God would give him in the name a מַשְׁכָּל, the key to the peculiar experience which had just occurred. This name would henceforth serve as a constant representative of the nature of God. But the time was not yet come solemnly to impose the new name. The fact must be yet more signally verified and more comprehensively known. The name at present would be comparatively a *titulus sine re*. Had God replied, he would have said JEHOVAH. But the event was deferred till the Exodus, some centuries later. The answer shows us the importance of names generally, the necessity that

new events should be connected with the name ; the impossibility that the name should go before the fact, as the image in a mirror cannot be there, or the shadow, sooner than the person. Jacob, driven back by the answer into the circle which he would fain have left too hastily, calls the place Peniel, although he had an impression that He whom he had there seen face to face was higher than פַּנִּיֵּל or פַּנִּיֵּל־אֵל .

In the blessing of Jacob on his death-bed, one proof of its genuineness is very striking—his inclination to impose names and to make allusions to them.

Such are the contributions to this topic from Genesis. They suffice to show that originally names were formed in the closest relation to things, that the name was the thing itself as far as it could be made apparent. Hence, even in the latest Scripture phraseology, *ὀνόματα* is used precisely for persons : “ The number of the *names* together was about an hundred and twenty ” (Acts i. 15) ; “ Thou hast a few *names* even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments, and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy.” Rev. iii. 4. It was, however, unavoidable that in whatever belongs to earth, a separation should take place between names and things, that a multitude of *mere* names should be retained. Although in many cases names have been altered when the appearance of the object assumed a different form, yet this has not always been possible. Proper names never retained among the Israelites the unconditional fixity which they have among us ;* yet as little were they unconditionally changeable. Jehoiakim was henceforward called Jehoiakim, and Jehoiachin remained Jehoiachin even after the Lord had put down the one and established the other ; only with this difference, that Jeremiah’s allusion to the contrast between the name and the fact, is not to be considered, as among us might be the case, unworthy trifling. (See *Christologie*, iii. 528.) The partiality of the Jews down to the present day for nicknames has its root in the original deep importance of names.

But in reference to God there is never such a separation between the name and the fact, such an enfeebling of the name ;† and this

* For examples of the change of equivalent names for one another, and of the alteration of names, made in order to bring them nearer the facts in later times, and from general history, see MOVERS, *Ueber die Chronik*, p. 156.

† *Nomina propria* were originally distinguished from *nomina appellativa* only in this respect, that the former denoted the thing in its essence, the latter in one particular side or aspect ; and, therefore, the former only adhered regularly and constantly to their

is quite natural; for the causes which lead to this separation in earthly objects, without being able to destroy the principle of the internal congruity of names and things, leave the Divine Being undisturbed. Since he always remains the same, so likewise his name always remains the expression of his being, as far as it can be thus represented; it never becomes an empty sound. The emphatical import of שׁוּם , when applied to God, we wish to establish by some examples, principally such in which the expositors have missed the right meaning, in part from ignorance of this emphatic import.

Exodus xx. 7. The words $\text{לֹא תִשָּׂא אֶת־שֵׁם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְשׁוֹן}$ are commonly translated, "Thou shalt not utter the name of Jehovah thy God for untruth." But we explain them, "Thou shalt not attribute (carry) nothingness to the name of Jehovah thy God." Jehovah, the I AM, who had revealed himself as such to Israel, must not be confounded with nothingness. The commandment is directed against hypocrisy in general, of which the essence is falsehood, the degradation of God into the sphere of nothingness, of which perjury is only one species. Against the current version it is to be urged, 1. That שׁוֹן never occurs, in prose at least, in the sense *to express* or *utter*. 2. That then the important allusion to this passage in Ps. xxiv. 4, $\text{אֲשֶׁר־לֹא נִשָּׂא לְשׁוֹן נְשִׂיָא וְלֹא נִשְׁבַּע לְיַד־יָחַד}$ is wholly lost. The strict reference of this passage to the decalogue is so apparent that it is even acknowledged by those (as by ROSEN-MÜLLER) to whom it must be inconvenient. They maintain that $\text{נִשָּׂא} = \text{יְהוָה}$, שׁוֹן an assertion which in itself hardly merits refutation, though its erroneousness is shown by the connection (in this passage) of the soul with the hands and heart. The words ought to be translated, "Who doth not carry his soul to nothingness, and sweareth not for deceit," an interpretation which is confirmed by ver. 5, "He shall bear (receive, Eng. vers.), נִשָּׂא , a blessing from Jehovah, and righteousness from the God of his salvation." יֵשָׂא has an evident reference to the preceding words, which would be quite lost if it there meant to *express*, *utter*. The carrying of the

object. This distinction remains in God and divine objects. The objection which STRAUSS (Leben Jesu, i. 83) makes to the name *Gabriel* proceeds merely from his unhesitatingly transferring to the Scriptures, without attending to the biblical idea of שׁוֹן *ovovpa*, the distinction of *proper* and *appellative*, as it exists in our civil life. According to his view of the matter, *Gabriel* might as well have been called *Satan*.

soul to nothingness, to falsehood, is the ground of carrying the name of God to falsehood. Man first degrades himself, and then God. This is pointed out by the Psalmist; compare the parallel passages in Deut. xxiv. 15; Jerem. xxii. 27; Ps. xxv. 1.

In Deut. xii. 5 it is said, "But unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes *to put his name there*, even unto his habitation shall ye seek." Such superficial explanations as that of Michaelis, *ut dicatur hic locus urbs Jehovae*, are to be entirely rejected. The name is here a reality—God, as far as he manifested himself among his people.

Exod. xx. 24, "In all places אֲנִי אֶזְכֹּר אֶת-שְׁמִי, I will come unto thee, and bless thee." Most commentators (MICHAELIS, ROSEN-MÜLLER, VATER) understand this expression to mean, *commemorare faciam nomen meum, cultui meo destinabo*; this is contrary to the *usus loquendi*, for הִזְכִּיר means, *to remind, to mention, to bring to remembrance*; far more correctly ONKELOS and JONATHAN, *ubi habitare faciam majesticam præsentiam meam*. God brings his name to remembrance in choosing this place for his habitation, for the unfolding of his being. The הִזְכִּיר שְׁמִי on his part is the condition of הִזְכִּיר שְׁמִי on the part of his people.

Deut. xxviii. 10, "And all people of the earth shall see that the name of Jehovah is called upon thee." Calling the name of Jehovah on any one, is the outward manifestation of his being in him and with him. See *Christologie*, iii. 231.

Levit. xviii. 21, "And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the fire to Moloch; neither shall thou profane the name of thy God; I [am] Jehovah." If God had no name, the result and quintessence of his revelation in Israel, it could not be profaned. God is not profaned in himself, but only so far as he is in Israel. The profaning of a name merely as a name cannot be here intended.

The prohibition of profaning the name of God occurs frequently in ch. xix.—xxii. Thus xix. 12, "Ye shall not swear by my name falsely, neither shalt thou profane the name of thy God; I [am] Jehovah;" xxi. 6, it is said of the priests, "They shall be holy unto their God, and not profane the name of their God; for the offerings of the Lord made by fire, and the bread of their God they do offer, therefore they shall be holy;" xx. 3; xxii. 2, 32. On closer observation it appears that these chapters form a con-

nected whole, a compendium of the injunctions relating to the sanctification of God in Israel. God is holy in himself, and had sanctified himself among his people (on this idea see *Christologie*, iii. 660), wherefore his people also must be holy and sanctify his name (*i.e.*, himself, as far as he had manifested himself), and not make it an instrument of sin. In ch. xix. 20, the prohibitions begin in reference to holiness in manners and morals for all Israelites. At the close there is a reference to the beginning, xx. 26, "And ye shall be holy unto me, for I Jehovah am holy, and have severed you from other people, that ye should be mine." Then follow ch. xxi. 22, special commands regarding the sanctification of the priests. Here also the close alludes to the beginning, vv. 31, 32, and the expression (xxi. 8) "I am Jehovah which hallow you" is repeated.

From the passage Exod. xxiii. 21, "Beware of him and obey his voice, provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions, *for my name is in him*" (see *Christologie*, i. p. 233). According to the common view of the name of God as a mere name, no right conclusion can be drawn. The last words render it necessary that we should understand by the name the Divine Being in relation to the Church.

From the preceding remarks on names generally, and on the names of God especially, we obtain for the general enquiry relative to the Divine names the following results.

First, From this point of view, the identity of אלהים and יהוה is inconceivable. From the close relation of name and thing, the twofold name must have a twofold aspect of God for its basis. *Secondly*, When it is apparent that the Pentateuch communicates a revelation from God, advancing step by step, till at last it, as it were, becomes incarnate in the theocracy, we are warranted to expect, by the intimate congruity of name and thing, that the Author would mark the difference of the earlier and later age by an intentional and appropriate change in the Divine names. As Bethel could not be Bethel without being called Bethel, so ELOHIM could not become JEHOVAH without receiving at the same time the name JEHOVAH. *Thirdly*, Let it be settled that אלהים is the more general, and JEHOVAH the deep and more discriminating name of the Godhead, then we must, from this point of view, expect that these names, in the period preceding the complete establishment

of the theocracy, would appear to alternate in a different way from what would be the case in a later period. This period, as the time of the gradual self-development of God, as far as he is in the world, and the gradual formation of the knowledge of God conditioned by that development, had a mixed character; and according as we look at the earlier more imperfect, or at the later more perfect state, the mode of contemplating God assumes a different form. On one side, the religious condition of this period appears allied to that of the later Heathen world; according to the other, we see in it already the same elements which were at last combined and concentrated in the theocracy. This mixed character, in the period preceding the theocracy, must have certainly occasioned a mingled use of the names JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, as in God especially (as we have shown) the name and reality were considered as standing in the closest connection. And as the one or the other side, the relation to the earlier, or the relation to the later period, the analogy to the Heathen world, or the analogy to the theocracy predominated, must the name JEHOVAH or the name ELOHIM have been brought into use. And the view of the use of the Divine names, which, to a superficial observer, may appear too artificial, appears from this point of view as so natural, that we may enter on the enquiry with a confident anticipation of finding it confirmed.

If we now turn to the special results which the enquiry respecting the Divine names, as they occur in Ex. vi., ascertains,* as far as that passage is used to support the assertion, that the name Jehovah owes its introduction to the Mosaic age, it appears that the name in it cannot be considered as an empty name,

* It shows, at the same time, what is to be thought of LE CLERC's observation on Exod. iii. 15, "this is my name for ever, and this is my memorial unto all generations"—that these words show incontestably, *nomen hoc, antea inusitatum, in posterum a deo sumi*. That the name here is only to be considered as a manifestation of the Divine nature, is confirmed by Ps. cxxxv. 13, where it is introduced after an enumeration of the early glorious manifestations of the Lord, "Thy name, O Jehovah, endureth for ever; and thy memorial, O Jehovah, throughout all generations." The Psalmist beholds in these practical manifestations a verification of all the declarations of the Lord, and a pledge that they would be verified by similar practical manifestations in future (compare v. 14, where he grounds the hope on this expression, that "the Lord will judge his people, and be merciful to his servants," in allusion to Deut. xxxii. 36), so that certainly here *name* is not to be taken in a bare and naked sense.

but that the clause, "by my *name* JEHOVAH," is equivalent to "in my *character* as JEHOVAH." The name of God here, as everywhere else, is that portion of the Divine nature which is actually exhibited. The passage itself assures us of the same result. In whatever God's not being known by the name JEHOVAH, in a former age, consisted, whether it was nominal or real, must be determined from what is said in the sequel of Jehovah's being known at that time (especially v. 7, "And ye shall know that I, JEHOVAH, am your God.") If this being known was a practical thing—if it was effected, not by God's calling himself JEHOVAH, but by his showing himself as JEHOVAH, in redeeming his people with a strong hand and an outstretched arm—then his not being known in an earlier period must also have been practical. That it does not concern the name as such, but the real fact indicated by it, appears from the circumstance, that for אלהים, which is more commonly used throughout Genesis, אלהי, and which is essentially equivalent, is here substituted. A synonym might also have been used for יהוה, if any such had been in existence. It is also to be considered, that in one member of the contrast, the mention of the name is altogether wanting; as El Shaddai, אלהי שדי, it is said, not by my name El Shaddai. This shows that the name is introduced in the other member of the sentence, only as an expression of reality, that אלהי יהוה is equivalent to יהוה. We are led to the same result by a comparison of the parallel passage in ch. iii. 13. The enquiry after God's name, which Moses there made on behalf of the children of Israel, and from the answer to which he expected so much, would have had no meaning, if the name were regarded as a mere name, if it was not rather treated as a designation of the nature of God, as he stood in relation to his people, and made himself known in his intercourse with them. That it did not relate to words and syllables, but to the reality, appears from this, that at first the reality is designated by another form—*Ehjah asher Ehjah*, and *Ehjah*.

It is therefore certain that the passage gives no direct answer whatever to the enquiry respecting the date of the name JEHOVAH. Nor by means of it can we refute those who maintain its later origin. The result of the general examination of the names, which, on the one hand, frees us from them, seems on the other side to deliver us again into their hands. The passage treats, not of the

promulgation of the name JEHOVAH, but of the revelation of God as JEHOVAH; but if this, as the literal sense seems to require, must be considered as altogether foreign to the past, and belonging only to the future—so by the proved close connection of names and things, the name JEHOVAH as such must exist first in that age—at an earlier period it could only have been a mere *titulus sine re*, a mere empty sound.

The question therefore arises, Is the opposition of the earlier non-revelation, and the present revelation of God as Jehovah, which is *verbally* represented as absolute, to be viewed as absolute in point of *fact*? Or is it rather to be explained by a reference to the effect of the vastly more glorious and perfect revelation of the later period on the feelings, in eclipsing the former, and making it as if it had never existed?

This latter supposition is not decidedly opposed by the former. For that the less, in relation to the incomparably greater, should be regarded as non-existent, is by no means unusual, and has numerous analogies of Scripture in its favour. Thus, for instance, the passage from Jerem. xxxi. 31, where (as we have proved in the *Christologie*) the relative contrast appears under the form of the absolute—difference of degree under the form of difference of kinds. Thus John i. 17, where it is said, that “the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ.”

But for the positive establishment of this supposition, the passage in Exodus iii. 15, 16, will be sufficient. “Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, JEHOVAH, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you. . . . Go gather the elders of Israel together, and say unto them, JEHOVAH, the God of your fathers, . . . hath appeared unto me, &c. Here JEHOVAH is expressly denominated the God of the patriarchs. What he did for them, and by which his nature was made known to them, that was to be regarded by their descendants as a practical prophecy, a pledge of what *they* might expect from Him. When it was said, shortly after, that JEHOVAH had *not* made himself known to their fathers, but was now first about to reveal himself, who can understand it in any other sense than that he would now show himself to be JEHOVAH in all his glory, in the full manifestation of his

nature, so that his earlier manifestation should no more be thought of, and the earlier JEHOVAH again be merged in the generality of אלהים ? How could the meaning be, that JEHOVAH would now for the first time make his appearance as an altogether a new *Deus ex machina*? Even if JEHOVAH were the national God of Israel, this could not be maintained; but how much less would JEHOVAH allow himself to be excluded from their earlier history if he, as the derivation and the *usus loquendi* show, is only the potentiated ELOHIM!

The following is the correct collective view of the passage. Hitherto, that Being who, in one aspect, was JEHOVAH, in another, had always been ELOHIM. The great crisis now drew nigh in which JEHOVAH-ELOHIM would be changed into JEHOVAH. In the prospect of this event God solemnly announced himself as JEHOVAH. Then follows the genealogy of Moses and Aaron, who would enter on their office at the same time with JEHOVAH's manifestation of himself; and now, without further delay, the great drama opens. Ranke's remark to justify the insertion of the genealogy in this place, "it may be allowed to say that every thing hitherto has related to the calling of Moses, but he now comes before us decidedly as divinely commissioned, as the called," may, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to JEHOVAH. Hitherto he was in the process of becoming JEHOVAH (*der werdende Jehovah*); henceforth he was actually become JEHOVAH (*der Gewordene*). A turning point is here reached which presents a certain analogy to regeneration. As that necessarily presupposes the preparatory operations of Divine grace, and only by degrees completes itself in sanctification; so here also the turning point has for its foundation the preparative agency of JEHOVAH, and is not the completion itself, but only the way which necessarily and certainly leads to it; so that He who now, in the most important respects, is JEHOVAH, but yet for some time longer be relatively ELOHIM; as at an earlier period, when in the most important respects he was ELOHIM, might be relatively JEHOVAH.

Thus we have shown, that from the beginning the names JEHOVAH and ELOHIM were co-existent. We shall now attempt to determine more exactly their internal relation, and begin with examining what the same passage, Exod. vi., presents to us on this subject.

The common view is, that the name JEHOVAH in this place especially relates to the faithfulness of God in the fulfilment of his promises. Thus, for instance, AMAMA (in RELAND'S *Decas*, p. 166), remarks, "*Veracitatem potessimum spectat Deus. q. d. apparui quidem Abrah. etc. nomine El Schaddai atque ita docui me posse ipsis præstare promissionem terræ Canaan; at in nomine Jehovah etc., i.e. nondum præstiti ipsis quod promisi.*" But this view has neither a general foundation, in the etymology and the use elsewhere, of the name JEHOVAH, nor a special one in the passage itself. It relates to the complete unfolding of the Divine nature. Faithfulness in the fulfilment of promises only so far comes under consideration as the immanent nature of God is therein manifested. Not merely because he was mindful of his covenant, but also because he heard the cry of the children of Israel, led them forth, judged their enemies, made Israel his peculiar people, and brought them into the land of promise—from being EL SHADDAI or ELOHIM (that these terms are essentially the same may be inferred from the passages in Genesis already referred to, as xxxv. 9 (11), where they stand in conjunction), he became JEHOVAH. EL SHADDAI is the undeveloped JEHOVAH; JEHOVAH is the potentiated EL SHADDAI. CALVIN has very correctly stated the relation of the two names; "*Quasi diceret se Abr. et aliis patribus manifestasse quanta virtute præditus sit ad suos tuendos et servandos et ipsos experientia sensisse, quam potenter atque efficaciter suos foveat, sustentet ac juvet. . . . Quamvis autem prædicet quæ in illos contulit beneficia, negat tamen se illis fuisse cognitum in nomine suo Jehovah, quo significat, se nunc posteris illustrius patefacere delectis suis gloriam.*" The mutual relation of the two names is quite suitable to their derivation and meaning. In ELOHIM and EL SHADDAI the Godhead is contemplated only in its most outward relation; as the stage in subjective religion corresponding to them—the mere sense of dependence, is the lowest of all. Where the Godhead is only recognised in its omnipotence, as a combination of powers, religion comes under CICERO'S superficial definition (*De Invent. ii. 22 and 53*), "*Religio est, quæ superioris cujusdam nature, quam divinam vocant, curam caeremoniamque affert.*" As far as God appeared to the Patriarchs merely as EL SHADDAI or ELOHIM (that there was also a manifestation of Him as JEHO-

VAH has been shown above), the remark of NITZSCH in speaking of the Greeks, is applicable (*Ueber den Religionsbegriff der Alten Stud.* i. 3, p. 541). "The Greeks were acquainted with no other mark of piety than one by which it expresses a sensible, acknowledged, practical dependence on God—a passive, submissive, mortified sentiment." The terms most generally used are εὐσέβεια, τὸ εὐσέβες, τὸ θεοσεβές. Fear is the leading idea of σέβεσθαι, σεβας; δεισιδαιμονία θρησκείν, φοβεῖσθαι το θεῖον through all periods of Hellenism. In יהוה, on the contrary, the *superior natura, quam divinam vocant*, assumes a determinate form, a marked personality. It is the only name of God which describes him according to his innermost nature, as MAIMONIDES (quoted by DRUSIUS, *Tetragrammaton* in RELAND'S *Decas*, p. 42), has remarked, "*Omnia nomina creatoris quae inveniuntur in libris ss. sumta sunt ab operibus, praeter unum nomen, sc. Tetragrammaton, quod est proprium ei, et idcirco vocatur nomen, separatum, quia significat substantiam creatoris significatione pura in quo non est participatio. Alia vero nomina ipsius gloriosa significant cum participatione, quia sumta sunt ab operibus.*" It is for this reason the only name of God which can be considered as a *nomen proprium*, as ABEN ESRA (in RELAND, p. 29) has noticed. This distinction from all the other names of God has impressed itself in the language; יהוה has no plural, no article, no construct state. Even in the sacred Scriptures, as Lev. xxiv. 12, 16, and later in the Jewish phraseology, יהוה is without hesitation substituted for יהוה, which implies that this was the name simply, and without any concomitants, while all other designations of the Divine Being were scattered over separate attributes and relations.

It still remains to point out how the passage furnishes an important explanation of the manner in which ELOHIM becomes JEHOVAH. This was effected, it informs us, not by verbal instructions respecting his nature which he communicated through Moses to the people—not by a pure internal operation on the dispositions of the people, by which their sense of religion became more definite and elevated, but by a succession of historical facts by which the religion of the people became more and more developed. ELOHIM became JEHOVAH by a historical process. He elevated their hearts to himself in heaven, by descending to earth, and there

unfolding his nature in his acts. Here the truth is shown which lies at the basis of the definition given by many, of JEHOVAH as the God of Revelation. LÜCKE justly remarks (*Comm. Zum. Job*, 2 ed. p. 213), "Man cannot know the nature of God immediately and in itself. We know God in his revelation, in his capability of being revealed, and only in his attributes is his nature known and manifest to us in a distinct and living way." Thus the true religion must necessarily have a historical character (on this subject see NITZSCH, *System*, p. 48; and SACK in his *Apol.* p. 30), and this historical character—the transition grounded on facts, from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH, forms its distinction from all false religions. Only a superficial contemplation can consider Monotheism as the essential preëminence of the religion of Israel, and thus place it on a level with the isolated monotheistic attempts of antiquity (see NITZSCH, *Religionsbegr.* p. 745; SACK, p. 34). Had all heathenism been monotheistic, still this one God would always have been and remained ELOHIM; only, by evidences and facts, ELOHIM became JEHOVAH, and came in the place of the unity of the powers of Nature, the living personal God both above and within the universe, who alone has the power to unite those to whom he has given testimonies of himself into a truly religious community. That ELOHIM became JEHOVAH is the object of the whole sacred history; to show how he became so is the main principle of its representations.

Another remarkable passage from which we may learn the essential nature of JEHOVAH (and thus his relation to ELOHIM), is Exodus xxiv. 6, 7, where God delineates it as a commentary on his appearance to Moses. When the Lord "passed by before" Moses, he proclaimed (checking curiosity, and drawing off attention from the outward to the inward) the moral meaning of the appearance, and thus secured its operation on the heart; "JEHOVAH—JEHOVAH, God merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in mercy and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity, and transgression, and sin, and *will not destroy*; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children, unto the third and fourth generation." Here the moral attributes are especially presented as forming the essence of JEHOVAH'S nature. JEHOVAH, not ELOHIM, is the merciful one and the Judge. And this is perfectly natural; for, in

the general notions of religion, these qualities are exactly those that are least prominent. They are connected most immediately with personality which is not contained in the general notion of religion, or at least only faintly indicated. ELOHIM, in its derivation and form, has no reference to personality and moral character. JEHOVAH, the I AM, the pure BEING, forms the contrast not merely to physical, but to moral negation and privation. He is exalted not only above the transitory but the sinful.

Those passages also are to be considered where JEHOVAH is distinguished as *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, as that Being who gives to his creatures (in themselves helpless and miserable) ζῶην καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὰ πάντα (Acts xvii. 25); Num. xvi. 22, "And they (Moses and Aaron) fell upon their faces, and said, JEHOVAH, *God of the spirits of all flesh*, wilt thou on account of the sin of one man be wroth with all the congregation?" xxvii. 17, (16), where Moses, a little time before his death, said, "Let JEHOVAH, *the God of the spirits of all flesh*, set a man over the congregation. ELOHIM is indefinitely elevated above created beings; but JEHOVAH is their soul, and hence the ground of all hope, the comfort of all the forlorn. These passages show very plainly what opinion we are to form of the use of the phrase "*The Eternal*," for JEHOVAH, which is approved by many modern, and particularly Jewish, writers. This is only admissible, if the vulgar notion of the eternity of God be rectified (SCHLEIERMACHER, *Glaubenslehre*, i. p. 395), so that it is not conceived of as an inert attribute, but in connection with his almightiness and eternal energy. If NITZSCH's definition be adopted (§ 67. God is eternal; that is, not only exempt from the succession of time, and the limits of temporal existence, but also is the effective cause of time and of temporal things), the predicate, "*The Eternal*," loses its icy coldness, and can then perhaps be allowed as a translation of JEHOVAH.* Far more distinctive than the fashionable epithet "*the Eternal*," is Luther's "*der Herr*," though it is quite foreign from the strict verbal meaning, and is properly a translation of אֲדֹנָי.

* The Arabic designation of God, القیوم, *subsistens, qui per se suaque essentia subsistit* (v. KRÜGER, *de nomm. dei Arabicis*, Leipz., 1759) is far more superficial.

These passages, moreover, prove that the pure being of God is not inert, but that He, as the I AM, is the ground and root of all existence (CALVIN, *vocatur Jehovah quod a seipso habeat esse et arcana, inspiratione omnia sustineat*); that the Graecus Venetus was correct in fact, though perhaps verbally incorrect, in his conceptions of יהוה, when he rendered it by *ὁ ὄντοργός*, or by *ὁ ὄντωτής*, the latter of which, as DIDYMUS (p. 50) has fully proved, gives the same sense, and denotes not THE BEING, but the maker of being, who calls into existence.*

Lastly, these passages fully justify NITZSCH (*System*, § 61) in considering the designation of God as a Spirit (John iv. 24) as parallel with the name יהוה. Since from the idea of JEHOVAH that of God as the Father of Spirits is deduced, JEHOVAH appears to be equivalent to Spirit. Since he is in himself a spirit, so to him belongs everything that partakes of spirit among created beings. To maintain, however, the identity of "spirit" with יהוה, it must be taken as by Nitzsch, in its true and full import; God is a spirit, not merely as he is, simply in himself, perfect, but also inasmuch as He is, on account of the most absolute reality of his own Being, the Creator and annihilator of all things, inasmuch as he who alone hath immutability (1 Tim. vi. 16) forms the only source of all reality in the mutable.

ELOHIM, as we have already shown, becomes JEHOVAH only through Revelation, only by a historical process; but after he has in this way become JEHOVAH, he is recognised as operating not only in the facts of Revelation, but also in the facts of Nature. The religious principle, when it has once attained distinctness and life, beholds everywhere the living and personal God. From a multitude of proofs we adduce only one. Ps. cxxxv. 6, 7, "Whatsoever JEHOVAH pleased, that did he in heaven and in earth, in the sea and all deep places. He causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth, he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the wind out of his treasures." Then follows what the same JEHOVAH had specially done for Israel. Such passages

* Hence also appears what is to be thought of Vatke's assertion (p. 672) that the idea of an original ground, in opposition to created existence, cannot be contained in Jehovah, since in this case *simple being* must be more exactly determined. Certainly Jehovah does not etymologically mean the Creator, but since Jehovah is the absolute Being, he is also the Creator.

are inexplicable on the principle that JEHOVAH is merely the God of Revelation, or that he was only the national God of Israel.

But, on the other hand, the name ELOHIM stands not unfrequently in passages which treat of the facts of Revelation. This name, although in itself less weighty, can in certain circumstances be very important. Thus in 1 Kings xiv. 22, "The word of HA-ELOHIM came unto Shemaiah, the man of HA-ELOHIM." Rehoboam had previously resolved to make war with Israel. The Divine purposes were opposed to the human. On account of the evident connection of הָאֱלֹהִים , and $\text{אֱלֹהֵי הַיְהוּדִים}$, the former הָאֱלֹהִים , which in this connection is more expressive than יְהוָה , cannot be changed (as Ewald thinks) into יְהוָה . Thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 7, "ELOHIM hath delivered him into my hand;" and v. 14, "but God delivered him not into his hand." JEHOVAH, the God of Israel, who heard David (v. 10), of whom he asked counsel by the ephod, is the agent, but it is intended to mark the opposition to human causes and human projects, and therefore the general divine name is chosen. Thus in 1 Sam. xxvi. 8, Abishai meant to point out that God, not man, not David himself, had given Saul into his hand. 1 Sam. xiv. 45, "As JEHOVAH liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with ELOHIM this day." God had declared for him by the event, so that no man dare declare against him.

On the other hand, ELOHIM sometimes stands where we might expect JEHOVAH, owing to a sentiment of reverential fear. The most striking example is in 2 Sam. xii. 16. As a punishment for David's transgression against JEHOVAH, his child was to die; ver. 14, "JEHOVAH struck the child," and He was the only Being who could save it. "David, therefore, besought HA-ELOHIM" for its life, ver. 16. That he expected its recovery from JEHOVAH, appears particularly from ver. 22, "for I said, who can tell whether God will be gracious to me that the child may live?" But he did not venture to address his prayer directly to JEHOVAH, from a dread of his holiness and wrath against sin. In a multitude of passages, particularly in the Psalms, ELOHIM is chosen, with a reference to the misuse of JEHOVAH, which changed the name that in itself was the stronger, into the weaker. The surrounding heathen, and those who were heathenishly disposed in Israel, recognised in JEHOVAH, the God of Israel, but not God in himself, the possessor of

the whole fulness of the Godhead. But better the Godhead than *a* god. In all such passages JEHOVAH is implied; the simple אלהים is equivalent to יהוה אלהים. Always to make express mention of JEHOVAH was not necessary, since he was the undisputed possession of Israel; only his title to אלהים was subject to dispute. Living piety, too, could fill up what was deficient in the names of God.

The Heathen commonly spoke not of JEHOVAH, but of ELOHIM. The exceptions show that this fact is not to be explained as arising from a superstitious dread of polluting the holy name, and that ELOHIM was not put in the mouths of those who were not Israelites from a childish jealousy on account of the possession of the name (JEHOVAH) as such. So, for instance, 1 Sam. xxix. 6, "Then Achish called David, and said unto him, surely as JEHOVAH liveth, thou hast been upright." 1 Kings x. 9, where the Queen of Sheba says to Solomon, "Blessed be JEHOVAH thy God, which delighteth in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel; because JEHOVAH loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee King to do judgment and justice." 1 Kings v. 21 (7), "And it came to pass, when Hiram heard the words of Solomon, that he rejoiced greatly, and said, blessed be JEHOVAH this day, which hath given unto David a wise son over this great people." But as little can these facts be explained, however we may be inclined, merely from looking at these passages, by assuming that, according to the view of the sacred writers, JEHOVAH was merely the national god of the Israelites, so that he could be only thus named by the Heathens when their relations to Israel were concerned. On the contrary, *Jehovah* is used by Laban, Jethro, and Balaam, as the name of the Most High God, the Ruler of the whole World, the Lord of their lives in all their relations. The reason of its being employed is not to be sought in any design on the part of the sacred writers, who envied no one the name of JEHOVAH, who looked forward with longing to the time when "over all the earth there should be one JEHOVAH and his name one," Zech. xiv. 9, but in the fact itself, in the internal relation of Heathenism and Christianity. JEHOVAH was also the God of the Heathen, but had only testified of himself in Israel—had only in Israel so clearly unfolded his nature that the light partially illuminated the surrounding darkness. The Heathen, as long as they were ignorant of what had transpired in

Israel, occupied the position of the general knowledge of God ; they spoke only of ELOHIM, for they knew the Deity under no other character. Whenever they spoke of JEHOVAH, it is evident such language was owing to their connection with Israel. The passages relating to this subject fall under two classes. In the first place, such as indicate no essential and real progress in religious knowledge. To this class belong the three passages already quoted. SCHMID is quite mistaken when he remarks in reference to Achish, *a verâ religione non videtur fuisse alienus*. JEHOVAH in these passages is only regarded as the God of Israel. Disjoined from ELOHIM, he is ranked with the heathen gods. The expressions of Laban, Jethro, and Balaam, remain to be more fully considered. In these instances their religious knowledge as regards the facts of Revelation, was really more developed. To them JEHOVAH was not an isolated manifestation of ELOHIM, but the potentiated ELOHIM himself. They acknowledged, it is true, that JEHOVAH specially belonged to Israel, but on that account he was not less to them than ELOHIM, but greater. Their knowledge of the relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM differed from that possessed by a believing Israelite, only in being less pure, less clear, less natural, less confirmed, so that the obscurity of their religious sentiments was only illuminated by it at intervals, and soon relapsed into a dim generality. But their language confirms the correctness of NITZSCH'S excellent remark (*Abh. über den Religionsbegriff*, p. 740), on the relation of the Israelitish religious knowledge to that of the rest of mankind, or, in other words, the relation of JEHOVAH to ELOHIM ; "The God of Israel, notwithstanding this elevation and spirituality, was not known, like the *θεῖον* of the Greeks, but by witnesses and acts ; but still no contrariety exists between him and God as known by nature—Him whose existence lies at the foundation of all religion ; for JEHOVAH is ELOHIM or Zebaoth as well as El Shaddai. The national limitation was compatible with the widest extension. The God of Israel is equally withdrawn from all defined limits and sensible appearances, as he is present to every manifestation of life.

In reference to the use of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH in the remaining books of the Old Testament, EWALD gives a useful collection of materials, although his explanations, as we have already shewn, need various corrections. Several particulars will be noticed in

in that part of our work to which they belong. But before we come to these, we would only occupy ourselves briefly with the Divine names in the book of Job.

The author, as is well-known, commonly uses the name JEHOVAH, yet he also employs ELOHIM, and always where only the general idea of the Godhead is to be expressed; as, for instance, ch. i. 16, "Fire of ELOHIM," for *lightning*—as Divine, heavenly fire, in opposition to what is common and earthly. Job committed no folly against God (ELOHIM), v. 22, where there is an implied contrast of heaven and earth, God and man; the angels are sons of ELOHIM, in general a Divine race, of a Divine nature, &c. JEHOVAH likewise is found in the Epilogue, and in the interspersed historical notices, as xxxviii. 1, xl. 1, 3, 6. On the other hand, in the body of the work, in the discourses of Job and his friends, we find the general Divine names אֱלֹהִים, אֱל, &c., with the exception of xii. 9, where יְהוָה is used.

It has been attempted to explain these facts in various ways. Several have inferred from them the spuriousness of the prologue and epilogue. But they are then driven to the forced supposition, that the name JEHOVAH has been introduced from a prologue and epilogue, composed at a later period by the transcribers; also in xxxviii. 1, lx. 1, 3, 6, xlii. 1. They must likewise consider יְהוָה in xii. 9, as spurious, though the critical authorities for the reading אֱלֹהִים (not אֱלֵהי as Eichhorn states), are very inconsiderable; see DE ROSSI, and are so much less deserving of notice, since it might so easily be suggested to change the יְהוָה that does not elsewhere occur into the common אֱלֹהִים. But, apart from all these difficulties, and from other arguments for the genuineness of the prologue and epilogue, the problem is not solved by this hypothesis. For the question still remains, How came the author of the prologue and epilogue to introduce the name JEHOVAH, and the author of the discourses to abstain from using it?

Others, as EICHHORN (*Einkl.* v. § 644) maintain that the author always uses JEHOVAH in the prologue and epilogue, but in the poem itself ELOAH and similar names, because he wished to distinguish himself from the disputants, and to represent himself as younger than the parties in the dialogue. But this view rests on the opinion which we have already shewn to be untenable—the later origin of the name יְהוָה, which no Israelite ever imagined;

it can remove the obstacle presented in xii. 9 only by an arbitrary alteration of the text, or by taking for granted that the author here forgot himself. Lastly, the passage in i. 21, where Job exclaims, "JEHOVAH hath given, JEHOVAH hath taken away, blessed be the name of JEHOVAH," is conclusive against it. How could the author, if he had formed such a design, put the name of JEHOVAH in Job's mouth, as it were, *in limine*?

Others again (BERTHOLDT, *Einkl.* v. p. 2153; GESENIUS, *Thes. s. v.* אלהים) maintain that the author thought that אלהים was more suitable and emphatic for poetical composition, and that יהוה which is common in the historical books was an appropriate designation of the Divine Being in prose. But this view can be proved to be untenable on general grounds. Of all the Divine names, JEHOVAH is precisely the most exalted. The most fervid poetry can celebrate God under no worthier name. That this name occurs so frequently in the historical books, is not to be explained from the circumstance of their being written in prose, but from their being occupied with recording the acts of JEHOVAH. The book before us is against this view. Job's religious character is expressed so vividly in ch. i. 21, that the name used here was certainly chosen by the author as the most exalted and solemn. But still more in ch. xii. 9, where the name JEHOVAH stands at the head of a most sublime description of the Divine glory, and in this position maintains itself against all critical attempts, and is evidently chosen on purpose. SCHULTENS has noticed this relation of the name to the context—" *Huic illustri aspectui accommodatissimum nomen Jehovah, quod alias in sermonibus Jobi et amicorum non occurrens dedita opera videtur adhibitum ad infinitam majestatem et perfectionem entis supremi consignandam.*"

The correct view must be sought for in the main design of the book. The solution of the great question which it handles, is not given by referring to particular expressions in the revealed word of God, nor is there any reference to the revelation of God in historical events. The problem is rather treated as one belonging to Natural Theology, with the help of reason and experience, enlightened by the Spirit of God. The position is that of the religious sentiment, enlightened by inward and outward revelation, but evidently the author has abstained from marking with dis-

tinctness what has been received from revelation. In short, he observes that conduct which all Natural Theology must observe, or it ceases to be either Theology or Natural. If the author was resolved to remain on the ground of general religious sentiment, it was also natural that he should confine the speakers in general to the use of that Divine name which corresponded to such a position. Only on one occasion he allows Job to pass over these limits, when the inferior and vague names of God could not satisfy his sense of the Divine glory. This apparent oversight, this sudden transition into foreign ground, was in fact the result of the most deliberate intention.

It is in favour of this view, not only that it harmonizes with what all the other books of Scripture express on the relation of יהוה to the other Divine names, and that it satisfactorily explains all the facts, while it is free from the difficulties that are attached to other views ; but it is specially recommended by analogies contained in the book itself. With a similar design with which the author avoids the use of the word JEHOVAH, he has laid the scene in the age preceding Moses, beyond the bounds of Palestine, in the neighbouring country of Arabia, and has taken all the interlocutors from a people living out of the circle of Divine revelation—a fiction which he has carried out in the most careful and artistical manner, even in the delineation of nature and of manners, in withholding all special references to the Mosaic law, and in the intentional selection of archaic and obsolete words, so that many have taken the fiction for truth, and the book to be written before the age of Moses, and not by an Israelite. The only object of this fiction is to show that the solution of the problem must be obtained, not on the ground of Revelation, but of Natural Theology. The book of Ecclesiastes presents us with another remarkable analogy. Here also the name JEHOVAH is carefully avoided, and for similar reasons, and with an accompanying complete avoidance of the language and facts of Revelation, which is so much the more important, the more evident the relationship of the two books.

GENESIS.

Chap. i. 2, 3.—THE use of אֱלֹהִים in this section is constant and exclusive. The contents are in general of a kind that the name JEHOVAH might have been suitably employed. We have already remarked, that JEHOVAH frequently appears as the Creator of heaven and earth. But it is our design here to confirm our assertion by several examples, since it is of great importance for the whole view of the use of the Divine names. Thus, in passages of the Pentateuch which contain references to the part now under consideration, it is said, “For in six days JEHOVAH made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore JEHOVAH blessed the seventh day, and hallowed it.” Exod. xxii. 11; xxxi. 17. In Psalm civ., which celebrates the works of Nature, the name JEHOVAH is used throughout. “The trees of JEHOVAH,” v. 16. “O JEHOVAH, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom thou hast made them all; the earth is full of thy riches,” v. 24. Psalm viii., which embodies the substance of our section in the form of a prayer, begins and ends with, “O JEHOVAH our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!” In Psalm xxxiii. 6, it is said, with an evident reference to our section, “By the word of JEHOVAH were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth. In Isaiah xli. 5, JEHOVAH is said to be “he that created the heavens and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth and that which cometh out of it.”

But in one passage ELOHIM must stand under all circumstances, namely, Gen. i. 27. “So ELOHIM created man in his own image, in the image of ELOHIM created he him:” that here אֱלֹהִים is unavoidably necessary, is evident from its repetition in the passages where the same event is recorded, v. 1, and ix. 7 (6). Also by analogy בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים is used to designate *angels*, for which בְּנֵי יְהוָה is never found. One being only is JEHOVAH’s Son, the bearer of JEHOVAH’s image. Only the indefinite notion of a participation of the Divine nature suits creatures, however exalted—a resemblance to God, in opposition to a mere earthly origin—a mere earthly constitution like that possessed by other living beings. The angels are בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים, *divinioris nature participes*, in contrast to בְּנֵי אָדָם. Men are created in the image of God, in contrast to beasts. JE

HOVAH's image could as little be referred to here as in Ps. viii. 6, "Thou hast made him want a little of God;" *parum eum abesse jussisti a divino et cælesti statu*; יהוה could not be substituted for אלהים.

But if, in all the remainder of this section, there is no intrinsic reason which makes the name of ELOHIM necessary in itself, we must examine what determined the author to use this name so carefully, and to avoid so completely and intentionally the name JEHOVAH.

EWALD (*Compos.* p. 91) thinks that he has found the reason of this in the form of representation. According to him, only the name ELOHIM could be used in this section, because the God-head is here represented as working like a human architect. The indescribably Mighty One can only will and command, not carry on a work like a human being, and with intermissions, so as not to complete everything at once, and to enjoy repose.

This explanation is certainly, of all that could have been fixed upon, the most unfortunate. JEHOVAH does not avoid the *concrete*, but the *abstract*, which he resigns to ELOHIM. In him there is the most perfect *fuga vacui*, not *fuga pleni*. That the contents of this section are not too human for *Jehovah*, will appear by a simple inspection of such passages as ch. ii. 3; vi. 1-4; xviii., xix., &c. Gramberg (p. 12) lays down the position that "*Jehovista magis foret anthropopathismum quam Elohista*," and the correctness of the perception which lies at the basis of this position, that the name *Jehovah* is preferred on occasions when God, as it were, assumes flesh and blood as a prelude of his incarnation, cannot be doubted, and is confirmed by what has been already remarked on the fundamental relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM.

How God gradually made himself known as the being who was from eternity, as JEHOVAH—how by degrees from being ELOHIM he became to human apprehension, JEHOVAH—to indicate this is the object of the author. From this position, whence it is seen, not what God is in himself, but what he is in relation to men—the creation belongs to the ELOHIM. If there were nothing like creation, the religious sentiment would never rise above indistinctness and generality. And only through redemption does light fall on creation. A proof of this is given by those persons who never go beyond this one act of God, and for whom all the rest

are as if they had never been. To them God remains a distant God: they know only of the ELOHIM; this is shown by their partiality for the most vague designations of God—the *Deity, Heaven, Omnipotence, Providence, &c.*; and by their dread of all names which express God's personality, and indicate the absolute dependance of all existences upon him. God is to them an indefinite something; the *superior natura quam divinam vocant* of CICERO; the τὸ θεῖον of the Greeks. The Apostle says, Rom. i. 20, τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢτε ἀδιδος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θειότης. According to this passage nature contains a full and rich revelation of God, but to know it a νόησις is requisite, and this νόησις is wanting to the natural man. If that existed, the transition from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH would be unnecessary. Here Psalm xix. presents an analogy, ver. 2, "The heavens declare the glory of EL." But ver. 8, "The law of JEHOVAH is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of JEHOVAH is sure, making wise the simple." And thus the name JEHOVAH is used throughout the rest of the Psalm. Also here, in reference to God's being knowable, the name JEHOVAH is only attributed to him so far as he reveals himself in history, though elsewhere, viewed as a matter of fact, God also, as the author of nature, is called JEHOVAH.

But if the use of the name ELOHIM in this section is founded on the reasons we have alleged, it contains a reference to that unfolding of JEHOVAH of which the sequel informs us. For only with a reference to JEHOVAH, is God as the Creator designated ELOHIM.

Yet we must direct our attention to the plural of the verb, and the suffix in ch. i. 26. And אֱלֹהִים said let us make (נַעֲשֶׂה) man in *our* image, after *our* likeness. This plural is more important for explaining the plural form of אֱלֹהִים, because it stands by it separately. For that it is not chosen with reference to the form of אֱלֹהִים, is shown by the parallel passage, where JEHOVAH says (ch. xi. 7), "Go to! let *us* go down and there confound their language;" it appears also that the plural was adopted at the creation of man, the final end of the whole creation, in which the infinite energy of the Godhead was revealed quite differently from what it was in the rest of the creation. The only correct explanation is, that which we have already applied to the ELOHIM, so

that they serve for mutual confirmation. The plural denotes the fulness of powers, the extent, riches, and glory of his nature. The one God comprehends multiplicity in himself. Thus he can oppose to the “*we will build,*” “*we will make,*” of *men* who trust in their numbers and combination, *his own* “*we will go down,*” “*we will confound.*” The ancient Jews approached to a correct explanation of the plural, in reference to which, Theodoret, who advocates the allusion to the Trinity, has the following remark: Ἰουδαῖοι δὲ εἰς ἑτέραν ἐξώκειλαν παραφροσύνην· φασὶ γὰρ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰρηκέναι τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν τὸ ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον, κατὰ τινα μίμησιν τῶν τὰς μεγάλας πεπιστευμένων ἀρχάς. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπαρχοὶ καὶ στρατηγοὶ πληθυντικῶς εἰώθασιν λέγειν τὸ κελεύομεν καὶ γράφομεν καὶ προστάττομεν καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. The error lies only here, that they put the use of the plural in the mouths of those who are in the possession of the highest earthly power, and apply it so crudely and externally to account for the plural in the mouth of God, instead of tracing it back to its root, the fulness of powers, the *unus instar multorum*, and from this root deducing also the use of the plural in relation to God. Moreover, the reference of the plural to the Trinity, made by THEODORET and other Fathers, shows us that it was by accident that this explanation of ELOHIM was first preferred by PETER LOMBARD. It explains why the plural had not here, as there, been transferred to the translation. Still the analogy of עֲלֵהֶם, &c., serves to prevent our assenting, without reserve, to the opinion, that the meaning of the plural is altogether lost in אֱלֹהִים, that the plural denotes, as it does elsewhere sometimes, the *abstract*. That the plural could be used as the plural without any scruple, without men being led thereby into error—that the same form should be used by the worshippers of false gods as a designation of plurality, and by those of the true God, who possesses in himself what men were disposed to divide among a plurality—shows how firmly monotheism was grounded—how little the necessity was felt of distinguishing it externally from polytheism. The name *Elohim*, which certainly was originally appropriated to one God before polytheism was introduced, was used afterwards with a direct intention to show that *his* worshippers had all in one, which the rest of mankind believed they had in many. In this sense, the origination of this name, in

polytheism, or rather, a certain connection with it in the use of it, may be granted, while, in another sense, to allow such an origination would be absurd.*

Chap. ii. 4—iii.—In this section, instead of ELOHIM as the regular name of God which is only left where absolutely necessary, JEHOVAH ELOHIM is used.

We must, first of all, endeavour to determine the meaning of this compound expression. Parallel passages furnish the easiest and most certain means; and it is passing strange that so many have attempted to determine the meaning of JEHOVAH-ELOHIM, without a careful examination of them.

According to the parallel passages, they are both nominatives, so that יהוה stands in apposition to Jehovah; JEHOVAH-ELOHIM = JEHOVAH, who is also ELOHIM, or, what comes to the same thing, JEHOVAH ELOHIM, so that the two names form a *nomen compositum*. The reason for the combination is to be found in the opposition against a limited conception of JEHOVAH—in the endeavour to dissipate the illusion that JEHOVAH was *only* the God of Israel—an illusion by which JEHOVAH, that in itself is the higher designation of God, becomes relatively the lower, so that it is capable of being elevated by combination with a designation that in itself is lower. ELOHIM, thus combined, stands on a level with Sabaoth, the God of the Universe. A paraphrase of JEHOVAH-ELOHIM is contained in such passages as Ps. xviii. 32 (31) יהוה אלהים, "Who is God save JEHOVAH?" and Is. xlv. 6, where JEHOVAH says אין אלהים איתי, "Besides me there is no God," Deut. xxxii. 39. "There is no ELOHIM with me."

David's expressions of gratitude after he had received the promise through Nathan, 1 Chron. xvii. 16, compared with 2 Sam. vii. 18, furnish a direct commentary on JEHOVAH. "Who am I, JEHOVAH ELOHIM, and what is mine house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And yet this was a small thing in thy eyes, ELOHIM. . . Thou hast regarded me according to the estate of a man of high degree JEHOVAH ELOHIM. . . 20. Jehovah, there is none like thee, neither is there any Elohim beside thee; 26.

* GESENIUS (*Gesch.* p. 18) and HOFFMANN (*in Ersch and Grubers Enc.* ii. 3, p. 375) disapprove of the derivation of ELOHIM from the language of polytheism.

And now JEHOVAH thou art HA-ELOHIM." In these last words David explains why he addressed God as JEHOVAH ELOHIM. What JEHOVAH had done was so great that it could not be ascribed to a limited national God, but must be referred to a God who combined the liveliest concentration of his regard on one nation, with the unbounded sway of the universe. It afforded practical evidence that the God of Israel was also the Deity, the idea of whom includes whatever is divine.

Exod. ix. 30, Moses said to Pharaoh, "But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear JEHOVAH ELOHIM." That JEHOVAH was the God of the Hebrews, the Egyptians readily allowed. But the acknowledgment of JEHOVAH in this sense, was not sufficient to induce them to let Israel go. That JEHOVAH was the Most High, and God alone, the Lord of heaven and earth, to impress this truth on both them and the Israelites was the object of all the plagues, and this object had hitherto been very imperfectly attained. Every time, as soon as the impression had abated, they made a distinction between JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, and imagined that in heaven they could find a powerful defence against JEHOVAH.

In 1 Kings xviii. 21, Elijah represents it as the great question at issue between the worshippers of the true God and of Baal, whether JEHOVAH or Baal was HA-ELOHIM.

In Jonah iv. 6, it is said, "JEHOVAH ELOHIM prepared a gourd (Kikajon)." When God is spoken of in relation to the Ninevites, to whom he stood only in the most general relation, the author used the name ELOHIM. Thus ch. iii. 3, Nineveh was a great city of God לְאֱלֹהִים (the greatness, far from withdrawing it from its relation to God, made it only so much the closer), v. 5, 8, 9. On the contrary, in relation to his prophet Jonah, God was JEHOVAH. But had the author always used this name alone, the error might have arisen, that the universal God differed from the special, and was inferior to the latter. Hence the author, by connecting the two names in ch. iv. 6, shewed that the person was the same, only under different relations, that he who to Nineveh was ELOHIM, to Jonah was JEHOVAH. It was of so much greater importance to give prominence to the personal identity of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH, because the leading design of the book is to show that JEHOVAH was also the god of the Heathen, so that

it has a truly prophetic tendency. With this design it is shown in ch. i. how among the heathen mariners their religious sentiment took the form of an acknowledgment of JEHOVAH; in ch. i. 6, they say, "Call upon thy God (אֱלֹהֶיךָ), if so be that HA-ELOHIM will think upon us;" ver. 9, Jonah speaks to them of "JEHOVAH the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land;" ver. 14, after Jonah had declared that Jehovah had raised the storm, they cried to JEHOVAH, losing sight of the distinction between JEHOVAH and HA-ELOHIM, "O, JEHOVAH, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life . . . for thou, O, Jehovah, hast done as it pleased thee;" in chap. iii. the living fear of ELOHIM obtains mercy from JEHOVAH, which was only possible on the ground of the personal identity of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM. Afterwards the names might be used again separately, and to indicate more distinctly the identity of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, without any accurate separation, so that ELOHIM now appears in connection with Jonah.

In essentially the same sense in which JEHOVAH ELOHIM occurs in the passages above quoted, we find elsewhere ELOHIM JEHOVAH. Thus the two tribes and a half say (Josh. xxii. 22) EL ELOHIM, EL ELOHIM JEHOVAH, he knoweth, and Israel he shall know. Although here the three Divine names certainly form a climax, so that ELOHIM is greater than EL, and JEHOVAH greater than ELOHIM, yet, even thus, JEHOVAH in this connection obtains its full meaning; the preceding EL ELOHIM show that JEHOVAH, to whom they appeal as a witness, and to whose vengeance (in case they had been disobedient) they subject themselves, was the Almighty and only God, and not one God among many, against whom some other protector might be found in heaven. Compare Ps. l. 1. אֱלֹהִים יְהוָה דָּבָר.

If now we reflect on these parallel passages, and observe that in the preceding section ELOHIM is exclusively used, that the combination of JEHOVAH with ELOHIM does not go farther than the section now before us, but that afterwards JEHOVAH and ELOHIM are placed alone when the subject requires it; no doubt can any longer exist respecting the object and meaning of the combination. JEHOVAH is that Divine name which is suited to the contents of one section. We here take the first step in the transition from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH. We are here met by the living, personal,

self-revealing, holy God. He appears as the loving preserver of mankind, as the director of moral life, commanding and forbidding, as the author of punishment, as the opener of the prospect that reaches to the final consummation. Had the author merely had in view those who had attained to a firm and clear knowledge of the relation of ELOHIM to JEHOVAH, he would have been satisfied with using the name JEHOVAH alone. But since it was rather his design to lead into the depths of the relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, the transition from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH simply, appeared to him as too precipitate. He feared a misunderstanding—feared that man might regard that God who held converse so humanly with man, as personally different from the Creator of heaven and earth, as a mere subordinate God and Mediator. In this section, therefore, he uses JEHOVAH ELOHIM in combination, in order that in the sequel where JEHOVAH occurs, the ELOHIM manifested in him may be acknowledged, and where ELOHIM occurs, that the JEHOVAH concealed in him might also be acknowledged.

That the contents of the section taken as a whole required the name JEHOVAH, has been already shown. Apart from this fundamental character, in several particular passages ELOHIM might be used as well as in ch. i. Thus, for instance, ch. ii. 5, "For JEHOVAH ELOHIM had not caused it to rain upon the earth." Had the event been noticed here simply as a natural phenomenon, ELOHIM would have been the proper word. But the notice is here introductory to what is soon to be said about the planting of Paradise, and thus obtains quite a different meaning; the living and loving God cared for man even before he was brought into existence, and prepared the earth for his dwelling-place. Thus also in the narrative of the formation of the woman, ver. 18-25, if the woman was merely considered as a part of the creation as in ch. i. 27, where man is noticed only as a link in the great chain of created being, as a part of nature, ELOHIM might be used. But in this connection, where the formation of woman would show the love of God, which took an interest in lonely and destitute man—and at the sametime his obligations to thankfulness—the glory of God as the highest end of marriage, and criminality of the fall brought about by the seduction of the woman, here JEHOVAH was the only suitable term. With perfect propriety JEHOVAH ELOHIM stands at the head of the section. The inscription, which

is designedly in close conformity to the close of the preceding section (compare ver. 3 $\text{בְּהִבְרֹאֵם בְּיוֹם יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לַעֲשׂוֹת}$ * with ver. 4 $\text{בְּהִבְרֹאֵם בְּיוֹם יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם}$), makes it evident that in this verse the beginning of the world's history was to be told as far as the agency of JEHOVAH was concerned, as the former section was occupied with the agency of ELOHIM.

That the name JEHOVAH can only stand where the author is speaking, and not where he introduces another speaking, will be at once understood after the preceding remarks. JEHOVAH ELOHIM is not a distinct divine name, but ELOHIM is only added in order to prevent misconceptions of Jehovah as it occurs in the context. If JEHOVAH ELOHIM were found in any other connection, doubt would be cast on the correctness of our explanation, according to which only JEHOVAH or ELOHIM can stand, and the use of one or the other must be referred to their proper ground. In ch. iii. 1-5 it is said, "Now the serpent was more subtle than any beast of the field which JEHOVAH ELOHIM had made, and he said unto the woman, yea, hath God said, ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, we may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, ELOHIM hath said, ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, ye shall not surely die; for ELOHIM doth know that in the day ye eat thereof then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as ELOHIM, knowing good and evil." If the phraseology had been in strict accordance with the fact, JEHOVAH must necessarily have been used both in the language of the serpent and of the woman. For JEHOVAH is pre-eminently adapted to all references to the moral nature of man, the living, personal, holy God, and, according to the author, JEHOVAH ELOHIM (= JEHOVAH) said what the serpent and the woman attribute to ELOHIM. The discrepancy between the phraseology and the fact must have its distinct reason. HARTMANN alleges (p. 128)

* לַעֲשׂוֹת is here added as a contrast to שָׁבַת . God's creating was an act which was succeeded by resting. Thus also rest follows the doings of men. *To create* is peculiar to God, *to do* is common to him and to men. See Exod. xx. 9-11, "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of JEHOVAH thy God; in it thou shalt not do לֹא-עֲשֶׂה any work, &c., for in six days JEHOVAH עָשָׂה made heaven and earth. See also ver. 2.

that the author felt it derogatory to allow the venerable holy name JEHOVAH to be uttered by a beast, a serpent. But this reason is inadmissible, partly because there are no traces in Holy Writ of such a superstitious feeling in reference to the name JEHOVAH; (the sacred writers have no scruples to put it in the mouths of heathens, yea, even of insolent mockers; see Exodus v. 2, "And Pharoah said, Who is JEHOVAH?" &c.,) partly because it does not explain the use of ELOHIM by the woman. The following appears to be the correct explanation: The master-stroke of the Tempter's policy was then, as it is still now, to change JEHOVAH into ELOHIM—the living, holy God, into a *nescio quod numen*: (with what vagueness the term ELOHIM is used by the serpent is shown by the expression, "Ye shall be as ELOHIM;" ye shall be raised to an unearthly nature and dignity.) Having done this, and not before, he could venture upon deluding them with a downright falsehood. JEHOVAH is not a man that he should lie. The woman should have employed the name JEHOVAH as an impenetrable shield, to repel the fiery darts of the Wicked One. The use of the name ELOHIM (that this is not to be accounted for from ignorance of the name JEHOVAH is proved by ch iv. 1) was the beginning of her fall. First, there was a depression and obscuration of the religious sentiment; then the tree appeared good to eat, and pleasant to the eye—God died in the soul, and sin became alive.

Let it be noticed what important results the section under consideration ensures for our whole enquiry. The first that offers itself (which has been already noticed by HARTMANN) is, that the compound name JEHOVAH ELOHIM is fatal to the hypothesis, which admits only two names, JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, as characteristic. It follows, moreover, from JEHOVAH ELOHIM, that the Divine names are not introduced by the alleged authors of distinct fragments—we have already seen that JEHOVAH ELOHIM implies a preceding section with the simple ELOHIM—but that the author of the whole had deliberately chosen it. Then, from the relation which JEHOVAH in one place, and ELOHIM in another, bears to the contents of the two sections, we infer that the difference between the two names is founded in the matter of fact, and therefore expect to see them interchangeably used in the sequel, according to the difference of the contents. How accurately and profoundly the author estimated this difference—how little therefore it matters if

the reason of using one or other of the Divine names does not at once strike a superficial observer—is shown by the ELOHIM in the mouth of the woman and the serpent. But from this section alone we feel justified in asserting, that whoever can explain the interchangeable use of the Divine names, also understands Genesis; and whoever understands Genesis, can be in no perplexity in reference to the change of the Divine names which regulates the whole representation.

Chap. iii. 22, “And JEHOVAH ELOHIM said, behold the man is become as *one of us* to know good and evil,” requires, after the preceding remarks, no lengthened explanation. The expression is explained, as well as the plural form of אֱלֹהִים and יְיָ, &c. by the infinite plenitude of powers in God, according to which he is not one among many, but one = many; his unity is not the unity of poverty, but of wealth. The ground on which he has not chosen to say, “the man is become as *I* am,” &c. is the design to indicate the still remaining infinite distance between man and God; to represent the likeness which would be purchased at so high a price, as inferior and partial. Moreover, the phrase, “as one of us,” is not entirely dependant on the ELOHIM, but rather co-ordinate with him, so that it might have been used if merely “and JEHOVAH said” had preceded. This is shown by ch. xi. 7, where JEHOVAH is represented as saying, “We will go down and confound their language.” As there is in JEHOVAH a plurality, in the sense in which alone the true religion can admit it, so in his mouth the words “as one of us” are not unsuitable.

Chap. iv.—That throughout this section JEHOVAH appears prominent may be explained from the nature of the contents. The offerings were presented not to ELOHIM, but to JEHOVAH. The presentation of offerings, like every other religious service, rests on the conviction that God is not secluded in heaven, but reveals himself as making retribution both in rewards and punishments. Only JEHOVAH, not ELOHIM, gives a manifest token of his pleasure or displeasure, and places himself in a moral relation to men, according to their different conduct. To JEHOVAH it belongs to appear as an internal and external avenger. The manifestation of God in conscience is far more vivid and distinct than in external nature.

Ver. 1, in relation to ver. 25, is worthy of notice, as proving with what nice discrimination the author selects the Divine names. In the former passage we read, "And Adam knew Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from JEHOVAH;" in the second passage, "And Adam knew his wife again, (an expressive allusion to ver. 1), and she bare a son, and called his name Seth, for ELOHIM, said she, hath given me another seed instead of Abel." At the birth of her first child, her piety was very animated. God had shown by the punishment he inflicted, that he was JEHOVAH, and now he also was known to be JEHOVAH by the benefit he conferred. In her first-born Eve saw a blessed pledge of his grace. At Seth's birth, her pious feelings were less lively; they went no further than an acknowledgment of God's general providence; and the view of the event as one in the ordinary course of nature, was not, so entirely as before, kept in the background. Leah offers an instance of a similar kind, so that the correctness of the explanation can admit of no doubt. Here also we should keep in view how the result in this particular case affects the whole subject.

In most passages of the section before us, though יהוה is in itself more suitable, yet ELOHIM might stand, if the reference to what follows, to the first step of transition from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH, which first prevails in the history of the flood, had here been made; and if here a reference to ch. I had not rather predominated, to indicate that the first step of the transition from ELOHIM to JEHOVAH was reached, so that here the general grounds, not less than the particular, favour the use of JEHOVAH. On the other hand, in v. 16, "And Cain went out from the presence of JEHOVAH, מִלְּפָנֵי יְהוָה. JEHOVAH, under all circumstances, must necessarily stand. That the words do not merely mean, he went away from the place where he had spoken with JEHOVAH, is shown by what follows immediately—"and dwelt in the land of Nod" (נֹד: *Verbanung, Exile.*) SCHUMANN correctly remarks, "*A Jehovah discedere = a loco ubi Jehovah est, in terram peregrinam abire, ubi Jehovah non est.*" JEHOVAH's presence, the Revelation of the living and personal God, was confined to human society, the Church of God. To be driven out of human society and out of communion with God, was one and the same thing. Out of Eden there was only ELOHIM. Here, therefore, ELOHIM was as little

suitable, as it would have been for Jacob to say (unless he had continued to dream) "truly *Elohim* (instead of *Jehovah*) was in this place" (Gen. xxviii. 16), or for it to be said in Jonah i. 3, "Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of *Elohim*."

Ver. 26 remains to be noticed, "Then began men to call upon the name of JEHOVAH." That this is the only correct rendering is evident from other passages in which the phrase לְקַרְא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה (or יִקְרָא) occurs, always in this sense, and particularly in Genesis, where it is a regular formula. A comparison of these parallel passages shows also that this phrase does not denote every kind of calling on God, not prayer in general, which must have been contemporaneous with the very beginnings of the human race, but the solemn calling on God in a consecrated place, in church fellowship, so that it implies the existence of a church. Wherever the calling on God is mentioned in the history of the patriarchs, it stands in connection with some solemn occasion (Abraham on his arrival in Canaan, Gen. xii. 8; on his return from Egypt, Gen. xiii. 4; after planting the grove in Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 33; Isaac at Beersheba, after God had repeated his promise to him, Gen. xxvi. 25); and this was not included in the circle of ordinary and individual devotion. It therefore appears that no inference can be drawn from this passage against the antiquity of the name JEHOVAH, as if it first came unto use in the time of Enoch. But, on the other hand, the passage shows that according to the view of the author, at least, the name JEHOVAH was already in use in the time of Enoch; it belongs, therefore, to the line of witnesses in favour of its antiquity, and against the view that for a long period, אֱלֹהִים only had been in use. If only *calling on Jehovah* had been spoken of, without the mention of *the name*, this passage could not have been adduced in evidence. The writer might then have attributed to God the name which was common in his own times. But the calling on *the name* of JEHOVAH, supposed an acquaintance with it, that this name had already become the standing name for the nature of God. That calling on the name of a God implies the utterance of that name, is shown in 1 Kings xviii. 26, "And they called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O, Baal, hear us."

Chap. v.—The Divine names occur only a few times in this section, and their explanation presents no difficulty. Ver. 1, “In the day that ELOHIM created man—in the likeness of ELOHIM made he him.” ELOHIM necessarily is used in the second clause for the reasons assigned, in reference to ch. i. 27. But the first Elohim is not introduced merely from its connection with the second. It is for reasons peculiar to itself in its proper place. God, in ver. 1, is presented under a quite different aspect from that in ch. ii. 7—only as the originator of existence. בְּדִמְיוֹתָי אֱלֹהִים is used in order to distinguish him as standing at the head of the genealogy. Compare the clause, “In the likeness of ELOHIM made he him,” with “and Adam begat [a son] in his own likeness and in his own image. Ver. 3. The drift of this verse appears to be, God created man not as a being foreign to himself, as one of the irrational creation, but created him out of his own nature. The same act is here attributed to God genealogically, which before was mentioned historically. But, as the first member of the genealogy, God is not JEHOVAH, but ELOHIM. Even the angels are never described as sons of JEHOVAH. In ver. 22 and 24, “And Enoch walked with HA-ELOHIM, and he was not, for ELOHIM took him,” the use of the first ELOHIM is accounted for, from the tacit contrast between Enoch’s conduct and a corrupt world, (compare vi. 9); and the second ELOHIM was rendered necessary by the first, since he walked not with the world but with God, so he was taken away from the world by God, to be with God. In ver. 29, where Noah’s parents say at his birth, “This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which JEHOVAH hath cursed;” the use of JEHOVAH is justifiable because an act is spoken of, which proceeded from the living, personal, holy God. A comparison with ch. iii. 17, where the same act is attributed to JEHOVAH ELOHIM, confirms the opinion that this compound name was not used indifferently, but was chosen by the author for a definite object in each particular section.

THE HISTORY OF THE FLOOD.

Gen. vi.-ix.

On this narrative, Ewald remarks (p. 81), "It shines like a luminary of surpassing brilliancy on the whole extent of the JEHOVAH and ELOHIM documents; its rays penetrate and warm the furthest corners of the system." Language like this justifies our most diligent attention.

We shall first take a survey of the whole course of events. Ch. vii. 1-8 forms a kind of introduction. They inform us in general of the causes of the Divine judgment, the fearful progression of human corruption, and the determination of God to punish the world and show favour to Noah. With the exception of the mention of "the sons of ELOHIM," JEHOVAH is used throughout and repeatedly. "JEHOVAH said, my spirit shall not always strive with men;" "It repented JEHOVAH that he had made man on the earth;" "JEHOVAH said, I will destroy man whom I have created;" "Noah found grace in the eyes of JEHOVAH."

Then follows ver. 9 to the end, a detail of the carrying into effect the Divine determinations of grace and judgment, as well as the events which followed it. Here from the first there is a frequent use of the name ELOHIM—"The earth was corrupt before ELOHIM," not before JEHOVAH; "ELOHIM looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt," &c.; and this preference for ELOHIM continues to the end. But, in the course of the narrative, in several places JEHOVAH unexpectedly occurs. Thus ch. vii. 1-5, where JEHOVAH says to Noah, "Come thou and all thy house into the ark," and directs him how many of the clean and unclean beasts he was to take with him; "And Noah did all that JEHOVAH commanded him;" ver. 16, "JEHOVAH shut him in;" immediately after the words, "And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh as ELOHIM had commanded him." Ch. viii. 20, "Noah builded an altar unto JEHOVAH;" ver. 21, "JEHOVAH smelled a sweet savour, and JEHOVAH said in his heart." Chap. ix. 26, "Noah said, Blessed be JEHOVAH, the God of Shem," while in ver. 27, it passes again to ELOHIM, and we read "ELOHIM shall enlarge Japhet."

It cannot be denied, that the explanation of the facts here presented to us, which has been given by those who justly maintain the practical difference of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH, and their designed interchange, yet without perceiving the special peculiarity of Genesis in their use, (so that they believe that rules drawn from other books of Scripture may be applied here), is unsatisfactory. Generally, where God appears judging and punishing, JEHOVAH is immediately introduced. The *jus talionis* which peculiarly belongs to JEHOVAH, the personal, righteous, and holy God, is prominent in the relation of ver. 13 to ver. 12, “And ELOHIM looked upon the earth, and behold it was *corrupt* נִשְׁדָּהָהּ, for all flesh had *corrupted* הִשְׁדָּהוּ his way upon the earth.” Ver. 13, “Behold, I will destroy them מִשְׁדֵּוֹתָם with the earth.” Man was created after the image of God; the earth was a habitation of holiness. Evil as guilt, is followed by evil as punishment; outward desecration follows the inward. Let us only compare v. 11, “and the earth was corrupt before HA-ELOHIM; ch. x. 9, “Nimrod was a mighty hunter before JEHOVAH;” ch. xix. 13, “the cry of them is waxen great before the eyes of JEHOVAH. An escape from this point of view is so much the less possible, since immediately before, in ver. 1–8, God, in reference to the same act of punitive justice, is repeatedly called JEHOVAH. How could the peculiar propriety of Elohim be here justified, without at the same time proving JEHOVAH to be there unsuitable? EWALD has not uttered a syllable on this difficulty, which could not have escaped his notice; SACK thinks that in v. 11, where it is said, “Noah walked with ELOHIM,” that ELOHIM is alone suitable, because here the general idea of the Divine life is intended to be expressed; the following revelations are ascribed not to JEHOVAH, to whom they properly belong, but to ELOHIM, *quia adjunctae illi judicio de Noacho eunte coram Deo*. But this expedient is manifestly insufficient. If an irregularity in the use of the Divine names, continued through several chapters, were dependent on so accidental a circumstance, the apprehension in the author’s mind of the difference between them must have been very weak and indistinct. Yet after he had used ELOHIM in ver. 2 for specific reasons, he continues his narrative in v. 3 with JEHOVAH. Why should he not have done this here also? But the acts of Divine mercy in like manner belong rather to JEHOVAH than to ELOHIM; JEHOVAH is gracious and merciful, and of great goodness

(v. p. 295), and according to ver. 8, "Noah found grace in the eyes of JEHOVAH." The very special direction respecting the means of sustenance for the living beings which were to be preserved in the ark from the general desolation, belongs not to a hidden but a revealed God.

But the defenders of the JEHOVAH and ELOHIM documents may not, on this account, triumph over their adversaries; for they find themselves in not less embarrassment, even apart from the general counter-arguments by which they are met. The ELOHIM documents are said to form the groundwork throughout, but in these the sections, ch. vi. 1-8; ch. vii. 1-9; ch. viii. 20-22, from the JEHOVAH documents are intercalated. But they are involved in inextricable perplexity with ch. vii. 16; ix. 26, where JEHOVAH occurs in the midst of Elohist paragraphs. Besides, one knows not how to get over HARTMANN'S objections (p. 111). "The section ch. vi. 1-8 is adduced as the composition of a writer who used the name JEHOVAH, and yet we find (v. 6-8) a reference to the ELOHIM document of ch. i. in expression and classification." We seem obliged to tear the seamless texture of the section. And lastly, we must wilfully shut our eyes in reference to those passages where it is as clear as day that the interchange of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH depend on their material difference from one another. See for examples, vi. 2; vii. 16; ix. 26, 27.

The correctness of the view which will be set forth in the sequel receives antecedent confirmation from its satisfactorily explaining all the facts presented in this section; but we shall obtain its full verification, when, at the conclusion of the investigation, we survey the whole number of analogies which serve to establish it, when it will appear that the principles which we believe must be here attributed to the author, were observed by him with invariable consistency through the whole.

The author intended to show how ELOHIM by degrees became JEHOVAH. The first step was already gained, and he had the second in his eye. The history of Abraham almost immediately succeeds that of the Flood; for in the intervening portion the Divine names occur only a few times, scattered here and there, and the contents are of a kind that the name ELOHIM is quite inadmissible. If the author therefore intended, before entering on the new large section, to draw attention to the fact by the use of the Divine

names—that he who had already become JEHOVAH was relatively ELOHIM, that therefore still more glorious developments and relations of God were at hand, this must necessarily take place in our section, where, owing to the oft-repeated use of the Divine names, his design could not be concealed.

Had the author from the beginning used ELOHIM, one side of the truth—to wit, that God was already relatively JEHOVAH, and shewed himself as such in the whole of this great event—would have remained concealed. Hence he uses in the introduction the name JEHOVAH with an intentionally greater frequency. Now the repeated ELOHIM in the following representation, in part respecting acts in reference to which JEHOVAH had immediately before appeared, could no longer be misunderstood. After comparing the introduction, ELOHIM could not be understood as simply such, but ELOHIM in the transition state to JEHOVAH—even that JEHOVAH who, in relation to what follows, is still ELOHIM.

To this view the אֱלֹהִים in ch. vi. 1-8, where it occurs, must be taken as an exception, and equally יְהוָה in ch. vi. 9, to the end of the whole section.

אֱלֹהִים occurs in ch. vi. 1-8 only once, in ver. 2 (in ver. 4 as a repetition), “And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of Elohim saw the daughters of men, that they were fair, and they took them wives of all which they chose.” To justify the use of ELOHIM, it must here be determined who are to be understood by the *B'ne Ha-Elohim*, whether, as several suppose, angels or demi-gods, or rather the pious worshippers of God.

For the latter view, and against the former, there are the following reasons. *First*, For such a mythological representation, as must be maintained if we understand angels to be spoken of, all analogies are wanting in the Old Testament, so that nothing but the most stringent necessity could induce us to admit it. The boundary between the heavenly and the earthly is never disturbed. The standing designation of angels as holy ones, קְדוֹשִׁים, includes in it the “neither marrying, nor being given in marriage,” Matt. xxii. 30. *Secondly*, The connection. The genesis of *human* corruption, and its ascent to the highest point, are designed to be represented. *Thirdly*, The threatening in ver. 3 appears unfounded, if the chief offenders were not members of the human

race. God's spirit would no longer strive with men, since they had shown themselves to be sensual, incapable of letting themselves be improved by the Spirit of God. And yet the charge of sensuality is brought against angels! The רָאִתָּם so closely connected with the words immediately preceding, deserves notice, "Now, since corruption had reached its height, God said," &c.* *Fourthly*, The expression "saw that they were fair, and took them wives of all which they chose," supposes that the persons spoken of could form *legitima conjugia*, and that their criminality consisted in regarding beauty instead of goodness, in following their self-will instead of God's will. But this would not be the crime chargeable in angels, but that they were inflamed with lust towards beings in flesh. *Fifthly*, Its use as a warning for the Israelites, the reference to the prohibition of marriages with the Canaanitish women. This character of the passage is altogether lost, if we understand "the sons of God" to mean angels. It is very apparent, on a careful comparison of parallel passages, how anxious the author was, both by history and precept, to warn against forming connexions which, on religious grounds, were ill-sorted, and to represent this as a principal source of apostacy, and as a principal cause of the Divine judgments. For example, Exod. xxxiv. 15, 16, "Lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land. . . . And thou take of their daughters unto thy sons, and their daughters go a whoring after their gods, and make thy sons go a whoring after their gods." Deut. vii. 3, 4, "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. For they will turn away thy son from following me, that they may serve other gods; so will the anger of JEHOVAH be kindled against you, and destroy thee suddenly." Numb. xxv. 1, "And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit whoredom with the daughters of Moab; (there is the same contrast between Israel, the people of the Lord, and the daughters of Moab, which there is here between the sons of God and the daughters of men); and they called the people unto the sacrifice of

* VON BOHLEN (*Comm.* p. 83), on ver. 3 remarks, with great *naïveté*, "This difficult verse would more suitably stand after ver. 6; for here it interrupts the account of the giants."

their gods, and the people did eat, and bowed down to their gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-Peor, and the anger of JEHOVAH was kindled against Israel." Compare Numb. xxxi. 15, 16, also 1 Kings xi. 1, 2. In ver. 4 the בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים are mentioned who are noticed not only in this connection, but on other occasions. If the *B'ne Elohim* were angels, their offspring must have been specifically different from all others. The meaning of the clause, "And also after that, when the sons of Elohim came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them," is admirably expounded by CALVIN, "*Emphasin habet particula בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים mirum non fuisset, si talis immanitas regnasset in posteris Kain; sed universalis illuvies inde clarius patet, quod sanctum genus eadem corruptela inquinatum fuit. Tanta contagio, quæ occupaverat paucas familias quæ dei sacraria esse debebant non parum amplificat gravitatem mali. Altior itaque gigantium origo fuit, sed deinde eorum sectam imitati sunt, qui fuerant ex promiscuis connubiis geniti.*" Such a view only can account for this historical notice in a work which was not designed to communicate mere curiosities of the primeval world. *Seventhly*, That the term *B'ne Elohim* should be applied to men, cannot be thought so very strange, since just before, ch. v. 1, God is placed at the head of the genealogy. All men are, accordingly, in a certain sense, sons of God; but in a more special sense those who bear the image and likeness of God, and maintain communion with him. Ch. iv. 26 is also here to be compared, which in the maintenance of public worship is attributed to the family of Seth, and therefore conveys an intimation of the same contrast between a pious and a godless race, which is here more distinctly exhibited.

Let us now consider what is urged by our opponents, by VATER especially (*Comm.* i. 55) against the explanation that we have aimed to establish. He admits that the phrase "sons of God," according to an indisputable *usus loquendi*, sometimes denotes the worshippers of God (Numb. xxi. 29; Deut. xiv. 1; Mal. ii. 11), that, therefore, considered in itself, it *might* be so understood here. But it must be added, that the sons of God being placed here in direct contrast to the daughters of men, *must* mean the worshippers of God, since the reference is to unlawful marriages. According to the Mosaic Law, no other inequality of station and rank was

a preventive but the one which rests on the religious difference which the term indicates. See MICHAELIS' *Mosaisches Recht*, ii. §. 100. *Proh indignum facinus!* The sons of God were allowed to take only wives of equal dignity, daughters of God!

But VATER raises a twofold objection against the application of this *usus loquendi* to the passage under consideration. *First*, The daughters of men, whom the sons of God take, can be no other than the daughters which (ver. 1) were born to men; then, if אֲנָשִׁים denote there the whole human race, we cannot apply it here to a particular class of men. But the general use of אֱלֹהִים in ver. 1 may very reasonably be followed in ver. 2 by the more confined sense, since the limitation is there made by the contrast; and especially since one member of the contrast is of far less importance than the other, the little company of the sons of God can hardly be reckoned against the great corrupt mass, so that the idea of אֲנָשִׁים is not essentially altered. *Secondly*, The term "daughters" would lead us most naturally to understand the term בָּנִים, sons, in a similar sense, as expressive of actual descent. But "sons of God," sons in the sense in which daughters of men are daughters, even angels are not; nor, on the other, is sonship in the case of the pious, a mere empty name. In both cases—angels and pious men—the ground of the appellation is formed by a connection with God in life and character. But the apparent inequality between the sons and the daughters is diminished still more by observing, that as to the latter, the mere physical descent is not the point to be regarded, but the resemblance in moral constitution.

If we now enquire into the reasons why the pious worshippers of God are designated sons of ELOHIM, and not sons of JEHOVAH, one is immediately offered to us in the contrast with the daughters of men. We have already seen, when a contrast is to be expressed between heaven and earth, God and man, the most general designation of God is commonly chosen. But apart from such a contrast, Elohim would be here the most suitable. Sons of JEHOVAH would have expressed too much. This dignity was first bestowed on those among whom the character of JEHOVAH had been fully unfolded. Deut. xiv. 1, 2, "Ye are the sons of JEHOVAH your God (בָּנִים אַתֶּם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם); ye shall not cut yourselves, &c.; for thou art an holy people to JEHOVAH

thy God," where a similar contrast is made between exalted dignity and destiny, and unworthy conduct.

Let us now turn from justifying the use of ELOHIM in the Jehovistic portions, to justify the use of JEHOVAH in the Elohistie sections. And first on ch. vii. 1-5. The beginning of this chapter was certainly the right place to point out, that he who was relatively called ELOHIM, in another very important respect was JEHOVAH; and therefore to call it again to remembrance in ch. vi. 1-8. We stand here on the threshold of a great catastrophe. Precisely here, under JEHOVAH's authority, is the proper place for the direction respecting the preference in point of number which Noah was to give the clean beasts over the unclean. For the former alone would be used for sacrifices, and sacrifices were not presented to ELOHIM, but to JEHOVAH. Compare on this point v. 2, "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens," &c., with ch. viii. 20, "And Noah builded an altar to Jehovah, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar." It was proper that he to whom the offerings were presented, should provide for their being presented. This command, in reference to the beasts, goes beyond the general care of the Creator for their preservation; this special supplementary direction belongs to a personal revealed God. Accordingly, in the account of Noah's execution of the Divine commission, it is said, ch. vi. 22, "Thus did Noah; according to all that ELOHIM commanded him, so did he." On the other hand, in ch. vii. 5, we read, "And Noah did according to all that JEHOVAH commanded him." Again, in v. 9, where it is narrated in general terms, that all the beasts, clean and unclean, went by pairs into the ark, without referring to the number of pairs, it is said, "as ELOHIM had commanded Noah." The distinction between clean and unclean beasts is also noticed, with a reference to ELOHIM in v. 8 and 9, so that the current assertion, that only the supposed author of the Jehovistic documents knew of this distinction, is palpably false. Only the provision for a greater number of the former is attributed to JEHOVAH.*

* Hic auctor animalia munda discernit ab immundis, quo instituta Levitica in mentem lectoribus revocat, per anthropomorphismum Jehovah tributa. GRAMBERG, p. 22.

Then follows ch. vii. 16, "And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as Elohim had commanded, and Jehovah shut him in." The respective agencies of ELOHIM and JEHOVAH are here intentionally contrasted. ELOHIM cares for the whole creation (that God was willing to preserve all he had created, is very emphatically intimated in v. 13-15, all classes of animals, as they are enumerated in ch. i., all kinds by pairs, so that in the midst of destruction, the preserving principle, the most comprehensive agency, is developed.) JEHOVAH the righteous, the merciful, cares for him whom he had seen righteous in that generation, and who had found grace in his eyes. When JEHOVAH closed the door upon him, it was certain that not all the waters of heaven and earth could force it open.

In ch. viii. 20, 21, in the account of Noah's sacrifice, the name JEHOVAH is suitable, since this act of worship implies the greatest activity of the religious principle, and belongs not to a vanishing but a personal God.

The reason of the interchange of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM in ch. ix. 26, 27, has been already given in the *Christologie*, i. 1, p. 47. In the relation of these two verses to one another, the author indirectly explains the relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM. JEHOVAH is the God of the Shemitic race: ELOHIM only is related to Japhet. This indicates that, for the present, Shem and Japhet are not on a complete equality; and while it points to events by which ELOHIM would become JEHOVAH to the Shemites, it shows likewise that hitherto God had been relatively to the family of Noah only ELOHIM. But he continues to be for Japhet what he was at first. Now, if here the author without doubt expressly points to a future transition of ELOHIM into JEHOVAH within the family of Shem, then certainly the view which we have taken of the repeated use of ELOHIM in this whole section must appear very natural.

In the whole section no passage can be pointed out in which, on the supposition that our theory is correct, JEHOVAH must necessarily stand instead of ELOHIM, or would be more suitable than in the passages where it really occurs. Thus the blessing which God pronounces on Noah is referable to the general natural blessings, is a repetition of the blessing after the finished creation which appeared to be withdrawn by the flood, and belongs there-

fore to אלהים. Thus the precepts enjoined are of a general character both as it regards God and man. The same may be affirmed of the covenant that follows, especially if contrasted with the later Abrahamic covenant. It is a covenant between ELOHIM and "every living creature;" ver. 15, "All flesh that is upon the earth;" ver. 17, how vastly different; ver. 26, "Blessed be JEHOVAH, God of Shem!"

Yet it is deserving of notice, that in some passages of the Elohistic part of the narrative, ELOHIM must stand under all circumstances, and, therefore, is independent of the reasons by which, in general, the use of Elohim in this part is justified. Such is the expression in ch. vi. 9, "Noah walked with ELOHIM." We have already remarked (ch. v.), that in this phrase, the merely understood contrast to walking with the world, was sufficient to occasion the use of ELOHIM. But here, by what immediately precedes, the contrast is more than merely implied. Noah was a man just and blameless in his generation (the universal ungodliness of which had been described in the foregoing verses); and not with them, but with God, Noah walked. See ch. ix. 6 compared with ch. i. "In the image of ELOHIM made he man."

Chap. x.—In this section neither of the Divine names occur, excepting JEHOVAH, twice, in ver. 9, "And he (Nimrod) was a mighty hunter before JEHOVAH;" wherefore, it is said, "Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before JEHOVAH." According to the current explanation, which supposes Nimrod to be described as a hunter in the common sense of the word, and that לַעֲיֵן יְהוָה means no more than *in God's sight*, or *God knows*, therefore merely indicates a higher degree of skill,* the use of JEHOVAH in this place could not be justified. But, besides this, there is another interpretation, according to which Nimrod was a hunter of men, and the phrase לַעֲיֵן יְהוָה is understood to indicate, that with all his apparent exemption from control, and independence, he still perpetrated his misdeeds under the eye of the living, avenging, and punishing God. The name JEHOVAH would in this case be quite appropriate. The observations of JOSEPHUS on Nimrod are con-

* See BOCHART, PERIZONIUS, VATER, and others.

formable to this idea of his character. "Nimrod," he says, "excited them to contumely and contempt of God . . . he persuaded them not to own that they were indebted for their happiness to God, but that their own prowess obtained it for them. And by degrees he established himself in the sovereignty, thinking that in this way only he could seduce men from the fear of God, if they habitually relied on his own power."* This is a view in reference to which WINER has far too hastily exclaimed, "*Sed hae nugae sunt!*" AUGUSTINE, following it, has remarked, *Quid autem significatur hoc nomine, quod est venator, nisi animalium terrigenarum deceptor, oppressor, exstinctor.* De civ. dei. 16, 4. HERDER (*Hebr. Poesie.* i. p. 233) says, *that Nimrod was an ensnarer of men by cunning and power.* Agreeably to this interpretation, J. D. MICHAELIS remarks on לִנְרֹד יְהוָה; *vidente et indignante deo, quod in conspectu omniscii numinis, excusso ejus metu et reverentia, alios opprimere aude-ret.* For this latter view, and against the first-mentioned, the following reasons may be given. *First*, the name Nimrod. The only correct derivation of it is, the 1 plural fut. of נִמְרָד *rebellare*. (Other derivations, as that in SIMONIS, *Onom.* p. 472, are so palpably false, that they are not worth mentioning.) PERIZONIUS, in his *Origy. Babyl.* p. 122, has admirably pointed out how the name originated: *Crediderim ergo hominem hunc utpote venatorem ferocem et sodalium comitatu succinctum semper in ore habuisse et ingeminasse, ad reliquos in rebellionem excitandos illud נִמְרָד, נִמְרָד; h. e. rebellemus, rebellemus; atque inde postea ab aliis, etiam ipso Mose hoc vocabulo tanquam proprio nomine designatum.* The same writer produces several apt instances of nicknames being applied to men, of words, which they often, and in a characteristic manner repeated, and which in time were used as proper names. If this is settled to be the meaning of Nimrod's name, then the reference of לִנְרֹד יְהוָה to it is at once apparent; for whoever has

* Ἐξήρει δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε ὕβριν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν Νεβρώδης . . . ὅς ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς, μὴ τῷ Θεῷ διδόναι τὸ δι' ἐκείνον εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ταῦτα παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι. Καὶ περίστα δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς τυρουννίδα τὰ πράγματα, μόνως οὕτω νομίζων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ φόβου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, εἰ χρωμενοι τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει διατελοῖεν. JOSEPHUS *Antiq.* i. 4, § 2.

nothing but rebellion on his lips, and whose whole being is rebellion, cannot avoid the eye of the living God, nor escape his hand. Thus a deep irony lies in לַצַּיִד יְהוּדָה. *Secondly*, the words “*he was a mighty hunter*” stand between “*he began to be a mighty one on the earth,*” and “*the beginning of his kingdom was,*” &c., ver. 10. It cannot be supposed that statements so closely allied in meaning should be separated by an interpretation entirely foreign to them. The hunting necessarily stands in connection with his sovereignty. This has been perceived by several of our opponents, as BOCHIART and PERIZONIUS. They think that hunting was Nimrod’s school for war, and for that reason is here mentioned. But if this reference really existed, it would at least be indicated by a word, and especially since the two are not so strictly connected (how many practised hunters never think of becoming conquerors, and how many conquerors were never hunters), since no single example readily occurs, of a transition from hunting to sovereignty. Then, in ver. 10, there is the future with Vau converse, and, therefore, because he was a mighty hunter, was the beginning of his kingdom, &c., by which VATER’s assertion, that the author had no intention to intimate a connection between Nimrod’s hunting and his subsequent regal authority, is altogether set at rest. *Thirdly*, Taking into account the whole historical complexion of the section, a notice like this, that Nimrod was a mighty hunter, was not to be expected; and the proverbial expression, “*as Nimrod the mighty hunter before Jehovah,*” deserves a place here only for its moral and religious importance, which, according to our interpretation, it has. To furnish merely information for the popular mind could not be the intention of the author, who never loses sight of his high object. *Fourthly*, The interpretation of לַצַּיִד יְהוּדָה by *quam maxime* is quite contrary to the genius of the language, although PERIZONIUS maintains that *coram domino* often denotes nothing more than *intensionem v. excellentiam rei cui jungitur*. In no place and at no time, however often it may be asserted, is a name of God, and least of all *JEHOVAH*, misapplied in the Old Testament, for the mere purpose of giving intensity or strength to an expression.* These reasons

* Since VON BOHLEN (who in p. 129 of his commentary, with his usual superficiality, sets aside the interpretation we have defended, simply and cheaply with saying, “the

are certainly more than sufficient to set aside the current interpretation. Only thus much may be conceded, that the expression was perhaps occasioned by Nimrod's being originally a hunter in a literal sense, as David was called a shepherd of the people, in allusion to his early occupation. Thus the use of יהוה, not אלהים, in this passage is perfectly justified: yet we may compare the לַבְּנֵי יְהוָה in ch. xxvii. 7, and the JEHOVAH in the introduction to the history of the flood, and in ch. xi.

Chap. xi.—In the narrative of the building of the tower of Babel, its frustration by the Lord, and the confusion of languages (v. 1-9), JEHOVAH is used throughout. This is exactly what we should expect; for God here shewed by facts that he was something more than ELOHIM, whom the God-forgetting generation neglected duly to acknowledge, since they feared not lest they should be hindered by him in their godless conduct and schemes. God here

allegorical explanation, an oppressor of men, is totally false) has revived the assertion which long ago was exploded, we must subject the passages he has quoted to a closer scrutiny. In reference to Gen. xxx. 8, xxxv. 5, we must remit our readers to subsequent investigations. That in Genesis xiii. 10 ("And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere before Jehovah destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, as the Garden of Jehovah, like the land of Egypt as thou comest unto Zoar), גַּן יְהוָה does not signify a garden of God, that is, a divine, a magnificent garden, but the garden of Jehovah, that is, Paradise, appears, *First*, on grammatical grounds, a garden of God is grammatically wrong. *Secondly*, from its being mentioned in connection with another definite district. *Thirdly*, because the *tertium compar.* is exactly the peculiarity which is so prominent in the description of Paradise in ch. ii. 10: compare לְהַשְׁקִיחַ these with מַשְׁקֵה here. *Fourthly*, From the actual parallel between Paradise and its loss by Jehovah, and the plain of Jordan and its destruction by Jehovah; compare similar parallels in Jo. ii. 3; Ezek. xxxvi. 35; 1 Sam. xi. 7, "and the fear of Jehovah fell on the people." פַּחַד יְהוָה *terror a domino immissus*, as appears from the connection with v. 6, "And the spirit of Elohim came upon Saul." A higher spirit than his own impelled Saul to a bold measure, and the impression which it made upon the people proceeded from the same God who had called forth Saul's resolution—1 Sam. xiv. 15, "And the earth quaked, so it was a trembling of God," ver. 6, 10, 12, show that אֱלֹהִים אֶרֶץ *pavor divinitus immissus*. Elohim is used here, while in the parallel passages noticed, we find Jehovah, in order to render prominent the contrast between God and man, which here is most strikingly exhibited, where two men, certainly not in their own strength, put a whole garrison to rout. Who would ever imagine if the Greeks called a flight that was inexplicable from existing causes *Σεσπέσιος φύζα* (see Koster's *Erläuterungen*), that it meant a great flight. Ps. civ. 16, "the trees of Jehovah," are from the whole connection and the parallelism, the trees which Jehovah created; 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, "the sleep of Jehovah," is the sleep into which Jehovah cast Saul and his courtiers on David's account; compare ver. 8, 23, 24. In reference to Jon. iii. 3 compare Gen. ii. 3.

came forth in his most essential, most personal character. They would fain have ascended to heaven (their aspiring thoughts were incorporated in the tower: it was intended to form a practical apotheosis of humanity, by men who before the dispersion that for a longer or shorter period impended over them, determined to show what they could effect in their collective capacity)—there God descended from heaven; they wished to consolidate themselves by their common work—there they were scattered. The Israelitish national God is not here intended; but HE is here intended (see HARTMANN, p. 137) who forms the essence of the Israelitish national God, without which that God would have been an idol like all the gods of the heathen.

Chap. xii.—With this chapter the account begins of the great new manifestation of God as JEHOVAH, as it appeared in life with the call of Abraham. We are authorised to describe this step in relation to the former as higher, and thus we find through a succession of chapters יהוה absolutely predominant: afterwards, where the attention is withdrawn from the past to the future, ELOHIM resumes its rights. No instance occurs in this chapter where, even in the Jehovistic connection, ELOHIM is required; and that what is here attributed to JEHOVAH, the command to Abraham to leave his father's house, the communication of the promise, the appearance to him in Canaan, the building of the altar and the invocation of the name, the infliction of sickness on Pharaoh on Abraham's account—that all these events really belong to JEHOVAH, needs no farther proof. Ver. 7, "And JEHOVAH appeared unto Abram and said, Unto thy seed will I give this land, and there builded he an altar to JEHOVAH, who appeared unto him," demands so far our particular attention, as it shows why the building of altars and presentation of offerings are so constantly connected with JEHOVAH. The appearance of God precedes the building of the altar, and forms the reason of it. God himself must come forth from his generality and concealment, must lay aside the ELOHIM nature, in order to come into relation to man before man can come into relation to Him. It is scarcely conceivable how the advocates of the hypothesis of original documents and fragments could believe that the facts under discussion could be turned to their advantage, as they are referred to for this pur-

pose by DE WETTE, *Beitrag*e, ii. p. 84. "It is to be remarked, that the Jehovah fragmentists readily let their heroes sacrifice; our epic writer, on the contrary, (the pretended Elohist), knows nothing of sacrifices, not even on the most solemn occasions." An ignorance of sacrifices, or a designed neglect of them, is not conceivable in an Israelite, for it would be at variance with the spirit of the whole ancient world; at least, if it were at all probable, it must be supported by other grounds than by a doubtful explanation of an acknowledged fact. But where are such grounds to be found? Where, in all Hebrew antiquity, is there any trace whatever of the notion that the sacrificial system owed its institution to the Mosaic age? Where is there the slightest contradiction to the numerous historical witnesses that maintain the opposite view? But if the facts cannot be explained, on the ground that sacrifices were unknown, a strong presumption is raised against the hypotheses of original documents and fragments. For, besides that view, only one other is possible, that ELOHIM was not recognised at altars and sacrifices, since they belonged only to JEHOVAH. But if this must be granted, it follows, that one and the same author used JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, that even the contents of his work required it; and this being established, the document-hypothesis and fragment-hypothesis lose the support which they were fancied to derive from the interchange of the Divine names.

Chap. xiii.—The expressions "before JEHOVAH destroyed" (ver. 10), and "But the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners before JEHOVAH exceedingly" (ver. 13), are here worthy of notice, inasmuch as they must reduce to the greatest perplexity those critics who would change JEHOVAH into the Israelitish national God. The manner in which they attempt to free themselves from this perplexity, only betrays too plainly how great it is. Not merely EWALD (p. 67) but HARTMANN (p. 131) assumes that JEHOVAH was here named as the avenging tutelary deity of his family for the evil deeds of the inhabitants. But by every unprejudiced person it is seen at once that, according to the narrator, the vengeance of God was called forth by the prevailing immorality and impiety; the determination to destroy was formed on the ground of the cry that ascended to heaven, before Lot had experienced the slightest ill-treatment. The behaviour of the men of

Sodom towards him and the angels was not the crime itself, but only its evidence, a palpable proof which would evince to future generations the equity of the Divine judgments; see ch. xviii. 20, 21. There is no other alternative; either there must be a return to the *πρωτὰ στοιχεῖα* of the JEHOVAH and ELOHIM documents, or the idea of JEHOVAH must be purified and refined. The expression "as the garden of JEHOVAH," ver. 10, compared with ch. ii. 8, to which it alludes, and according to which JEHOVAH ELOHIM planted the richly watered garden of Paradise, shews again, that JEHOVAH in this connection is the principal name, and that ELOHIM was added to it merely for a local object.

Chap. xiv.—Here our attention is claimed by ver. 18–20, "And he (Melchisedec) was priest of *the Most High God* (אֱלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן), and he blessed him and said, blessed be Abram of the *Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth*, and blessed be the *Most High God*," &c.), in relation to ver. 22, where Abram, without doubt in the presence of Melchisedec, said to the king of Sodom, "I have lift up my hand unto JEHOVAH, *the Most High God, the possessor of heaven and earth*." That Abram purposely employed this designation of God אֱלֹהֵי עֵלְיוֹן קֹדֶשׁ שַׁמַּיִם וָאָרֶץ, which Melchisedec had used just before, that he might thus acknowledge in the sight of idolaters that the belief on both sides rested on the same grounds, appears from the fact, that this peculiar designation of God never occurs elsewhere in the language of Abraham and the other patriarchs: and is also confirmed by that other public testimony to their common faith, which Abraham gave, the presentation of tithes, as well as by the conduct of Melchisedec, which throughout was intended to express his fellowship of faith with Abraham.* Now if the repetition of the designation used by Melchisedec of their common God be allowed to have been intentional, then the addition of JEHOVAH, which Abraham placed at the head of it, could not be unintentional. It must have been designed to make known that Abraham, though their object of worship was, to a certain extent, common, still possessed something more than Melchisedec. SCHLEI-

* See VERSCHVIER'S valuable essay on this passage in the earlier collection of his *Opuscula*, p. 10.

ERMACHER justly distinguishes between a true and a false Monotheism. The idolater might properly have only *one* idol, without this monolatry having any likeness whatever to true Monotheism; for he ascribes to idols only an influence within a limited range of objects or changes, beyond which his own interest and sympathy do not extend. True Monotheism is that form of piety in which all devotional sentiments express the dependence of every thing finite on one highest and infinite Being. This true Monotheism was the religion of Melchisedec. His God was not merely *One*, but also the Most High, whose dominion extended over the universe; and in Him, with Almighty power, were connected righteousness and love; his special providence extends over the pious and the righteous. But this *pure* religious view was not a *complete* one. Melchisedec, in the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth, had not yet acknowledged JEHOVAH. As such he had only been known to Abraham by means of a special revelation. In the earlier history, JEHOVAH, both in name and in fact, was still the common property of the whole human race; before the call of Abraham, a man of Melchisedec's religious earnestness would have known and named him though only relatively. But in proportion as religion in the one chosen race was special, it would be general in the earnestly religious minds of the rest of the world. The more God was JEHOVAH to Abraham, the more would he be ELOHIM to the rest of the world. They had no share in the revelations that were then in progress, and the earlier revelations were continually becoming dimmer, till their remembrance was wholly lost. This passage shows very plainly how little Monotheism was the characteristic of the religion of the old covenant. Abraham certainly acknowledged in this, the basis of all true religion, but he professed likewise to stand on higher ground, and yet he was now only at the beginning of the Divine leadings; and *his* leadings again were only the beginning of the ways of God with the chosen race. This passage is then so far worthy of notice, as it shows with what care the author preserved the peculiar forms of the manifestation of religion. He repeats the words with such exactness by which Melchisedec (whose religious position is so singular and characteristic), designated his God, that we cannot imagine a prolepsis in the use of יהוה in Genesis.

Chap. xvii.—We pass over chap. xv. and xvi., in which the use

of JEHOVAH is continued without interruption, and the contents likewise strike us as entirely Jehovistic; and we turn to ch. xvii. in which the use of the Divine names has, at first sight, something very strange. The author begins with JEHOVAH; "And when Abram was ninety years old and nine, JEHOVAH appeared to him and said unto him," ver. 1; but in the same verse God designates himself not as JEHOVAH, but as אֱלֹהִים; and when the historian speaks of God, we find through the whole chapter not JEHOVAH, but ELOHIM; ver. 3, "And Abram fell on his face, and ELOHIM talked with him," &c. This peculiarity is more striking, because the contents appear to be strictly Jehovistic.* EWALD passes lightly over the difficulty, and SACK'S attempt to remove it is evidently unsuccessful.† For if the author had been so afraid of the repetition of the name JEHOVAH, why did he not content himself with placing it at the beginning in the former chapters? Why did he continue the use of the name in them to the very end? But the advocates of the Document-hypothesis and Fragment-hypothesis cannot, with a good grace, exult in the perplexity of their opponents. The יהוה in ver. 1 gives themselves great trouble. Some regard the whole verse as spurious; others would at least alter the names; others, again, maintain that it belongs to the person who arranged and collected the materials.

Exod. ch. vi. furnishes us with a key to the correct view. In ver. 3, there is a verbal reference to ver. 1, and in ver. 4 to ver. 7 and 8. The time of promise as belonging to El Shaddai, is contrasted with the time of fulfilment as belonging to JEHOVAH. When JEHOVAH made the covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to give them the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, he was still El Shaddai—when he fulfilled this covenant, he became JEHOVAH, but not in the fullest sense, till the last point of promise, the blessing on all the nations of the earth, came into fulfilment.

If we have, in this manner, gained the right point of view, all

* They are thus summed up by J. H. Michaëlis in his edition of the Hebrew Bible: "Confirmatur foedus et promissio augmento nominis Abrahami, signo circumcisionis, auctore nomine Sarah; prænuntiatio Isaaci; benedictio Ismaëlis; circumcisio Abrahami et domesticorum."

† "אֱלֹהִים saepius nominatur, ubi non nova summi dei revelatio narranda et annuntianda est, sed ubi diversae ejusdem oraculi promissionis enumerantur, sicut nominis gravioris et sanctioris repetitionem nos quoque vitamus."—P. 14.

difficulty vanishes. The author begins with JEHOVAH, in order to meet the same want which the invariable use of JEHOVAH in the preceding chapters satisfied, namely, to show that the God who appeared to Abraham was relatively, in relation to those who preceded him, already JEHOVAH. This JEHOVAH, by being placed at the beginning, of which all that follows may be considered as a continuation, is the invisible companion of ELOHIM through the whole chapter. The historian proceeds to use ELOHIM in order to intimate, that the God who, at that time, was JEHOVAH for the chosen race, if compared with the rest of the world, and even with Melchisedec, was still ELOHIM, if compared with later revelations of himself.

This intimation is exactly here in its right place. The contrast with the past has been already strongly marked by the continued use of JEHOVAH in the preceding chapters; and that the future, in reference to the unfolding of the Divine character, would be far more glorious than the present, is the main substance of the contents of this chapter. The contrast of the present and the future is here the most striking—the promise is here expressed most fully. It appears that the promise in ch. xv. was only preparatory, since here the names are first altered, and circumcision is instituted. We stand here on the threshold of the first beginning of the fulfilment; ver. 21, “But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year.” Here also we must appeal to analogy, as the surest guarantee for the correctness of our views.

Chap. xviii. and xix.—In this section, the author returns to the use of the name JEHOVAH, and quite naturally; for what is here related of God suits it in a remarkable degree, so that only a predominant reference to the future, which is not found here as in former sections, could occasion the use of ELOHIM. The proof of grace towards Abraham, and of justice to the inhabitants of the plain of Jordan, both strictly belong to the living, personal, revealed God. In reference to the latter, compare what has been already remarked in ch. xiii. In reference to the former, GRAMBERG'S exclamation on ch. xviii. 8, *En solitum Jehovahistae nostri anthropomorphismum!* shows that the author has here remained faithful to his usual method.

But ch. xix. 29 requires special attention. "And it came to pass, when ELOHIM destroyed the cities of the plain, that ELOHIM remembered Abraham, and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow, when he overthrew the cities in the which Lot dwelt." The advocates of the Document-hypothesis are thrown into not a little perplexity by this verse. They are forced to the conclusion (see GRAMBERG, p. 44), that the person who arranged the documents, while through the rest of the section he made use of the JEHOVAH-documents, in this place interpolated a verse from the ELOHIM-documents. But this supposition is rendered improbable by the close connection in which the verse stands both with the preceding and the following, so that we cannot conceive how GRAMBERG can assert, *quod medium interrumpat nexum orationis*. As it begins with *the future and vau conversive*, it bears the mark of being the conclusion and *resumé* of the preceding representation; and as the next verse is joined to it by the *future with vau conversive* ("and Lot went up out of Zoar") it evidently forms a transition to what follows. But here also the opponents of the Document-hypothesis are perplexed. EWALD (p. 71) thinks that in the clause $\text{וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים}$, the Divine name stands without impropriety, because no national reference is intended; as if there were any such reference in ver. 16, where, under like circumstances, JEHOVAH stands, "the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters, JEHOVAH being merciful unto him," On the other hand in $\text{בְּצִוְיָהוּא אֱלֹהִים}$ ELOHIM stands, contrary to the *usus loquendi*, in a passage where JEHOVAH should be used as descriptive of God's judging and punishing. The אֱלֹהִים , therefore, is without hesitation to be changed into יְהוָה . But this is by no means allowable. The two ELOHIM stand in so evident a relation to one another, that if the second be genuine, the first must necessarily be so; and as a necessary consequence of not perceiving the relation, the passage has been charged with an empty tautology, as it is called by GRAMBERG. The following is the correct view. From the preceding narrative the historian draws the conclusion that the deliverance of Lot, not less than the destruction of the cities of the plain, originated in the unearthly, in heaven. With this he contrasts Lot's God-forgetting conduct immediately after the great catastrophe. Now in this connection, where the object was to

express the contrariety to the natural course of things, to human causes (compare מן-הַשָּׁמַיִם in ver. 24), אֱלֹהִים was quite in place, as on all occasions where there is only a contrast between God and man, heaven and earth. The two following passages are quite analogous:—

And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldee's excellency,
Shall be as when ELOHIM overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.

Is. xiii. 19.

I have overthrown some of you,
As ELOHIM overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.

Amos iv. 11.

Deut. xxix. 22 (23) forms the basis of both passages, "like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, which JEHOVAH overthrew in his anger and in his wrath." But JEHOVAH is intentionally changed in them into ELOHIM, since the contrast was to be expressed to a calamity proceeding from natural causes, from which there might be hopes of escaping by forethought and contrivance, or by a happy accident, in which there is always something left, and from which there may be a restoration.

Chap. xx.—The facts which this chapter presents to our notice are the following. After Abimelech had taken Sarah, ELOHIM comes to him in a dream and threatens him, ver. 3. HA-ELOHIM replies to his apology, ver. 6. Abraham endeavours to justify his conduct on the ground that he believed there was no fear of ELOHIM in that place. He observes, ver. 13, that when ELOHIM caused him to wander from his father's house, פָּאָרַי הָרַעַי אֶתִּי אֱלֹהִים, he had concerted this plan with Sarah. Abraham prays to ELOHIM, ver. 17, and ELOHIM heals Abimelech and his wife, and his maid-servants, and they bare children. How necessary the Divine interference was for this result, is rendered evident in ver. 18, "For JEHOVAH had fast closed up all the wombs of the house of Abimelech, because of Sarah, Abraham's wife."

The advocates of the Document and Fragment-hypothesis, are here ready with the assumption that this portion belongs to the ELOHIM documents. VATER (iii. 330) rejects every explanation of the use of אֱלֹהִים from internal causes, by remarking that in ch.

xii. and xxvi., JEHOVAH occurs in similar narratives. This is quite false. The only divine name in the parallel narrative ch. xii. 10-20 is in ver. 17, "And JEHOVAH plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues," which agrees exactly with ver. 18 in this chapter. The circumstances under which אלהים is used here, do not exist there. In ch. xxvi. 7-11, no Divine name occurs.

Besides the evident appropriateness of ELOHIM to the contents, the אלהים in ver. 18 is especially unfavourable to the advocates of the Document-hypothesis. ASTRUC and EICHHORN think that the verse was taken from the Jehovistic documents; and GRAMBERG (p. 45), that it forms a needless supplementary remark of the person who arranged the whole. Both opinions are inadmissible. Ver. 18 cannot be omitted, and must have been connected from the first with the rest of the narrative, since, besides the אלהים, at the end of ver. 17, the whole verse would be inexplicable, for of such an infliction on the family of Abimelech as is implied in the healing, not a word had been previously said.

But from our point of view, all the facts are easily and satisfactorily explained. For Abimelech, God is ELOHIM; of JEHOVAH he knew nothing. Hence only as ELOHIM could he appear to him, though JEHOVAH was, as it were, in the back-ground. What is told of that appearance is given from the account of Abimelech, which the historian would have altered had he substituted JEHOVAH for ELOHIM, though, in point of fact, that would have been quite correct. Abraham used the name ELOHIM in conversation with Abimelech, that he might adapt himself to his religious position. For that reason he also prayed to ELOHIM—for the intercession was uttered in the hearing of the king, to whom a prayer addressed to JEHOVAH would have been unintelligible. The second ELOHIM in ver. 17, "So Abraham prayed unto ELOHIM, and ELOHIM healed Abimelech," is a consequence of the first. On the other hand, JEHOVAH must necessarily stand in ver. 18. For here the event is spoken of as it was in itself, not as it appeared to Abimelech. Here the historian speaks in his own proper person, and not as a mere reporter of the words and views of other persons.

That the use of ELOHIM is required by the nature of the contents, appears very plainly in ver. 11, where Abraham says, "Be-

cause I thought, surely the fear of ELOHIM, יְרֵאָה אֱלֹהִים , is not in this place." Here Abraham acknowledges himself to have been mistaken; but the fear of JEHOVAH was really not there; the name יהוה , therefore, could on no account be used in this passage. From this passage, as well as from the whole position in which Abraham stood to Abimelech, it is evident that the assertion of NITZSCH (*Religionsbegriff*. p. 726) requires considerable limitation; "The language of revelation is not suited to express the general idea of religion; it holds a negative position in reference to other religions." The general idea of religion is expressed as correctly as possible by יראה אלהים . If such a general idea had not existed, ELOHIM could not have stood along with JEHOVAH. Abraham, so far from conducting himself negatively towards Abimelech's piety, acted rather with a tender consideration of his weakness, and took pains to enunciate the principles common to both; and in this respect is a pattern to ourselves. The negative position would be distinctly taken, when among the Heathen themselves the acknowledgment and worship of the Deity had degenerated into gross idolatry, when they had become more and more *ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*. But how this also was given up, when a real, though quite general religious element was evolved, is shown among many other examples by that of the book of Jonah; compare what NITZSCH himself has said (p. 530) on the appearance of Paul in Athens.

The plural of the verb in ver. 13, after the preceding remarks, will need no lengthened explanation. It is not dependent on ELOHIM, but its use here is prompted by the same feeling, the earnest effort to indicate the boundless riches of the Divine nature. That it is not to be considered an accommodation to Abimelech's polytheism (if he were a polytheist, which after all is far from certain; according to our narrative he might only have admitted subordinate gods below the Supreme Deity) the parallel passages show, such as Gen. xxxv. 7; Deut. iv. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 23. It is evident that in every particular passage only that interpretation can be correct, which will admit of an equal application to all the rest. But the passages just mentioned all plainly require a reference to the riches and fulness of the Divine nature. Thus, for instance, 2 Sam. vii. 23, "What one nation in the earth is like thy people, like Israel, whom ELOHIM went to redeem?"

Chap. xxi.—Here the name ELOHIM occurs pretty frequently, yet so that a special reason for its use may always be perceived ; and JEHOVAH comes in as soon as the subject requires this name, ver. 1 and 34. The narrative begins in ver. 1 with the words, “And JEHOVAH visited Sarah, as he had said, and Jehovah did unto Sarah as he had spoken.” JEHOVAH must be used here on account of the reference to ch. xviii. 19, where JEHOVAH gave the promise to Sarah ; but besides that, the subject requires it. It was not a general divine concurrence which attended the birth of Isaac, but strictly a peculiar operation of the living personal God, revealed to the chosen race, and in a peculiar sense their God, to whom it belonged, to make and to fulfil promises. In ver. 2, on the other hand (“Sarah conceived, and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the set time of which ELOHIM had spoken to him”) it is sufficient, since the person of the prime agent had been twice distinctly designated, to indicate the contrast between the word of God and the word of man, which is proved by the sequel. ELOHIM is in this connection the more expressive term, since it brings with it a new reference, while JEHOVAH would only repeat one already made. In ver 4, “And Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, as ELOHIM had commanded him ;” the use of ELOHIM is justified by the allusion to ch. xvii., where the institution of circumcision is represented as proceeding from ELOHIM ; this rite, as the seal and pledge of *future* good, was a practical intimation of a future more complete transition of ELOHIM into JEHOVAH, with reference to which its institution is attributed to Him, who, for the present, was still ELOHIM.

Those critics who deduce the recurrence of ELOHIM in relation to circumcision from the use made of Elohist documents, are thrown into perplexity ; in this case they must ascribe a special theocratic tendency to them, while their more general character is marked by an unacquaintance with the special theocratic institutions ; a similar perplexity has been occasioned by ch. ii. 1-3, where in an Elohist connection the institution of the Sabbath is anticipated. How could a writer who knows and acknowledges the original ground of the Sabbath, and the institution of circumcision as pre-Mosaic, be unacquainted with the pre-Mosaic origin of sacrifices, which have far less of a theocratic character ? In ver. 6, “And Sarah said, ELOHIM hath prepared laughter for me,” the laughter pre-

pared by God, the self-begotten, the laughter which was of heavenly origin, stands in contrast to common laughter. In the whole narrative relating to Hagar and Ishmael (ver 9–21) אלהים and מלאך אלהים are used. This is the more striking, since in the parallel narrative, ch. xvi., we find יהוה and מלאך יהוה, and exactly in the same connection. The angel of JEHOVAH finds Hagar at the fountain in the desert. JEHOVAH had listened to the lamentation of Hagar; the angel of JEHOVAH promises to encrease her posterity. This variation may be accounted for, by the great difference of the circumstances which attended the birth of Isaac. Hitherto, as the circumcision of Ishmael proves, Hagar and Ishmael had formed a part of the chosen family, and therefore shared in the relation to JEHOVAH. With the Almighty's declaration, ver. 12, "In Isaac shall thy seed be called," they were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of JEHOVAH, and placed under that of ELOHIM. The outward separation from the chosen seed was only a manifestation of that which had already taken place internally. After this final separation they had as little share in JEHOVAH as Cain, who went out from the church of God in Eden to the land of Nod. How closely, according to the author's view, the participation in JEHOVAH was connected with union to the chosen race, is apparent from the wonder that Jacob expressed at JEHOVAH's appearing to him when he was separated from the chosen race, though only for a time and locally. To have said, "JEHOVAH was with the lad," instead of ELOHIM in ver. 20, would have involved an express contradiction to ver. 12. That Abimelech and Phicol in ver. 22 and 23, should attribute the blessing that accompanied Abraham to ELOHIM, and request him to swear by ELOHIM, appears perfectly natural, since their religious knowledge did not rise higher than ELOHIM. On the other hand, ELOHIM could not be used, according to the preceding remarks in ver. 34, "And Abraham called there on the name of JEHOVAH." Elohim had no name, and "the calling on the name," when, as on this occasion, it was done in living faith, presupposes a revelation.

Ch. xxii.—This section, containing Abraham's trial, seems to our opponents to put no insignificant weapon into their hands, and, accordingly, they have not failed to make use of it. Thus HARTMANN remarks, (p. 137), "ch. xxii. ought, since the closest

relation subsisted between the God of Israel and his chosen servant Abraham, to begin with the name JEHOVAH, and yet it appears first in ver. 11, "an angel of JEHOVAH," and then rather as a sign on Mount Moriah, ver. 14; and in ver. 15 and 16, a promise of a numerous posterity is made by God, under the same designation." But a closer examination will show that what appears to overthrow our view, serves triumphantly to confirm it.

Let us first separate the passages, which on the usual grounds would require ELOHIM. Such is ver. 9, where Abraham says, "My son, ELOHIM will provide himself a lamb for a burnt-offering." Isaac's question, "Where is the lamb for a burnt offering?" is equivalent to, Where shall we obtain a lamb? That is not our concern," Abraham replies, "but God's." Then ver. 12, where the angel of JEHOVAH says, "Now I know that thou fearest God." וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יָרָא. The fear of God stands here opposed to that ungodliness which, in so many persons who outwardly wear a good appearance, is brought to light by temptation.

If we now approach nearer the main subject of the chapter, it must strike us that the separation between JEHOVAH and ELOHIM happens exactly at the turning point of the transaction. The entire and exclusive use of ELOHIM is carried on to the moment when Abraham stretched out his hand, and took the knife to slay his son, when also the trial ended with the victory of his faith; from that point JEHOVAH is used throughout. The angel of JEHOVAH calls to Abraham from heaven; Abraham calls the name of the place JEHOVAH-JIREH; the angel of JEHOVAH calls to him a second time, and refers to JEHOVAH the promise which he utters. These facts cannot be explained on the ground of the Document-hypothesis. If the change of the Divine names arose from the mechanical combination of two documents to make up the section, accident would have imitated design so deceptively, that the like never happens, except most rarely, and hence can only be admitted by extreme necessity. If any reason whatever can be found, which would determine one and the same author to use ELOHIM to the turning point in the narrative, and then JEHOVAH, such an explanation of the fact is unquestionably to be preferred. To ascribe the recurrence of ELOHIM in the first half to the use of a supposed Elohist docu

ment, is inconsistent also with the mention of the name Moriah, in ver. 2. The proleptic use of this name pre-supposes that the author of the first half attributes the following revelation of God to JEHOVAH—that therefore he refrained from using the name JEHOVAH, not perhaps because he did not know it, or thought that it did not belong generally to the pre-Mosaic times, but because he was of opinion that it was less suitable to the contents than ELOHIM. The compilation of the two halves, from two different documents, is also rendered improbable by the striking reference of יהוה in ver. 12, to אלהים יהוה in ver. 8. Only from this reference can we explain the clause “JEHOVAH sees;” without it, it would rather stand, “JEHOVAH appears.” Not to insist on the utter improbability of the compilation of one and the same narrative from two different and unconnected documents, unless some necessity were visible, and unless one could attribute the close connection to the act of the collector, who must have so slavishly bound himself to the words of his document, as not admit the alteration of a Divine name either in the first or second part.

All difficulty vanishes, and the change in the Divine names appears in the most beautiful light according to the following view. Before the trial, and as long as the trial lasted, God was still to Abraham relatively ELOHIM. Had he been to him already JEHOVAH absolutely, the trial would have had no object. By this trial, Abraham’s slumbering religious faith was awakened and strengthened; his piety attained such a state of vitality, that God’s word was infinitely more certain and real to him than any visible appearance, so that, confiding in that, he could triumph over death and destruction. The advantage once gained was abiding, as Jacob was for ever Israel, a combatant of God, after he had once wrestled and prevailed with God. A new stage was won; a closer relation to God was formed. This is expressly said in ver. 16, “Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, in blessing I will bless thee, . . . because thou hast obeyed my voice.” As Abraham, by action, had verified his faith in God as JEHOVAH, so would God by action verify himself to him as JEHOVAH. Thus the relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, in the section before us, is to be explained from the internal relations of the two parts to each other. In the first part, God is called ELOHIM, because, though in another respect he was

already JEHOVAH, yet, in relation to the second part, he was still ELOHIM; and in the second part he is called JEHOVAH, because, though in relation to later revelations, he was still ELOHIM, yet in relation to the first part, he was already JEHOVAH. The undeniable relative use of the two names which occurs here, serves then to establish what we have already remarked elsewhere, respecting another modification of the relative use of the two names, and we shall also remark how these passages in their turn serve again to establish the one before us.

Still there is one doubtful point to be settled, which EWALD (*Compos.* p. 74) brings forward against the genuineness of the phrase נָאָם יְהוָה in ver. 16, which he remarks was first current in the times of the prophets: we are more anxious to do this, because the objection may easily be made use of as a proof of the later date of the so called Jehovistic document. That נָאָם was introduced at a later period is not to be admitted, merely because the root is not at present found in the language. For if the later and regular use of this phrase leads us to admit an earlier consecrated pattern which forms the foundation of this use, such as our passage and Numb. xxiv. 3, *Neum* of Balaam, son of Beor, and *Neum* of "the man with closed eyes," then are we more justified in declaring the oldest passages of the later age in which נָאָם occurs, as imitations of the later passages of the Pentateuch. This imitation is undeniable in the last words of David especially. 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.

$\text{נָאָם הוּד בְּן־יִשְׂרָאֵל}$
 $\text{וְנָאָם הַגִּבּוֹר הַקָּסָם עַל}$

correspond *mutatis mutandis* exactly to the words of Balaam in Numb. xxiv. 3.

$\text{נָאָם בְּלָעָם בְּנֵי בְעֹר}$
 $\text{וְנָאָם הַגִּבּוֹר שְׂתָם הַקָּסוֹן}$

only that the archaic בְּנֵי is changed into בֶּן . Prov. xxx. 1 is also an imitation. We might almost expect to see נָאָם־הַגִּבּוֹר with marks of quotation. The original passages and these two imitations are the only ones in which נָאָם stands with a genitive of the human speaker. This also is a proof of the borrowing, and, at the same time, of the genuineness and antiquity of the נָאָם in Balaam's prophecy. In later times the נָאָם יְהוָה was so current and established

that a derivation from it is only conceivable on the ground of a model, in an age in which the use of the word was less frequent, and therefore less fixed. But if we see that the passage in the book of Numbers forms the basis of these, then we are justified in assuming our passage as the special ground-work of the far more numerous ones, in which נַאֵם יְהוָה occurs.

Chap. xxiii.—In this section, containing an account of Sarah's death and burial, a name of God occurs only in ver. 6, where the Hittites say to Abraham, "Thou art a prince of God נְשִׂיאַ אֱלֹהִים amongst us." In this connection JEHOVAH could not be used, not only because the heathen knowledge of God did not go beyond ELOHIM, but for grammatical reasons: יְהוָה has entirely the nature of a proper name; while אֱלֹהִים is, in a preponderating degree, an appellative; נְשִׂיאַ יְהוָה could only mean the Prince of JEHOVAH.

Chap. xxiv.—That in this section, the narrative of Isaac's marriage, the name JEHOVAH should be most prominent, must appear as exceedingly natural. The writer's design is not to show, by a single example, the agency of Divine Providence in the marriage institution, and that marriages, with all that is apparently natural in their formation, are determined in heaven; in such a case, ELOHIM would have been the suitable term. His design is rather to show how the special providence of the God of Revelation superintended the chosen race. Isaac is not presented to our notice simply as a man of piety about to enter the marriage state; but as the heir of promise, who, as such, must be preserved from all connection with the race of whose country his descendants were to have the possession, a race who would gradually be ripening for the judgments to be inflicted by these descendants. From this point of view, in which the interests, not of an individual, but of the world were involved, Abraham looks at the transaction, and instructs his servant to do the same. On this account both use so carefully and exclusively the name JEHOVAH; and for the same reason his servant cannot restrain himself from employing it even when holding intercourse with those whose religious knowledge does not go beyond ELOHIM. He would rather that they should form contracted notions of his JEHOVAH and esteem him for a family God, than that he himself, when he is

called to profess his belief, should adopt the more general language of religion. But it is surprising, at the first glance, that even those who did not belong to the chosen race here make use of the name JEHOVAH. Laban salutes the servant with "Come in, thou blessed of JEHOVAH, wherefore standest thou without?" ver. 31. "The thing proceedeth from JEHOVAH," said Laban and Bethuel; "behold Rebecca is before thee: take her and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as JEHOVAH hath spoken," ver. 51, 52. We might feel tempted to attribute this use of the name JEHOVAH to the remains of a deeper knowledge of God which was retained in the family of Nahor. But the exact reference of ver. 31 to ver. 27 is against this opinion. Laban's "Come in, thou blessed of JEHOVAH," is a mere echo of "Blessed be JEHOVAH, the God of my master Abraham," from the mouth of the servant. Men bless God when they are blessed by him. Laban distinguishes the servant as the blessed of the God from whom he himself had acknowledged that he had received a blessing. Also in ver. 51, 52, no independent knowledge of JEHOVAH is manifested, but only the reception of what the servant had said of him. To this must be added, that the carefully repeated designation of JEHOVAH in the language of the servant, as the God of his master Abraham, expressly excludes the family of Nahor from participation in him, and they also are very far from appropriating such a participation. They do not in the least pretend that out of regard to them Jehovah had so wonderfully brought things to that issue. They yield assent to the declarations of the servant, according to which only Abraham and his posterity appear as the objects of JEHOVAH's providence. Thus Laban's recognition of JEHOVAH appears throughout to be of a borrowed character. The object which the historian had in communicating these expressions, was to show that the co-operation of JEHOVAH in this affair was so striking, that even those persons could not hesitate to acknowledge it, who by this event had first heard of JEHOVAH. Moreover the ready appropriation of the name JEHOVAH on the part of Laban, tells nothing in his favour; it rather betokens that religious superficiality which we shall afterwards detect in his character. Had he not regarded the affair objectively and with the mere understanding, had it rightly affected his heart, he would have made use of the name ELOHIM. As soon as religion becomes a living reality, it pro-

duces a sort of holy modesty, and a dread of using language that does not perfectly accord with one's internal state and position.

Ch. xxv.—We here find in ver. 11, ELOHIM where, at first sight, it might seem that JEHOVAH ought to stand; “And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that ELOHIM blessed his son Isaac.” But if we keep in mind that the notice here is quite incidental and preliminary, and that the historian does not begin till ver. 19 to occupy himself with Isaac, *ex professo*, after he had given the genealogy of Ishmael, ELOHIM appears perfectly sufficient. It answers the purpose of a general intimation that the blessing of God or of heaven had been continued from Abraham to Isaac. The more exact designation of the author of this blessing follows in ch. xxvi. 3–12.

In the account of the birth of Jacob and Esau, ver. 19–26, the name JEHOVAH is used. To JEHOVAH Isaac prays for his wife, because she was barren, and JEHOVAH hears his prayer. This is quite natural, for the son, hitherto desired in vain, was to be the heir of the promise. It was a matter, therefore, which belonged not to ELOHIM, but to the God of the chosen race. Rebecca, during her pregnancy, enquired of JEHOVAH, and JEHOVAH gave the answer. Only on account of the relation in which, as she knew, JEHOVAH stood to the fruit of her body, a circumstance otherwise indifferent, appeared to her of great importance. She regarded it as a sign, the meaning of which she sought from the same God who had given it.

Chap. xxvi.—In ver. 2, JEHOVAH appears to Isaac, and solemnly repeats to him the promise which he had given to Abraham. And thus, in ver. 12, the first realization of this promise which Isaac received, when following JEHOVAH's command he gave up his intention of removing to Egypt, and continued among the Philistines—the extraordinary blessing that attended his cultivation of the land—is attributed to JEHOVAH. And in this way it is signified, that this blessing is not to be reckoned in the class of the ordinary Divine benefits. Precisely because Isaac dare not hope, according to the natural course of things as determined by God's general providence, to find support in the land of the Philistines, he wished to go down into Egypt. By JEHOVAH also, Isaac was led to a plentiful sup-

ply of water, which was unlooked for in an arid soil. Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, states, in ver. 27, as the reason of his coming to Isaac for the purpose of forming a covenant with him, that JEHOVAH was with him, and distinguishes him, ver. 29, as "the blessed of JEHOVAH." Had he confined himself for the proof of the fact to the point of view afforded by his own religious knowledge, he would have spoken of ELOHIM; but instead of that, he made use of the commentary which Isaac, from his point of view, had given of the events. The great lesson of the whole narrative, for which alone it was communicated, is, that the blessing of JEHOVAH on his chosen was so great, that even heathens themselves despaired of deducing it from natural causes, from the common providence of God, and felt obliged to admit that Isaac stood in a special relation to the Deity, and to recognise the mode in which he verified this relation.

Chap. xxvii.—In the narrative of Isaac's blessing contained in this chapter, the name JEHOVAH is used in ver. 7, "that I may bless thee before JEHOVAH ere I die." The blessing did not relate to the goods which the general providence of God must supply, and the patriarch was conscious that nothing among the general influences of providence was expressed by his anticipations of the future, but that he was absolutely an instrument of the living and personal God, who directed the concerns of the chosen race; see Gen. xlix. 7, where Jacob speaks in the person of God, and attributes to himself, as the author, what God would effect. Hence the high importance of the blessing, to which Rebecca directs Jacob's attention, by introducing into Isaac's address to Esau the words *לְבָרְכֶךָ יְהוָה*, which were not expressed but implied. The expression in ver. 20, "JEHOVAH thy God brought it to me," will only appear singular as long as we do not keep in view the connection. Had the allusion been to ordinary hunting, the use of the name JEHOVAH would have been quite unsuitable. But here the case is very different. Isaac had signified Esau's obtaining venison for him to be the *sine qua non* of his receiving the blessing. The historian himself regards Isaac's partaking of the venison as an integral part of the sacred transaction. He describes the beginning of it in ver. 23 by the words, "and he blessed him;" that is, he commenced the sacred act of pronouncing

the blessing. To this the solemn question belongs, "Art thou my very son Esau?" Then follows his command to "bring near" the venison and the wine, and his partaking of both; then the kiss. Lastly follows the blessing in a stricter sense; compare the וַיְבָרֶכְהוּ in ver. 27 with the same word in ver. 23. These facts can only be explained on the ground that, according to Isaac's view and the historian's, the procuring of the venison and his partaking of it had a symbolical meaning. The son, by thus embodying his filial love in action, was to show himself as a son, before the father would manifest himself as a father in giving the blessing. The use of the name JEHOVAH occasions no longer any difficulty. Whatever belongs to an act that was to be undertaken, לְפָנַי יְהוָה is placed under the guidance of JEHOVAH. That he so quickly succeeded in procuring what his father desired, Jacob represents as a practical declaration of the Divine covenant, that the whole affair is approved by God. To the same effect are Isaac's words in v. 27, "See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which JEHOVAH hath blessed." Had he compared his son to an ordinary well-cultivated field, ELOHIM would have been used; but the name JEHOVAH shows that he speaks of a field like that of Paradise, resplendent with traces of the Deity—an ideal field, bearing the same relation to an ordinary one as Israel to the Heathen—a kind of enchanted garden, such as would be realized at a later period in Canaan, as far as the fidelity of the people permitted it. The following verse confirms this interpretation. "Therefore HA-ELOHIM give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." Here it appears that the garden of JEHOVAH, of which Isaac perceived a type in the fragrant garments of his son, would be a reality to Israel. But if each of the blessings here adduced, with which the field was to be enriched, were theocratical, and belonged not to the general, but to the special providence of God, it could only be said that it was a field which, not ELOHIM, but JEHOVAH, had blessed. From the connection between ver. 27 and ver. 28, the use of HA-ELOHIM in the latter is accounted for. JEHOVAH is to be understood from the former, and the simple הַאֱלֹהִים is equivalent to the compound יְהוָה הַאֱלֹהִים . (Compare ch. ii.) Thus it appears that in this connection "HA-ELOHIM give thee" is more emphatic than "JEHOVAH give thee;" it expresses the addi-

tional idea that JEHOVAH, by whom the field was blessed, was HA-ELOHIM, not any confined national God, but the only true God, who comprehended in himself the whole fulness of the Godhead.

Chap. xxviii.—Here our attention is first called to the names which Isaac made use of in blessing Jacob, on his departure for Mesopotamia, ver. 3, 4, “And EL-SHADDAI bless thee, and make thee fruitful, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a multitude of people; and give thee the blessing of Abraham to thee and to thy seed with thee, that thou mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings, which ELOHIM gave to Abraham.” The blessings which Isaac here at once wishes and foretells, are specially theocratic; in the parallel passages of the former chapter, JEHOVAH is used. How are we to account for the use of the general names EL-SHADDAI and ELOHIM in this place? Evidently from the relation of this blessing to that contained in the preceding chapter. The blessing here is only an echo of that—a reminiscence of it. There the transaction is far more solemn; Isaac’s religious sentiments expanded themselves, and assumed an unwonted distinctness. Here, on the contrary, he remained in a lower region, and was satisfied with a reference to the all-controlling Providence. He had here no reason for rising above that ordinary tone of religious sentiment, according to which God was still to the patriarchs EL-SHADDAI and ELOHIM (see Exod. vi). Had this been the first blessing of Jacob, JEHOVAH would necessarily have been used.

In Jacob’s dream at Bethel, the מַלְאֲכֵי אֱלֹהִים, the messengers of God or of heaven, in contrast to the messengers of earthly kings and Lords, ascend and descend the visionary ladder; but to prove that ELOHIM is here only to be understood by way of contrast, at the top of the ladder, JEHOVAH stands and declares, “I am JEHOVAH, God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac; the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. And thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt spread forth to the west, and to the east, and to the north, and to the south, and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land; for I will not leave thee until I have done that which I have spoken to thee

of." The words here uttered by God, are the explanation of the vision. We perceive that it did not present a visible image of the general providence of God, but of the special superintendence which he exercised over the Church, over the whole chosen race, and especially over Jacob. If, therefore, it must be admitted that the language suits not ELOHIM but JEHOVAH, then must JEHOVAH stand at the top of the ladder. The use of the name that in itself was the most suitable, is here so much the more necessary, since with this revelation Jacob's independent relation to the God of the chosen race begins,—that succession of divine leadings, by which from being Jacob he became Israel. Here every consideration must disappear which otherwise might lead to the substitution of ELOHIM for JEHOVAH.

The internal difference of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM becomes very apparent in the exclamation of Jacob when he awoke, ver. 16, "Surely JEHOVAH is in this place, and I knew it not." Those persons who take JEHOVAH for a general designation of the Deity, which is used interchangeably with ELOHIM, according to the accidental taste of the writer, must attribute to Jacob in this passage a truly childish notion of God, and entirely foreign to that stage of religious formation which the patriarch had reached. Jacob stood far below Melchisedec and Abimelech, if he was destitute of a knowledge of the Divine omnipresence. We have also here an instance in which אלהים could not be used. With JEHOVAH the case was otherwise. That *He* should be in this place, and therefore give reason to expect that the rest of the journey would be made under his guidance and blessing—of this Jacob needed to be assured by the fact, and on that account this event had for him so great an importance, and his heart was so filled with gratitude. In general, the external connection with the chosen race, the residence at the appointed place pointed out by God, was the condition of participation in JEHOVAH, (see on ch. iv.) Ishmael, when he left his father's house and Canaan, at once passed into the jurisdiction of ELOHIM. Jacob, by this vision, lost the fear lest, like him, he should be an excised branch which would soon wither; and the blessing which Isaac pronounced upon him at his departure, received the Divine sanction.

But why did Jacob, when JEHOVAH had thus made himself known, exclaim, ver. 17, "This is none other than the house of

ELOHIM?" If this exclamation had not a connection with the name of Bethel, and served as a preparation for it, JEHOVAH might certainly stand here instead of ELOHIM. For the moment, Jacob (as the following words show, "this is the gate of heaven") was so overcome with a sense of the nearness of God exactly in this place, that he lost sight of everything else. But JEHOVAH could not make a part of the proper name of the place which was here evidently prepared, partly because in that age, for reasons that have already been given, the composition of proper names with JEHOVAH was avoided (as was in some degree the case even at a later period, as, for example, 1 Sam. i. 20, "She called his name Samuel, saying, because I have asked him of JEHOVAH"), partly on grammatical grounds. Beth-JEHOVAH would mean, the house of Jehovah, and this appellation would have been to the prejudice of the then and later seat of the Church. אֱלֹהִים stands merely on grammatical grounds in Judges xvii. 5, "And the man Micah had a house of God," לֵי בֵית אֱלֹהִים. For that the house was dedicated to JEHOVAH is clear from the whole narrative; see ver. 2, 3, 13. That this grammatical reason necessarily required ELOHIM in ver. 22, ("And this stone shall be a house of ELOHIM;") even EWALD acknowledges (v. *Studien und Crit.* p. 598). But if the sanctuary, as far as it was the work of human hands, was necessarily called בֵּית אֱלֹהִים, since it was not *the* house of God in an exclusive sense—so also the sanctuary, as far as it was not the work of human hands, had been founded by God himself, by means of his manifestation. For the latter is as little exclusive as the former. EWALD is so much the less disposed to dispute this, since, in reference to the whole narrative, he remarks, that it belongs to that class in which God predominates, and is always called JEHOVAH, where no special reason requires the general name. Moreover, in the nature of things, a true Bethel is always at the same time a house of JEHOVAH. For it bears the name, because it has the concentrated and potentiated presence of ELOHIM, but where this is, there is JEHOVAH.

The Divine names in Jacob's vow remain to be noticed; ver. 19-21, "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, if God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, and JEHOVAH is my God (לַאֱלֹהִים),

so shall this stone be a house of ELOHIM, and of all that thou shalt give me, I will surely give the tenth unto thee." We must first justify the view on which this translation is founded, against those who begin the minor clause with יְהוָה יְהוָה לִי לְאֱלֹהִים, "if God, &c., . . . then shall JEHOVAH," &c. The *first* reason against this translation is the tense of the verb. We should expect the future to agree with יְהוָה יְהוָה and אֲשַׁפְּרֶנּוּ. *Secondly*, The vow thus announced can relate only to some outward act. For wherever, in the Old Testament, a vow is mentioned, it never treats of something that is purely internal, but always of the embodying of gratitude by an outward act. *Thirdly*, Our mode of understanding it is confirmed by a comparison with ver. 13, where JEHOVAH says, "I am JEHOVAH the God (אֱלֹהִים) of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac." Jacob's words are hence evidently shown to mean, if JEHOVAH shall be to me what he has been to Abraham and Isaac. Let his language also be compared with ver. 15, where JEHOVAH says, "Behold I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land." All this Jacob comprises in the expression, "JEHOVAH is God to me." We may also compare it with ch. xvii. 7, 8, where God promises that he will be אֱלֹהִים to Abraham and to his seed. Now the question arises, how is the אֱלֹהִים in ver. 19, to be explained, which is the more remarkable, since, immediately before, JEHOVAH had promised to perform that which Jacob here states as the condition of the fulfilment of his vow. The advocates of the Document-hypothesis and Fragment-hypothesis, are here quite at fault. For the יְהוָה, in ver. 21, sets aside every external mode of explanation, and forces us to deduce the use of ELOHIM from internal causes; and these are not so difficult to discover. The clause, "If ELOHIM will be with me, &c., so that I come again to my father's house," forms a mere paraphrase of "If ELOHIM will be JEHOVAH to me," and to this the following clause, "and if JEHOVAH will be ELOHIM to me," forms a very suitable conclusion. Both are closely connected together. For to Jacob, in his own experience, compared with his fathers, Abraham and Isaac, and even with the future promised to him by God, JEHOVAH was still ELOHIM. He became JEHOVAH to him, when he fulfilled his promises, and by the experiences of life was more distinctly apprehended and thus became *his* God. By the first

designation of God as ELOHIM, Jacob took account of what God was for him ; and by the second designation, as JEHOVAH, what he was in himself. He became to him what he was in himself, by becoming *his* God. The importance of this passage for the whole relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM, is very evident. The relative use of the two names, as we have before pointed out (ch. xvii. xxiii. &c.) is here undeniably verified ; and the cheapest of all objections, that the distinctions we have made are much too refined, must be silenced, until some other expedient has been discovered.

Chap. xxix.—xxx. 1–24.—In this section, containing an account of the birth and names of Jacob's sons, the two Divine names are constantly interchanged. This is additionally perplexing to the advocates of the Document-hypothesis and Fragment-hypothesis, since throughout the section the same character, the same point of view, and the same mode of expression prevail. EICHHORN and ILGEN treat it with indifference ; they would rather surrender the fact than their hypothesis. But their temper is too daring for VATER. He sees himself obliged to admit the unity of the section, and to protest against its dislocation often into single verses.

If we examine the use of the Divine names at the birth and naming of the sons, the facts presented to our notice are as follows : Where the historian speaks, we find, in reference to Leah's first son, JEHOVAH (xxix. 31, "And when JEHOVAH saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb ; but Rachel was barren,") in connection with the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, there is no mention of God : on the birth of Leah's fifth son we find ELOHIM (xxx. 17, "And ELOHIM hearkened unto Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob the fifth son"). In reference to Rachel, we likewise find ELOHIM, (ver. 22, "And ELOHIM remembered Rachel, and ELOHIM hearkened to her and opened her womb").

Leah regards the birth of her four first sons in reference to JEHOVAH (ch. xxix. 32, "And Leah conceived and bare a son, and she called his name Reuben ; for she said, surely JEHOVAH hath looked upon my affliction." Ver. 33, "And she conceived again, and bare a son, and said, because JEHOVAH hath heard that I was hated, he hath therefore given me this son also ; and she called his name

Simeon." Ver. 35, "And she said, now will I praise JEHOVAH; therefore she called his name Judah, and left off bearing." At the birth of Zilpah's children there is no higher reference. At the birth of Leah's fifth son, she said (xxx. 18), "ELOHIM hath given me mine hire, because I have given my maiden to my husband;" at the birth of the sixth, "ELOHIM hath given me good dowry; now will my husband dwell with me."

Rachel regarded the birth of Bilhah's first son as a favour from ELOHIM; ch. xxx, 6, "And Rachel said, ELOHIM hath judged me, and hath also heard my voice, and given me a son." And thus at the birth of the second, ver. 8, "and Rachel said, with the wrestlings of ELOHIM have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed." (ROSENMÜLLER and SCHUMANN, *pugnā maxime arduam*. This is the current interpretation, but manifestly false; not only on general grounds, because ELOHIM is never used merely to add emphasis to an expression (see ch. x.), but also specially on account of the connection. The wrestlings of God are the wrestlings regarding ELOHIM and his grace. Leah had represented Rachel's barrenness hitherto as a practical evidence against her possession of God's favour, and her own fruitfulness as a reward from God for her unmerited sufferings. Compare Ps. cxxvii. 3.

Lo, children are an heritage of JEHOVAH,
And the fruit of the womb is his reward.

This evidence appears to Rachel weakened by the birth of a son; the conflict for God's favour was decided to her advantage; compare the expression in ver. 6, "ELOHIM hath judged me"—it corresponds to ver. 8, "In the conflict of God, so long carried on with my sister, I have at last triumphed;" notice, moreover, the name Dinah, which Leah gave her daughter (xxx. 21)—the reference to God; the sentiment that children were pledges of his favour goes from beginning to end. Also, in the birth of her own first son, Rachel noticed the interposition of ELOHIM; xxx. 23, "And she conceived and bare a son; and said, ELOHIM hath taken away my reproach." On the other hand, at the birth of her second son, she expresses her hope in JEHOVAH; ver. 24, "And she called his name Joseph, and said, JEHOVAH shall add to me another son." This hope was fulfilled; but the son was her son of sorrow, at once a gift and a punishment, xxxv. 18

This simple survey of facts will suffice, even for persons who may not be satisfied with all the details, to awaken the conviction that the Divine names are here employed with a distinct perception of their difference, and from internal reasons. The advocates of the national God are here thrown into perplexity. Nor will the God of revelation alone be sufficient.

The different circumstances of the two sisters, to which they constantly refer at the birth of their sons, form the key to the use of the Divine names. Leah was suffering injustice, and out of health. Her hard-hearted and jealous sister bore the principal blame of her husband's aversion to her, and made use of this aversion to ridicule and depreciate her. Under these circumstances Leah acknowledged, and with her the historian agreed, that the offspring granted to her, and denied to Rachel, was not merely the effect of a general operation of providence, a *concur-sus divinus* such as constantly attended these events, but specially an act of the living, personal, righteous, and rewarding God. But as to the children of her handmaid, no notice is taken of the Divine agency, either by Leah or the historian. There was nothing singular or out of the ordinary course of nature either preceding or attending their birth. If God had wished to give Leah more children, he could have done it without this expedient. In the birth of the fifth and sixth sons, the historian and Leah acknowledge the Divine hand; yet that special importance which was attached to the birth of the first four sons, was no longer felt; the object was perfectly attained; matters returned to their wonted path; Leah yields to the influence of habit; her devotional feelings are less strongly excited; her eye is chiefly directed to natural causes, and she acknowledges only an indistinct divine co-operation. (See the remarks on ch. iv).

Rachel's state of mind at first appears analogous to that of Leah at a later period. She had no motive to raise herself to JEHOVAH; she would rather dread him as a judge and avenger. To pronounce his name was more than she ventured to do at the birth of her handmaiden's son, for she was too well aware how far it was the result of her own device. Not till the birth of her own first-born, in which she justly acknowledges a gift of the Divine favour (and which the historian describes as such), she became more courageous and confident; she ventured to apply for a

second son to JEHOVAH ; she forgot that there was still cause for fear, since she had persisted in her unjust conduct towards her sister. So the son whom she asked of JEHOVAH, was given to her by JEHOVAH, but as a son of sorrow.

We have only one thing more to notice in this section—Jacob's language to Rachel in ch. xxx. 2, "Am I in stead of ELOHIM?" In the passage already quoted from the Psalms, children are described as a gift from JEHOVAH, and such were the sons of Jacob as father of the chosen race in a sense altogether peculiar. But here the object was to expose the folly of Rachel's request, "Give me children or else I die!" and by way of contrast, the most general name of God was appropriate.

We may pass over the second half of ch. xxx., for the use of JEHOVAH by Laban (ver. 27, "JEHOVAH hath blessed me for thy sake") will be understood by a reference to the remarks on ch. xxiv.

Chap. xxxi.—The command given to Jacob to return to Canaan is attributed in ver. 3 to JEHOVAH, and quite naturally ; for the whole journey was under the guidance of JEHOVAH, (see ch. xxviii). On the other hand, Jacob, in conversing with his wives, used the name ELOHIM even when, looking only at the subject, JEHOVAH might have been more suitable. ELOHIM had not suffered Laban to hurt him, (ver. 7). ELOHIM had taken away Laban's cattle (ch. ix), although, in these events, there had been a fulfilment of the promise which JEHOVAH had made to Jacob on his departure from home ; even the angel of ELOHIM had commanded Jacob to return (ver. 11), yet, according to the statement of the historian in ver. 3, this summons had proceeded from JEHOVAH. Now, since this use of ELOHIM cannot be accounted for from the nature of the subject, we must look for its explanation in the persons whom Jacob addressed. We may do this with less hesitation, since these persons give evidence of the vagueness of their religious knowledge by their own use of ELOHIM on subjects which peculiarly belong to the jurisdiction of JEHOVAH. ELOHIM, according to Jacob's wives, had taken away their father's possessions ; whatever ELOHIM commanded him, they exhorted him to do. They did not perhaps speak thus, because JEHOVAH was utterly unknown to them, (compare ver. 29, 30) ; but be-

cause he stood at a distance from them, so that they could only elevate themselves to him in some solemn moments, of which the preceding section furnishes instances. To this weakness of faith in his wives Jacob condescended, as the Christian will still do, in intercourse with those who only agree with him on the most general religious views : often, in speaking from their point of view, he can only make use of the most general designations of God, the Almighty, Omnipotence, Providence, Heaven ; while, on other occasions, when he can avow his faith, and can make the contrast observable, he will purposely select the most definite designations. On the same grounds also rests the use of ELOHIM in Jacob's address to Laban, ver. 42. To Laban the Syrian, ELOHIM came in a dream by night (ver. 24). If we regard the subject, this dream proceeded from JEHOVAH ; but God was here only to be designated according to what he was for Laban, who had only reached a lower stage of religious knowledge, and whose soul was like a dull mirror. Though he might have an outward acquaintance with JEHOVAH, yet his real knowledge did not go beyond ELOHIM. God was always to him a distant, undefined Deity, a dim cloudy form, however near he might approach him. That Laban himself makes use of the name JEHOVAH in ver. 49, "JEHOVAH watch between me and thee," appears, if we look at his design and whole character, as quite natural. In ver. 30, he distinguishes the Teraphim as his own God, but for this god he well knew Jacob had no respect ; and likewise the threatening of the vengeance of the Deity, whose favour, as he supposed, was obtained through the medium of the Teraphim, appeared to him not sufficiently awful ; he therefore employed that name which, as he well knew, was great and awful in Jacob's esteem. In ver. 50, he speaks in a similar connection of ELOHIM ; but here the general name of God is manifestly introduced by way of contrast—if *no man* is with us, yet, behold, ELOHIM is a witness between me and thee !

Chap. xxxii.—In reference to the יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ in ver. 2, compare what has already been remarked in the parallel narrative in ch. xxviii ; the יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ in ver. 3 must be supported by the same grammatical reason as יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ xxviii. 17. Jacob meant to distinguish the place as an encampment of God. The necessity for using ELOHIM will appear more clearly if we carefully notice

what follows. It could scarcely be an accidental meeting when in the same passage the messengers מַלְאָכָיו are spoken of, whom Jacob sent before him to propitiate his brother Esau, ver. 4. And so of Jacob's two encampments, ver. 8 and ver. 11. The appearance of God's messengers gives Jacob courage to send *his* messengers under their invisible guidance; the double encampment of God stands in encouraging parallelism to his own double encampment. On the other hand, in Jacob's prayer, ver. 10, "O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac, JEHOVAH, which saidst unto me, return," &c., the name JEHOVAH could not be omitted. Jacob was in a most elevated, solemn state of feeling; the anguish of his heart had roused his piety to vigorous exercise, to an apprehension of the living, personal God; not the Deity in a general sense, but JEHOVAH, the God of the chosen race, had vouchsafed the promise which formed the foundation of his prayer—that he would do him good—had in the hitherto glorious fulfilment of his promise given him a pledge for the future, and had commanded him to return to the land of his fathers. JEHOVAH alone was the ground of his comfort and his hope. The danger was too great for a mere general faith in a general Providence to sustain his confidence. In ver. 29 (28), on the other hand, "Thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel, for thou hast conflicted (קָרַבְתָּ) with ELOHIM and with men, and has prevailed;" ELOHIM must stand, although JEHOVAH was conquered by Jacob by the weapons of prayer and weeping (Hos. xii. 5). For the conflict with God stands here in express contrast to the conflict with men. In his heavenly opponent, Jacob had at the same time conquered all his earthly foes. This view is confirmed by the name ISRAEL, which, for reasons already assigned, could not be exchanged for any word compounded with JEHOVAH. In ver. 31 (30), "And Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, for I have seen ELOHIM face to face, and my life is preserved." ELOHIM stands partly in reference to the name, partly on account of the contrast between man and God. When heaven and earth, God and man, come in contact, the earthly would be annihilated by the heavenly, unless God, out of his grace, spared poor mortals.

Chap. xxxiii.—Jacob, in his conference with Esau, speaks only

of ELOHIM, even in a connection where, as far as the facts are concerned, JEHOVAH would be more suitable (ver. 5), "The children which ELOHIM hath graciously given thy servant;" ver. 11, "Take my blessing that is brought to thee, because ELOHIM hath dealt graciously with me, and I have everything;" while in ch. xxxii. 11, he praises JEHOVAH as the author of all his prosperity, for the same reasons for which he adopted a similar phraseology in his conversations with his wives and Laban. (See above, p. 363). JEHOVAH was exalted far above the level of Esau's superficial religion, which was only slightly exhibited at rare intervals. Had he not been estranged from JEHOVAH, he would not have sold his birthright for a dish of lentils. On the other hand, in ver. 10, "If now I have found grace in thy sight, then receive my present at my hand; for therefore (to bring thee this present) I have seen thy face, as though one had seen the face of God, אֲנִי רָאִיתִי אֶת־פְּנֵי־יְהוָה (I have approached thee with the reverence with which one comes before God or before the heavenly powers), and thou wast pleased with me"—the subject requires ELOHIM, and JEHOVAH would here be quite inadmissible. For here it is only intended to express the idea of almost superhuman respect, of *honor pene divinus*. The face of God is here contrasted with the face of man.

Ch. xxxv.—We proceed at once to this chapter, as in the preceding no Divine name occurs. The frequent use of ELOHIM here, even in connections in which elsewhere JEHOVAH stands, cannot be applied to support the Document-hypothesis. For the reference to the earlier narrative ch. xxviii., according to which JEHOVAH appeared to Jacob as he proceeded to Mesopotamia, is here so strong and evident (compare especially ver. 1, 7, 9), that both portions must necessarily belong to one and the same author, and this can only contain the name JEHOVAH from internal reasons. Besides, though the mention of the name is avoided, this chapter, there is no doubt, substantially relates to JEHOVAH. It must have been Jacob's intention to build an altar (ver. 1 and 3), not to the Deity in general, but to the definite, concrete God, who appeared to him when he fled from his brother Esau, who heard him in the day of his distress, and was with him on the way in which he walked. To this God of his family, to whom the

exclusive service of his people belonged, the strange gods אֱלֹהֵי הַבַּיִת in ver. 4 are placed in opposition. If, then, it is evident that the author knew and acknowledged *the fact*,—*the name* also, which, according to the spirit of the ancient world, was given at the same time with it, could not be unknown. But the ground on which he abstains from using it, it is not difficult to perceive. The whole narrative relates to Bethel and Israel, names compounded with the general Divine name. The reason and occasion of these names are here to be given. Bethel is Bethel. *First*, because EL appeared there to Jacob on his flight from Esau, ver. 1, because the heavenly powers (אֱלֹהִים = אֱל) had manifested themselves to him; (compare on the plural verb the remarks on ch. xx). *Secondly*, because Jacob, to fulfil his vow (ch. xxviii.) had built there a house of God, an altar. *Thirdly*, because there ELOHIM had appeared to him a second time after the erection of the house of God. How the use of the name ELOHIM stands in the account of this second appearance, in reference to the name of the place, is clearly shown at the end; ver. 13, “And ELOHIM went up from him *in the place* where he talked with him; and Jacob set up a pillar *in the place* where he talked with him. . . . And Jacob called the name *of the place* where ELOHIM spake with him, Bethel.” The whole character of the section is etymological. It forms, in short, a commentary on the name Bethel, to which every thing else is made subordinate.

Yet one instance of the use of the name ELOHIM requires special justification; in ver. 5, “and the terror of ELOHIM was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob.” For this notice is not connected with the etymological references. But here it is evident that the אֱלֹהִים forms a contrast to a terror proceeding from human causes, for which there was in this instance no foundation. The terror not proceeding from any earthly cause is called *a terror of God*, in the same way as lightning, in contrast to earthly fire, is called *a fire of God*.

Ch. xxxviii.—JEHOVAH occurs in ver. 7, “And Er, Judah’s first-born, was wicked in the sight of the Lord, and JEHOVAH slew him;” and in ver. 10, “And the thing which he (Onan) did displeased JEHOVAH, wherefore he slew him also.” We have already

seen that in manifestations of the Divine punitive justice, the preference is given to the name JEHOVAH (see the remarks on ch. x., xi., xiii.); but here it was peculiarly necessary, because the sins in question were committed among the chosen race, to whom God's justice, as well as his grace, stands in a far closer relation than to the heathen.

Chap. xxxix.-1.—The facts in this section of which our opponents must acknowledge the strict congruity, are in general the following: In ch. xxxix. there is an industrious and almost pleonastic repetition of JEHOVAH, as designating the being who superintends the whole train of events; and it is invariably used when the historian speaks in his own person. Ver. 2, "And JEHOVAH was with Joseph." Ver. 3, "And his master saw that JEHOVAH was with him, and that JEHOVAH made all that he did to prosper." Ver. 5, "And JEHOVAH blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake; and the blessing of JEHOVAH was upon all that he had." Ver. 21, "But JEHOVAH was with Joseph, and showed him mercy." Ver. 23, "Because JEHOVAH was with him; and that which he did, JEHOVAH made it to prosper." But with the end of this chapter the use of the name ceases, and after a considerable interval we only find it once more in the blessing of dying Jacob: xlix. 28, "I have waited for thy salvation, O JEHOVAH!" On the other hand, ELOHIM occurs in ch. xxxix. only once in ver. 9, where Joseph says to Potiphar's wife, "How then can I do this great wickedness and sin against ELOHIM? לֹא-אֵלֹהִים." In all the other chapters it maintains the ascendancy, and only is interchanged once with EL SHADDAI.

The advocates of the Document-hypothesis are here thrown into great perplexity. The notion of a narrative composed from two or three documents is sufficiently difficult, since the whole is so evidently cast in one mould. If they follow their grand criterion, the Divine names, the Jehovistic documents occupy only two chapters, the xxxix. and xlix.; and in the former, ELOHIM is found in ver. 9 in the midst of a Jehovistic connection. Since it is too plainly connected with the contents to be changed without hesitation into JEHOVAH, and since one seems necessitated to grant that it was placed there for internal reasons, the same method of explaining it is at hand as in the case of JEHOVAH. Also in ch.

xlix. one cannot place much reliance on the JEHOVAH in ver. 18, since immediately after, in ver. 24, where several Divine names occur, that of JEHOVAH is wanting, which a Jehovah-document would certainly have used. Added to this, in this section, in an Elohist connection, exactly those peculiarities appear, besides the Divine names, which otherwise it has been usual to consider as belonging to Jehovistic documents (see GRAMBERG'S remarkable concession, p. 87); and then it must be most surprising that here, in the last great section of the patriarchal history, ELOHIM has an almost unlimited ascendancy, while in the first part, the history of Abraham, JEHOVAH is almost equally prevalent. The composition from a Jehovistic and Elohist document being assumed, we might expect a proportionate relation of the parts taken from both, from beginning to end. And it must be very strange that the Jehovistic portion of one section should be exactly at the threshold, just at the beginning of Joseph's career in Egypt. This certainly looks more like design, like a choice guided by internal reasons, than like accident.

Let us now give the explanation of the facts from our own point of view. The intentionally reiterated use of the name JEHOVAH cannot be thought strange. Joseph's destinies are under the guidance not of a general, but of the special providence which watched over the chosen race; they had not an individual, but a national religious importance. Through them, preparation was made for the residence of the chosen people in Egypt, which long before, in the communication to Abraham, ch. xv. 13, was marked out as a necessary part of the Divine plan with his people, as a necessary transition-point from the pilgrimage in the land of Canaan to the possession of it. In Egypt, Jacob's family would obtain abundant support during the famine. There they would increase to a united, great, and powerful people; there was the best school of civilization; and (which is the principal point) there was the seat of the strongest earthly power, and therefore the best opportunity for bringing on those heavy sufferings which were adopted to awaken in Israel a longing after deliverance, and a readiness to surrender themselves to their God. It was, at the same time, a glorious theatre on which the God of Israel displayed his character, his power, justice, and grace in the deliverance of his people and in his judgment on their enemies. Hence it was perfectly

natural that the author should, at the beginning of his narrative, by the frequent use of the name JEHOVAH, render it evident that he recounted these events as proofs of God's care for the chosen race. The אלהים in ver. 9 may be easily accounted for. יהוה would have been more suitable to the subject; for God is here spoken of as judge and avenger. But, in conversation with a heathen woman, ELOHIM would be preferred, since JEHOVAH, both in name and reality, was entirely beyond her horizon.

If we turn now to the following chapter, it will soon appear, that, in a considerable number of passages, the use of ELOHIM in part *must* be explained, in part at least, can be explained on those general grounds which are applicable not less to the other books of Scripture than to the Pentateuch. Thus in ch. xl. 8, "And they said unto him, we have dreamed a dream, and there is no interpreter of it. And Joseph said unto them, Do not interpretations belong to God? (אלהים); tell me them, I pray you." Here, apart from its being addressed to foreigners, ELOHIM is the proper term. The interpretation of dreams was not a human, but a *Divine* prerogative, and hence might be imparted as a gift to any one without distinction of people or station. There is here nothing that requires an exactly defined God. A similar, general contrast between God and man, heaven and earth, occurs also in the answer which Joseph gave to Pharaoh, ch. xli. 16, when he said to him, "I have heard said of thee, that thou canst understand a dream to interpret it." "It is not in me; ELOHIM shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace." And we might naturally expect that Joseph would generally, in conversing with Pharaoh, who knew nothing of Jehovah, make use of ELOHIM, and only differ from Pharaoh in making the word concrete by prefixing the article; (compare his אלהים in ver. 25, 28, 32, with Pharaoh's אלהים in ver. 38 and 39). Also in ver. 51, 52, "And Joseph called the name of the first-born Manasseh; for ELOHIM hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house." ELOHIM is not at all strange; for Joseph regarded the birth of his son not as somehow connected with the development of the Divine kingdom; it was rather the general idea of Providence which was predominant, the indefinite feeling of dependence which pressed upon him. That Joseph, in conversation with his brethren, employed the name ELOHIM, as long as he did not make himself

self known to them (ch. xlii. 18, "Do this and live, I fear God," יהוה—*not* Jehovah, but still the one personal God, xliii. 29), is quite in order. The use of JEHOVAH would have betrayed him. It is equally natural that Joseph's brethren (who, before they knew him, stood in the same relation to him that Joseph did to Pharaoh) should speak merely of HA-ELOHIM to him, in a connection ("HA-ELOHIM hath found out the iniquity of thy servants," xliv. 16), where Jehovah would be more suited to the subject. In ch. xlv. 6, where Joseph, after he had made himself known to his brethren, says, "Be not grieved, &c., for ELOHIM did send me before you," the use of ELOHIM will appear satisfactory, if we observe, that here the general contrast between God and man is most prominently exhibited, and in ver. 8 is still more distinctly expressed, "It was not *you* that sent me hither, but HA-ELOHIM." From this contrast also we may perhaps explain the use of ELOHIM in v. 9, "Haste you, and go up to my father, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, ELOHIM hath made me lord of all Egypt; come down unto me, tarry not." Jacob had confined himself wholly to human designs; he had lost sight of God's leadings; that God, and not man, was for him the reason of going down to Egypt. But, on the one hand, the contrast was, of itself, too little prominent, for it not to be expressly marked, if the author attached importance to it; and, on the other hand, the contrast here was not so important, nor so suited to determine Jacob to the desired resolution, as the reference to the living personal God of the chosen race, whose guidance they were to follow everywhere—to the slightest intimation of whose will they were to attend. In ch. xlviii. 9, where Joseph says to Jacob, "these are my sons, whom ELOHIM hath given me in this place," if we do not attend to the connexion, certainly אלהים would be justified; but if we refer to this, it appears that יהוה would be far more suitable. The question of Jacob, "Who are these?" in ver. 8, if compared with what goes before, cannot be taken as an enquiry of the half-blind old man, after something which he knew not: it belongs to the same class as Isaac's question, "Art thou my son Esau?" which he asked after he believed that he had ascertained that he had his son Esau before him. It constitutes a part of the holy act of blessing, and makes a part of its form, as now-a-days a simi-

lar question in judicial proceedings. Joseph's answer, "they are my sons," is followed immediately by "Bring them unto me, and I will bless them." The blessing followed, before JEHOVAH (compare ch. xxvii.); it related to the participation in the blessings which JEHOVAH promised to bestow. What, therefore, could be more natural than that Joseph should distinguish the participation in these blessings as a gift of JEHOVAH's grace? Also in ver. 11, "And Israel said unto Joseph, I had not thought to see thy face; and, lo, ELOHIM hath shewed me also thy seed." ELOHIM may properly stand here, as there is a contrast between human thought and Divine conduct. But if we reflect on the solemn frame of Jacob's mind, in which his religious sentiment was roused to the most vigorous action, ELOHIM must appear strange to us, and we should rather expect that a heart filled with gratitude should raise itself to JEHOVAH. On the other hand, in ch. i. 9, where Joseph says to his brethren, "Am I in the place of ELOHIM?" ELOHIM, which here, since there is a general contrast between God and man, appears in every respect suitable; and likewise in ver. 20, "Ye thought evil against me, but ELOHIM meant it unto good."

If the use of the Divine names in this section were limited to the passages hitherto quoted, we should mistrust our ability to justify the constant recurrence of ELOHIM on general grounds. For, together with such instances in which ELOHIM must necessarily stand, there are several others in which it might stand, but so also might JEHOVAH equally well, and some in which JEHOVAH is evidently more suitable. That in such case ELOHIM, always and without exception, is used, must appear very surprising, and indicates the operation of a special reason.

But there is besides, a whole class of passages, where, according to general reasons, JEHOVAH must be unconditionally expected. Thus, in ch. xlii. 28, "And they (Joseph's brethren) were afraid, saying to one another, what hath ELOHIM done unto us?" Joseph's brethren acknowledged in what had befallen them, a righteous retribution; but punishments and rewards proceed from Jehovah. Ch. xliii. 14, Jacob says, "El Shaddai give you mercy before the man." Why not rather JEHOVAH, the tutelary God of the chosen race? But, if any where, JEHOVAH must be expected in ch. xlvi. 1-3. There Jacob supplicates

by a solemn act of worship at Beersheba, on the borders of the promised land, for the express approval of his journey to Egypt. That this was according to God's will and plan, after comparing the communication to Abraham respecting it, with the wonderful train of events relating to himself, he could not doubt; still he wished for the distinct announcement of it, and this was granted to him. God appears to him, as formerly, at Bethel, in a vision of the night, and tells him not to fear to go down into Egypt; for he would make of him there a great nation; he would go down with him into Egypt and bring him up again. That the contents are throughout Jehovistic is plain enough, and yet the name is carefully avoided. Jacob offers sacrifices, not to JEHOVAH, but *to the God of his fathers*, a designation which certainly goes beyond ELOHIM in definiteness, but yet is by no means equivalent to JEHOVAH; and not till the historical development had reached its culminating point, does the idea of *the historical God* coincide with that of JEHOVAH. Not JEHOVAH, but ELOHIM appeared to Jacob; he distinguishes himself only as אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתָי, and under this character vouchsafes him the promise. Equally surprising is ch. xlvi. 3, "And Jacob said unto Joseph, EL SHADDAI appeared to me at Luz." We should here have expected JEHOVAH; for this name is found in the parallel passage, ch. xxviii. 13. And the promise that is here made to him is strictly Jehovistic. If Jacob made the sons of Joseph partakers in this promise, in a higher degree than would have happened to them in the common course of things, this could have been done only under the special authority of JEHOVAH. On the ordinary grounds likewise, the omission of JEHOVAH, in the blessing on the sons of Joseph, ver. 15, 16, is inexplicable. It is true Jacob does not represent the Deity in the most general sense, as the author of the blessing, but *the God* (אֱלֹהֵי) before whom his fathers walked, and who had fed him all his life long; still it is surprising that he does not call this God JEHOVAH. Also in ver. 20 ("In thee shall Israel bless, saying, ELOHIM make thee as Ephraim and as Manasseh"). ELOHIM appears strange, since here the subject is a solemn benediction, expressed in an elevated tone, and with a conviction of its efficiency; and in ver. 21, "And Israel said unto Joseph, Behold, I die; but ELOHIM shall be with you, and bring you again into the land of your fathers." ELOHIM, merely

on general grounds, would be absolutely inadmissible. In ch. xlix. 24, it is at least singular that Jacob does not speak of JEHOVAH, although he employs several Divine titles. But with ch. l. 24, "And Joseph said, I die, and ELOHIM will surely visit you, and bring you out of this land unto the land which he sware to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob," from the point of view which the opponents of the Document-hypothesis have till now occupied, there is nothing to be done, and as little with ver. 25.

How are these hitherto unexplained facts to be accounted for? Some persons may be disposed to adopt the opinion suggested by SACK (p. 18), that Joseph, during his residence among heathens, had been accustomed to the name ELOHIM, which at first he had used as a matter of accommodation, and that Jacob, when he conversed with him, made use of this name for a similar reason. But on closer examination, this opinion appears quite untenable. Owing to the internal connection between name and thing, as it existed in that age, Joseph could not have disused the one, without losing his hold of the other; and that he still retained, though surrounded by heathens, a living sense of Him who was represented by the name, is proved by his dying injunction to carry his bones into Canaan. Moreover, the use of ELOHIM where we might expect JEHOVAH, is not confined to the language of Joseph, and of Jacob in speaking to Joseph; it occurs in other speeches of Jacob and his sons; and, what is still more, in the historian's own narrative. But evidently, a hypothesis which is not competent to explain all facts of the same class, cannot be applied to explain any part of them. Besides, the preference for the use of ELOHIM in the first chapter of Exodus, is plainly connected with the preference for it in that portion of Genesis which borders closely upon it. But there the hypothesis has no sort of applicability.

The correct view may be inferred from the curious remarks already made, particularly on ch. vi.-ix., xii., xvii., xxii. As the author in the last large portion of the pre-patriarchal history, intimated, by the reiterated use of ELOHIM, and the designed avoidance of JEHOVAH, that a new period of unfolding the Divine character was at hand, so also here in the last great and closely connected section of the patriarchal history. As he there deviated from the absolute idea of ELOHIM, by frequently employing it in a modified sense, when introducing JEHOVAH (see ch. xvii. 1),

and in the narrative itself allowed this name to appear in some peculiar instances—so also here at the beginning of ch. xxxix. JEHOVAH occurs very frequently, and in ch. xlix. 18, forces its way on one occasion into an Elohist connection.

That ELOHIM stands not merely where the historian speaks in his own person, but also where he introduces Jacob, Joseph, and his brethren speaking, can occasion no difficulty, since the supposition is obvious, that the author, without confining himself to the accidental form of their expression, attributed to them the employment of that designation of God, which was suited to the occasion. But since this designation was thus suitable, we may venture to conclude that it was actually used by the speakers. JEHOVAH, the great spiritual sun, was at that time concealed behind a cloud from the chosen race; they hoped that its clear effulgence would once more beam forth, but they knew that it had not yet appeared. The entrance into Egypt must necessarily have deferred their expectations to a future period. This is shown by the injunctions of Jacob and Joseph respecting their remains. But in proportion as their eyes were directed to the glorious revelation of God in the future, would He be to them for the present, ELOHIM. Under existing circumstances the character of God, as he would be to their descendants, appeared to them more exalted than what he was to themselves, while at an earlier period he appeared more exalted in what he was to themselves, than what he was to the heathen world.

EXODUS.

Ch. i. and ii.—Here the author continues, by the use of ELOHIM, in a connection where we might expect JEHOVAH, to direct the attention to the approaching new epoch of Divine revelation, before which the existing one would vanish. Thus ch. i. 17, “And the midwives feared ELOHIM,” אֱלֹהִים יָסֵאוּ; ver. 20, “And ELOHIM dealt well with the midwives;” ver. 21, “And it came to pass, because the midwives feared HA-ELOHIM, that he made them houses.” It cannot here be the author’s design to express the general idea of religion, of the fear of the Supreme Being; it was specially a holy fear of the God of Israel; from him and not

from the Deity, considered simply as such, proceeded their reward. In ver. 17 the use of ELOHIM might be justified from the contrast implied in the connection between the fear of God and the fear of man; so likewise in ver. 21, but not so in ver. 20, where there is no reference to such a contrast. Far more inadmissible is any other explanation than that we have proposed, in ch. ii. 23, 25, "And their cry came up unto ELOHIM. . . . And ELOHIM heard their groaning, and ELOHIM remembered his covenant with Abraham, and with Isaac, and with Jacob. And ELOHIM looked upon the children of Israel, and ELOHIM knew them." Here ELOHIM stands without the article, evidently with an intentional frequency in connection with acts which belong not to the abstract, but to the personal and living God, and to him are precisely attributed. At the threshold of the transition to JEHOVAH ELOHIM is used with peculiar emphasis, that the transition may be thus more strongly marked.

Chap. iii. 1-iv. 18.—In this section, containing the calling of Moses, there are some remarkable peculiarities which tend to confirm not a little our general principle. Ch iii. 1, "Moses came to the mountain of HA-ELOHIM, even to Horeb," can only be explained on the general ground of the change of the Divine names. This is apparent from ch. iv. 28, and xviii. 6, where the same designation of Sinai appears in a Jehovistic connection. Sinai is called the mountain of God, in contrast to common mountains (compare Psalms lxviii. 17 (16), "Why leap ye, ye high hills? this is the hill which God desireth to dwell in," where the reference to the contrast, occasions JEHOVAH, though in point of fact more suitable, to give way to ELOHIM). Thus, likewise, in a Jehovistic connection, the rod of Moses is called *the rod of God*; מִצֵּד הָאֱלֹהִים in contradistinction from common rods, ch. v. 20; xvii. 9. If we now look off from this verse, we find at the beginning of the narrative JEHOVAH (ver. 2, "And the angel of JEHOVAH appeared unto him;" ver. 4, "And when JEHOVAH saw that he turned aside to see"), in order to satisfy the same necessity which occasioned the use of JEHOVAH in the introduction of the history of the Flood, Gen. vi. and in Gen. xviii. 1, and xxxix. But it changes immediately, and indeed in the same verse ("And when JEHOVAH saw that he turned aside to see, ELOHIM called to

him out of the midst of the bush, and said," &c.), to ELOHIM, in order to render it perceptible that He who was relatively JEHOVAH, was also relatively still ELOHIM ; that the state here represented was a state of transition. In ver. 7, JEHOVAH, occurs once more, and immediately after ELOHIM (ver. 6, " And Moses was afraid to look upon HA-ELOHIM ;" ver. 7, " And JEHOVAH said, I have surely seen the affliction of my people," &c.), in order to intimate that ELOHIM is conceived of as passing into JEHOVAH, and that JEHOVAH still contained an Elohist element. From this point to the close of the conversation respecting the establishment of the name JEHOVAH, ELOHIM is employed stately and exclusively (ver. 11, " And Moses said to HA-ELOHIM," in reply to the discourse of Ha-Elohim ; ver. 12, " And he (HA-ELOHIM) said to him . . . when thou hast brought forth the people out of Egypt, ye shall serve HA-ELOHIM on this mountain ;" ver. 13, " And Moses said to HA-ELOHIM ;" ver. 14, " And ELOHIM said to Moses," giving the name in *substance* ; ver. 15, " And ELOHIM said moreover to Moses," giving the name in *form*). Exactly from this point, the contrast between the present moment, and the time immediately succeeding, is brought forward. ELOHIM says that henceforth he means to be JEHOVAH. After ELOHIM has solemnly established himself as JEHOVAH—has announced that he would reveal himself as *Jehovah*—the name JEHOVAH is used throughout and exclusively to the end. This fact, that, to the very moment of solemn constitution, ELOHIM is used, and thenceforward JEHOVAH is predominant (compare the analogous instance in ch. xxii.), is inexplicable from every other stand-point but our own ; and we have a right to demand, that every one who complains of our view as too artificial, shall justify his right to complain by explaining the facts in a simpler way.

Ch. iv. 16 forms only an apparent exception, where Jehovah says to Moses, " He (Aaron) shall be thy spokesman unto the people . . . and thou shalt be to him for God (אֱלֹהִים)." For here, as in the parallel passage, ch. vii. 1, " And JEHOVAH said unto Moses, See I have made thee *for* ELOHIM to Pharaoh, and Aaron thy brother shall be thy prophet," ELOHIM must stand under all circumstances. The meaning is this : In thy conferences with the people and with Pharaoh, thy relations to Pharaoh shall be that of God to the prophets—of him who speaks inwardly to

him who speaks outwardly—of the workman to the instrument. It is not designed here to bring forward the full idea of God, but the contrast of the Divine and the human.

From the calling of Moses to ch. vi. 1, “Then JEHOVAH said unto Moses, Now thou shalt see what I will do unto Pharaoh.” With the exception of “*the rod of God*” and “*the mountain of God*,” JEHOVAH is constantly used, in contrast to the earlier stage of revelation. On the other hand, in ch. vi. 2, ELOHIM occurs once: “And ELOHIM spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH.” That this was a great critical turning point is shown by the preceding verse, and by the solemn declaration of God in ver. 3, that from this time he would be now regarded as JEHOVAH. The calling, and what was connected with it, belong relatively to the earlier JEHOVAH; but, if considered in reference to the fuller revelation of the glory of the Lord in carrying out the scheme for which it only served as a preparative, it retains an Elohistic element. We once more beg the reader to observe, how much it tends to confirm the correctness of our explanation, that the same peculiarities recur at every fresh great stage in the history, and only there.

With the last-mentioned passage, the peculiar use of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM in the Pentateuch ends; for within its limits there is no new stage of progress, either in relation to JEHOVAH or to ELOHIM. The use of ELOHIM, together with JEHOVAH, continues indeed to the end of the whole; but yet the outward relation of the two names, and the far less frequency in the use of ELOHIM, show that a great alteration must have taken place; and on closer observation, it appears that ELOHIM only occurs where, according to the rules applicable to all the books of the Old Testament, it must or can stand. We must adduce some instances of this, not subjecting every section in the series to examination, but only taking passages here and there. In ch. viii. 15, the Targum of JONATHAN paraphrases the words of the Egyptian magicians by—“*non ex virtute potentiae Mosis et Aharonis hoc est, sed plaga immissa a domino*. At that juncture they acknowledged only in general a *concursum divinum*, in opposition to human contrivance; the acknowledgment that the God whose

agency they here witnessed was JEHOVAH, and that JEHOVAH was also God in the highest sense, the Deity (which to call forth is several times signified to have been the object of all the plagues; see Exod viii. 18, ix. 14, 29, 30, xiv. 4), was extorted from them at a later period. Also in Pharaoh's language, "Entreat JEHOVAH, and let there be no more voices of ELOHIM and hail." ELOHIM is to be explained from the implied contrast; the thunder is the voice of God, in the same sense in which lightning is the fire of God. The significance of the compound name JEHOVAH-ELOHIM, in the answer of Moses, "But as for thee and thy servants, I know that ye will not yet fear JEHOVAH-ELOHIM," has been already stated. It is determined by a comparison with v. 29, "The voices shall cease, neither shall there be any more hail, that thou mayest know how that the earth is JEHOVAH'S." It forms a contrast to Pharaoh's limited notions. At an earlier period, he had wished to know nothing of JEHOVAH. Now a certain kind of acknowledgment was forced upon him, but yet he had hitherto held it quite possible to find in heaven protection against this national God of Israel. Not till he feared JEHOVAH-ELOHIM, did he truly fear JEHOVAH, and was truly disposed to do his will. As a matter of fact, ELOHIM is contained in JEHOVAH, but it is here added with a reference to Pharaoh's ignorance respecting it.

The reiterated use of ELOHIM, which we find unexpectedly in the midst of a Jehovistic connection, in ch. xiii. 17-19, is striking, "And it came to pass, when Pharaoh had let the people go, that ELOHIM led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for ELOHIM said, lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But ELOHIM led the people about, through the way of the wilderness. . . . And Moses took the bones of Joseph with him; for he had straitly sworn the children of Israel, saying, ELOHIM will surely visit you, and ye shall carry my bones away hence with you." These words of Joseph, which are taken verbally from Gen. l. 21, contain a solution of the difficulty. In Joseph's words, as they originally stood, ELOHIM was placed with very good reason; if JEHOVAH had occurred in what immediately preceded, it might appear strange: it might be thought that JEHOVAH was another God, or that Joseph had only a vague idea

of God. At all events, by the difference of the Divine names, by the sudden transition from JEHOVAH to ELOHIM, the agreement of the prophecy and its fulfilment would have been less apparent. Therefore, the author anticipated the ELOHIM in Joseph's words, by using ELOHIM himself in what immediately preceded.

Chap. xiv. 19.—“And the Maleach ELOHIM, which went before the camp of Israel, removed and went behind them, and the pillar of cloud went from before their face, and stood behind them.” Since in the whole context JEHOVAH is spoken of, (HE, we are told, went before Israel in a pillar of cloud and of fire, ch. xiii. 21, from which he looked forth on the camp of the Egyptians, ch. xiv. 24), the use of ELOHIM in this passage can only be accounted for, from the contrast between the Divine element in the symbol of the Divine presence, and the earthly—between the Divine presence, and the earthly—between the heavenly kernel, and the shell composed of earthly materials. First the angel of God is mentioned, and then his inseparable earthly companion. Merely to make the contrast observable, to point out that the symbol was not body without spirit, and to prepare for the narrative of the mighty effects that were to proceed from it, the author speaks here quite separately of the angel of God, and of the pillar of cloud and of fire, which otherwise were inseparably connected; so that the expression “*removed*,” can refer only to the relation of cause and effect, not to the succession of time, as if the pillar of cloud and of fire remained for a time as a body without the spirit, at the head of the march, after the angel of God had placed himself in the rear; the latter event was first known by the movement of the pillar of cloud and of fire.

It is very interesting to observe the change of the Divine names in ch. xviii., where the proceedings with Jethro the priest of Median, the father-in-law of Moses, are reported. According to ver. 1, Jethro “heard all that ELOHIM had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, and that JEHOVAH had brought Israel out of Egypt. (The אלהים suits Jethro's state of mind, and יהוה the historian's point of view). Ver. 8, “Moses told his father-in-law all that JEHOVAH had done unto Pharaoh and the Egyptians . . . all the travail that had come upon them by

the way, and how JEHOVAH delivered them." Ver. 9-11, "Jethro rejoiced for all the goodness which JEHOVAH had done to Israel and said, blessed be Jehovah, &c. . . . Now I know that JEHOVAH is greater *גבול האלהים* than all gods. Ver. 12, "Jethro took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for ELOHIM, and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before *האלהים*. In a connection where (perhaps with the exception of ver. 15, in which ELOHIM may be rationally accounted for from the contrast between God and man; compare 1 Sam. ix. 9) JEHOVAH would be more in accordance with the nature of the facts, Jethro and Moses speak throughout their conversation of ELOHIM and HA-ELOHIM.

These peculiarities are to be explained as follows:—Jethro makes use of the name JEHOVAH only as an echo of Moses' language, by which he was for a time raised above his own religious position. Afterwards he sinks down again to his usual level, although his ELOHIM, his Providence, his higher order of the universe, certainly had a mixture of distinctness and personality. Moses having given honour to JEHOVAH, followed the example of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph, in their intercourse with Heathens, in accommodating himself to Jethro's weakness, and speaks to him of ELOHIM, who was no false God, but the true formless Deity. The constant use of JEHOVAH by Jethro, might have been a sign of the feebleness of his religious knowledge. That JEHOVAH, the God of Israel, was to him equally the universal God, and, therefore, his own, was the reason that he so soon sank again into ELOHIM. Had he considered him merely as the national God of Israel, it would have been easy for him to have spoken constantly of JEHOVAH. But since his conviction was, simply that JEHOVAH was greater than all gods, he would have been a hypocrite had he always spoken of JEHOVAH. For the essence of hypocrisy consists in going beyond one's own actual religious convictions. Moses carefully guarded against leading him to this, and teaching him outwardly, what he had not yet been inwardly taught by the Spirit of God.

The relation of JEHOVAH and ELOHIM in this section throws light on the interchange of the names in Genesis. The patriarchs were also placed in a middle state similar to Jethro's, and we may

expect to find an analogous use of Elohim in their case, although not to the same extent, because God was to them in a far higher degree JEHOVAH than he was to Jethro.

In the account of the events that attended the giving of the law at Sinai, ch. xix. and xx., ELOHIM and HA-ELOHIM occur several times, yet in such a manner that JEHOVAH throughout has the precedence, and decidedly gives the tone to the whole. In ch. xx. 19, where the people say, "Speak thou with us and we will hear; but let not ELOHIM speak with us lest we die," ELOHIM is manifestly explicable on the ground of contrast; perhaps also in chap. xix. 19, and xx. 1. In the other passages, on the contrary (xix. 3, 17; xx. 17, 18), the design is to point out, that JEHOVAH, who here revealed himself to the people with such gracious condescension, was also God in himself, the Deity; and thus partly to correct every limited notion of the Divine Being which would be more apt to arise in proportion to his condescension; and partly, by indicating the greatness of his condescension, to give an impression of its high value, and the obligation to gratitude which it involved. The HA-ELOHIM used in connection with JEHOVAH in ver. 3, evidently proves that this object was kept in view; "And Moses went up to HA-ELOHIM, and JEHOVAH called unto him out of the mountain," which is tantamount to saying, "Moses went up to JEHOVAH HA-ELOHIM," &c. The connection of the two Divine names in 1 Kings iii. 5, is perfectly analogous, and is to be explained on similar grounds. "In Gibeon JEHOVAH appeared unto Solomon in a dream by night, and ELOHIM said, ask what I shall give thee?" compare ver. 11, where ELOHIM is once more used. In the parallel passage, 2 Chron. i., as the chronicler assumes that JEHOVAH had sufficiently made himself known by the very fact of his appearance, the object for which, by the author of the Books of Kings, the use of ELOHIM twice with a predominance of JEHOVAH (which in the second Divine appearance is *alone* used) serves, is to him so important, that wherever he speaks in his own person he uses ELOHIM. "In that night did ELOHIM appear unto Solomon," ver. 7; "And Solomon said unto ELOHIM," ver. 8; but he put in the mouth of Solomon "JEHOVAH ELOHIM" (ver. 9), to which we consider the separate JEHOVAH and HA-ELOHIM in ch. xix. 3, to be tantamount.

In ch. xxi. 6, "Then his master shall bring him unto ΗΑ-ΕΛΟΗΙΜ" (LXX. *πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*); and likewise in ch. xxii. 7, 8, there is plainly an implied contrast to a judgment exercised by men as such. The judgment was a judgment of God.

Thus also we are to explain ΗΑ-ΕΛΟΗΙΜ by contrast in ver. 12, 13. "He that smiteth a man so that he die, shall be surely put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but ΗΑ-ΕΛΟΗΙΜ delivereth him into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee." What from the common point-of-view is regarded as the contrast between intention and accident, here appears from the religious point-of-view the contrast between human and divine causality. Where man had not been, strictly speaking, the agent, but only an involuntary instrument in a higher hand, then he was to be placed out of the reach of revenge for blood, which confines itself only to the outward appearance of a violent death.

In ch. xxii. 27 (28), "Thou shalt not revile ΕΛΟΗΙΜ, nor curse the ruler of thy people," the first clause contains the reason of the second. Since the ruler is not merely a man, since he stands in God's stead, and bears the image of God, the violation of the offended earthly majesty is at the same time the violation of offended heavenly majesty.

How we are to explain the ΗΑ-ΕΛΟΗΙΜ in chap. xxiv. 11, "also they (the seventy elders) saw God," may be learnt from ch. xxxiii. 17 (20), where it is said that no man can endure to behold JEHOVAH in the whole fulness of his being ("there shall no man see me and live"). Moses saw JEHOVAH, yet not in all his glory, but only with a concealed splendour; and even this imperfect exhibition was granted as a peculiar act of grace, of which he alone of all mortals was thought worthy. Accordingly, the use of ΕΛΟΗΙΜ serves to remind us of the obscurity of the exhibition—an exhibition in ill-defined outline, in a mirror, and as an enigma, and not *πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον*, a knowledge, *ἐκ μέρους*, 1 Cor. xiii. 12, which must be intended in the passage before us, or both passages must remain in irreconcilable contradiction.

In ch. xxxi. 3, where Jehovah says to Moses, "And I have filled him (Bezaleel) with the spirit of ΕΛΟΗΙΜ, and with wisdom and with understanding," that יהיָהּ יְהוָה might have stood, is

as certain as that it was JEHOVAH who promised to give the Spirit; as in 1 Sam. x. 6, although there a moral effect of God's Spirit is spoken of, which indeed is not even here to be excluded, since it relates to sacred skill. But ELOHIM stands here as opposed to natural and human gifts and capabilities: it relates to a *χάρισμα*: compare v. 6, "in the hearts of all that are wise-hearted, I have put wisdom;" where the natural substratum and the supernatural gift, which together form the *χάρισμα*, are plainly distinguished from one another. Bezaleel was to receive *δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους*; compare Luke xxiv. 49, with Acts i. 5, where the more definite expression *πνεῦμα ἄγιον* is substituted for the less definite one which was chosen on account of the contrast. Perhaps an allusion may here be understood to the meaning of the name Bezaleel; yet this is not necessary.

Chap. xxxi. 18.—"And he gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, written with the finger of ELOHIM." The term "*finger*" shows that ELOHIM here forms the contrast to men—to *Moses* (compare iii. 15 (19), to which the Saviour alludes, Matt. xii. 28). The *virtute Dei* is therefore individualized only in reference to this contrast. Likewise in Ps. viii. 4, there is an implied contrast between the works of God and human handiwork.

We may refer to the same method of contrast—which it was more important to employ when the connection between a human work and human agency was most apparent—the use of ELOHIM in ch. xxxii. 15, 16, "And Moses turned and went down from the Mount, and the two tables of the testimony were in his hand . . . and the tables were the work of ELOHIM, and the writing was the writing of ELOHIM." Compare Num. xxi. 5. If no contrast had been intended, JEHOVAH might very properly have been used. For EWALD'S assertion, that the act was too human for JEHOVAH, is sufficiently refuted by our preceding remarks on Gen. i. In proportion as the act was human, it belonged to JEHOVAH.

Still there remains the ELOHIM in ch. xxxii. 1, where the people say to Aaron, "Make us ELOHIM, which shall go before us; and lastly, in v. 4, where Aaron says to the people, "These are thy

ELOHIM, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." That no peculiar plurality of Gods is intended—(not to insist on the improbability of so gross an apostacy)—is apparent from Aaron's words in ver. 5, "To-morrow is a feast to JEHOVAH." Also from 1 Kings xii. 29 (28), where the same words are found, "Behold thy Gods (אֱלֹהֶיךָ) O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt," which were made use of by Jeroboam on purpose to support his impious attempt by the authority of Aaron. To introduce polytheism never entered his thoughts. The whole history testifies that his worship was only the adoration of the *one* God, JEHOVAH, under the form of images. Lastly, from Neh. ix. 18, where the verb is used in the singular instead of the plural, "they had made them a molten calf and said, this is thy God that brought thee up out of Egypt." Yet, on the other hand, it cannot but be acknowledged that in the use of ELOHIM and the plural verb there is certainly a polytheistic germ, especially if we consider that JEHOVAH had immediately before made himself known in so diversified and glorious a manner. The Divine personality was somewhat obscured to their view by the fulness of powers; from this state of feeling the transition was easy to direct polytheism.

Moreover, as a proof of the exactness and profundity of modern critical enquiries, the remark of WATER deserves to be quoted (p. 410), that with ch. xxv. of Exodus, the exclusive use of the name JEHOVAH begins, never again to be interrupted. A worthy accompaniment may be found in the remark (part iii. p. 118, 457), "that merely ELOHIM stands in the language attributed to Balaam, and besides אֱלֹהִים, JEHOVAH only in the single passage, ch. xxiv. 6."

LEVITICUS.

This book furnishes scarcely any materials. ELOHIM occurs in ch. xi. 45, but in a connection that has been already several times explained. (Compare the remarks on Gen. xxviii. 21).

NUMBERS.

In this book our attention is first claimed by ch. xxi. 5-7, "And the people spake against ELOHIM and against Moses, wherefore have ye brought us up out of Egypt? And JEHOVAH sent fiery serpents among the people. . . . Therefore the people came to Moses and said, we have sinned, for we have spoken against JEHOVAH and against thee." The people imagined they were contending against Moses simply as a man, and not through him against God. To expose this error, the contrast between God and man is properly introduced. A similar contrast is found in Is. vii. 13, "Is it a small thing for you to weary men, but will ye weary my God also?" Afterwards the allusion to the contrast ceases, and JEHOVAH, which, on every other ground, was more suitable, takes place of ELOHIM.

But the history of Balaam, comprising ch. xxii.—xxiv., is peculiarly important.* When Balaam speaks in prose with the messengers of the Moabitish king, and with the king himself, he always uses JEHOVAH, with the single exception of ch. xxii. 38, where the reason for using ELOHIM is very evident. Balak, paying no attention to Balaam's message, proceeded on the supposition that his coming or not depended entirely on his own will. Balaam answered him, "Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to say any thing? the thing that ELOHIM putteth in my mouth, *that* shall I speak." Here even a member of the chosen people would have used ELOHIM.

But in the *Prophecies* of Balaam, the name JEHOVAH is conspicuous; xxiii. 8, 21; xxiv. 6, ELOHIM never occurs. Beside JEHOVAH there is EL; also ELJON and SHADDAI. To make use only of JEHOVAH is contrary to the very nature of poetry, which loves copiousness and variety, and the addition of epithets to proper names, as indeed parallelism demands; as Balaam could not content himself merely with Israel, so parallelism required that

* The view proposed by STEUDEL in his Essay "*Die Geschichte Bileams und seine Weissagungen*," that the narrative proceeded from Balaam himself, and that the compiler of the Pentateuch merely inserted it in the place where it belonged, according to the order of time, is refuted simply by the use of the Divine names.

he should frequently employ Jacob; as, for instance, in ch. xxiii. 10,

Who can count the dust of Jacob?
And the number of the fourth part of Israel?

xxiii. 21-23; xxiv. 5-7, thus also he used EL in addition to JEHOVAH. When he does this merely on general grounds, he places EL first, and allows JEHOVAH to follow—

How shall I curse whom EL hath not cursed?
Or how shall I defy whom JEHOVAH hath not defied?
Ch. xxiii. 8.

Thus a sort of climax is formed, so that when Jacob and Israel are joined by parallelism, the latter name always, and without exception, follows the former, as being sacred and expressing the relation to God. The use of EL is also sanctioned by other special reasons. Thus it stands in ch. xxiii. 19:

EL is not a man that he should lie;
Neither the son of man that he should repent,

where it was designed to express the general contrast between God and man. The same reason holds good for its use in ch. xxiv. 4:

He hath said, which heard the words of EL,
Which saw the vision of the Almighty.

Balaam intended to turn attention from himself the mortal, the powerless, to the super-earthly principle who made use of him as his instrument, to the Almighty who spoke by him; compare אֱלֹהֵי in ver. 13. In ch. xxiii. 23, EL occurs, with an important allusion to the name *Israel*; what God hath done is told to the wrestler with God:

According to this time it shall be said of Jacob,
And of Israel, what hath EL wrought!

How are we to explain Balaam's partiality for the use of the name JEHOVAH? How is it that he calls Him so expressly in ch. xxii. 18, *his* God, just as in ch. xxiii. 21, the God of Israel? A satisfactory answer to these questions evidently depends on our having a correct view of Balaam's whole personality. He was

originally a common Heathen soothsayer and augur ; compare xxiii. 3, 4, 15, 16 ; xxiv. 1, whence it appears that at a later period he made use of those means in relation to JEHOVAH, by which he had formerly sought to explore the mysteries of the Deity ; for in Joshua xiii. 22, Balaam is called בלק, which is never used excepting *sensu malo*. His art had naturally had no important result, and he longed accordingly to find a way to a real and closer connection with the Divine, in order more abundantly to gratify his selfishness, the roots of which were, as the Moabitish king clearly perceived, avarice and pride. The report of a new and glorious manifestation of the Deity, in the leadings of Israel, had spread far and wide (compare Exodus xv. 14 ; Jos. v. 1). Balaam, as Jethro had done before, and Rahab did after, received this report with eagerness, and sought for further information. Very soon his resolution was taken, to become the servant of JEHOVAH, as the most powerful among the gods, who showed by his deeds that he was God, and henceforward to prophecy only in his name. He was inclined, like those persons who cast out evil spirits in the name of Jesus without becoming his followers, but above all, like his New Testament counterpart, Simon Magus, to abuse the new powers granted to humanity, for selfish purposes.

For the confirmation of this view, the use of the name JEHOVAH by Balaam is amply sufficient. We have already seen that JEHOVAH is never used by persons who stood quite beyond the range of revelation. It has been noticed that Melchisedec, though a monotheist in the purest and noblest sense, was ignorant of JEHOVAH, both in name and fact ; it has been shown that Laban and Jethro were indebted for their knowledge of JEHOVAH only to their connection with the chosen race. Yet there are not wanting convincing proofs from other quarters. The whole hope of the Moabites rested on their belief that the God with whom Balaam was connected, was the God of Israel ; this was the reason why they, who certainly had soothsayers and enchanters in abundance among them, and in their neighbourhood, sent to a distant country after him. But here we must especially take into consideration, the knowledge of the original promises imparted to Israel, which Balaam manifests in his prophecies, and which is only explicable by admitting, that an analogy existed at that time to

the *precrebuerat toto Oriente opinio* that preceded the advent of the Messiah. In ch. xxiii. 10,

Who can count the dust of Jacob,
And the number of the fourth part of Israel?

there is an allusion to the promise made to Abraham, "And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth; so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered," of which in part Balaam saw the fulfilment before his eyes. In ch. xxiv. 9,

He couched, he lay down as a lion,
And as a great lion; who shall stir him up?
Blessed is he that blesseth thee,
And cursed is he that curseth thee.*

The first half refers to the blessing of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 9:

He stooped down, he couched as a lion,
And as an old lion; who shall raise him up?†

The second half refers to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 3, "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee." Gen. xlix. 9 is also alluded to in ch. xxiii. 24:

Behold the people shall rise up as a great lion,
And lift himself up as a young lion.

When we turn from Balaam to the sacred historian, it appears that the latter was actuated by a twofold motive, in the striking interchange of the Divine names in his narrative—first, by the design to determine Balaam's personal relation to God in opposition to his hypocritical pretensions; and, in the next place, by a design to point out how JEHOVAH, the God of Israel, overruled the whole transaction for his people's welfare, and how Balaam, who otherwise had no intercourse with him, was obliged, in this extraordinary juncture, to serve him as an instrument.

כִּרְעַת טָבַב כְּאַרִי *
וּכְלָבִיא מִי יִקְרָמֶנּוּ
מִבְּרִיחַ בְּרִיחַ
וְאֶתְרִיחַ אֶתְרִיחַ

כִּרְעַת רַבִּין כְּאַרִיחַ †
וּכְלָבִיא מִי יִקְרָמֶנּוּ

The first object was exclusively in the author's mind in the narrative of Balaam's conferences with the messengers of the Moabish king ; ch. xxii. 8–20. In most striking contrast to Balaam, who here, without exception, uses the name JEHOVAH, the author speaks, as exclusively, of ELOHIM. Compare, for instance, ver. 8, where Balaam says to the messengers, “ Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as JEHOVAH shall speak unto me,” with ver. 9, where the historian says, “ And ELOHIM came unto Balaam.” This difference cannot be accidental ; for it is repeated too often. It involves a tacit charge of hypocrisy against Balaam ; he made himself on such easy terms with his JEHOVAH, and yet was only in connection with ELOHIM. Under this head we consider the passage in ch. xxiii. 4, which stands in quite a Jehovistic connection. Balaam had said to Balak, “ Peradventure JEHOVAH will come to meet me.” The historian reports the sequel in the words, “ And ELOHIM met Balaam.” The design is here very apparent ; while one sees that וַיִּלֶּךְ בְּלֵיל יְקָרָה יְהוָה לְקָרְאֵהוּ stands in relation to וַיִּקְרַךְ אֱלֹהִים אֶל-בְּלָעָם, one equally feels that the אלהים is emphatic. Balaam speaks as if he was in regular intercourse with JEHOVAH. But, as far as regarded his own convictions, the state of his religious development, it was only with ELOHIM that he had to do. Only in this one instance he became, without meriting it, without any alteration in his fundamental relation, what otherwise he falsely professed to be, a prophet of JEHOVAH. This latter aspect of the transaction is exhibited in ver. 16, where, instead of “ ELOHIM met Balaam,” it is written, “ And JEHOVAH met Balaam.” Ch. xxiv. 2 is not to be referred to the same class of passages, “ And the Spirit of ELOHIM came upon him.” ELOHIM here stands only in contrast to Balaam's own spirit ; compare ver. 13, where Balaam says, “ I cannot do either good or bad of my own mind.” Such a use of רוח אלהים is not uncommon ; for instance, compare 1 Sam. x. 6, “ And the spirit of JEHOVAH will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them, and shalt be turned into another man,” with ver. 10, “ And the spirit of ELOHIM came upon him, and he prophesied among them.” In the latter passage merely, the supernatural causality of the change effected in Saul was intended to be indicated ; xi. 6 ; xix. 20, 23, 24.

The second object is first aimed at in ch. xxii. 22, “ And the anger of ELOHIM was kindled, because he went ; and the angel

of JEHOVAH stood in the way for an adversary against him." JEHOVAH might have stood at the beginning, but ELOHIM is chosen, since the conditional permission for the journey proceeded from ELOHIM ; therefore here the suspicion might easily arise, that He who gave the permission, and He whose anger was kindled, were different, yet both were in the closest unison ; for it was not the going *simpliciter*, for which Balaam was blamed, but the concrete going, the going with the intention and wish, to ingratiate himself with the Moabites, by injuring God's people, without which Balaam would not have gone, and which was inseparable from his going. But then, with the single exception of the passages quoted, the object determines the use of the Divine names to the end. JEHOVAH and his angel are active in the occurrences on the journey, by which Balaam was warned and fixed in his resolution not to follow his own selfish inclination, but the voice of God in his inner man. JEHOVAH, by prophetic influence, puts words in Balaam's mouth, xxiii. 5, 16. It pleased JEHOVAH to bless Israel. This object is certainly the chief object, as it is the design of the whole section, to glorify JEHOVAH—to show how he turned the curse into a blessing, as a sample and prelude of all his dealings with his Church—how by his miraculous power, he frustrated the projects of the avowed enemies of his people, and triumphed over the evil heart of a foreigner, who pretended to be one of his prophets. If the transaction contributed to strengthen faith, not in an undefined Deity, but in JEHOVAH, the living and loving God of Israel, JEHOVAH must have been most properly introduced in the midst of it, as the originator of the great event which formed a practical prophecy for the whole future.

Lastly, as to what concerns Balak, the king of Moab ; among the expressions that are attributed to him, the most remarkable is that in ch. xxiii. 27, where he says to Balaam, " Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place ; perhaps it will please HA-ELOHIM, that thou mayst curse me them from thence." Although Balaam constantly speaks of JEHOVAH, being one of those who have *κύριε, κύριε* always on their lips—although it is the God of Israel whom Balak thinks of—although he had sent for Balaam precisely on account of his connection with this God, yet he is fearful of going beyond his own religious knowledge, of treading on a *terra incognita*. Only once in ch. xxiii. 17, he over-

comes this apprehension ; in ch. xxiv. 11, " Therefore, now flee thou to thy place ; I thought to promote thee unto great honour, but lo, JEHOVAH hath kept thee back from honour," he speaks of JEHOVAH somewhat in the tone of irony.

DEUTERONOMY.

HARTMANN (p. 121) remarks, that, in the fifth book of the Pentateuch, the traces hitherto discernible of the interchange of the names ELOHIM and JEHOVAH entirely disappear ; and VATER maintains, that, with the exception of ch. iv. 32-34, and ch. v. 21-24, ELOHIM never occurs in Deuteronomy—a fresh proof of the accuracy and profundity of modern criticism ! It would be difficult to point out such palpably false statements in the older theologians.

The first passage is ch. i. 17, " Ye shall not respect persons in judgment ; but you shall hear the small as well as the great ; you shall not be afraid of the fear of man, *for the judgment is God's.*" הַמִּשְׁפָּט לְאֵלֹהִים. There is here a contradiction of the notion that judges decide *propria auctoritate*, from which all unrighteous judgment proceeds. The same contradiction is given *explicite* in 2 Chron. xix. 6, in Jehosaphat's instructions to the judges, " Take heed what ye do, for ye judge not for man, but for the Lord (JEHOVAH.)" The next passage is ch. iv. 7, " For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them אֲשֶׁר לֹא אֱלֹהִים קְרוֹבִים אֵלָיו, as JEHOVAH our God is in all things that we call upon him for." ELOHIM has here the general idea of heavenly powers, and on that account is connected with the plural, exactly as in the parallel passage (derived from this before us) in David's prayer for the promised blessing ; 2 Sam. vii. 23, " And what one nation in the earth is like thy people, like Israel, whom God went אֲשֶׁר הִלְבֵּנוּ אֱלֹהִים to redeem for a people to himself." Here HA-ELOHIM could not be used, much less JEHOVAH. JEHOVAH stands opposed to the heavenly powers, which otherwise might perhaps have manifested themselves. A similar passage occurs in ver. 32-39, " For ask now of the days that are past, which were before thee, since the

day that ELOHIM created man upon the earth. . . . Did ever people hear the voice of ELOHIM speaking out of the midst of the fire, as thou hast heard, and live? Or hath ELOHIM essayed to go and take him a nation from the midst of another nation . . . as JEHOVAH your God did. . . . Unto thee it was shewed, that thou mightest know that JEHOVAH is HA-ELOHIM, there is none else besides him that JEHOVAH is HA-ELOHIM in heaven above, and upon the earth beneath; there is none else." Only in ver. 32, considered in and by itself, JEHOVAH *might* stand; but in this connection ELOHIM is more suitable, since it was necessary to reserve JEHOVAH for what was peculiar to the God of Israel. The author would have anticipated himself, if, from the very first, he had attributed the creation to JEHOVAH; that this belonged to him is the result of his argumentation. That portion which he wished to prove is, that JEHOVAH HA-ELOHIM, the God of Israel, was, at the same time, God in himself, the God of the whole earth, that the limitedness (*Beschränkung*) was connected in Him with the utmost illimitedness (*Entschränkung*); (compare the remarks on JEHOVAH ELOHIM, Gen. ch. ii). He proves this position in such a manner as to show, that the heavenly powers, at no time whatever, made themselves known practically, along with JEHOVAH and independently of Him. Had this been the case, JEHOVAH would not be HA-ELOHIM, but only a single manifestation of ELOHIM. But, since he had testified himself to be God only as JEHOVAH, then JEHOVAH is *the* God, and all λεγόμενοι θεοὶ καὶ κύριοι (to whom JEHOVAH'S designation refers, as the God of gods, and Lord of lords, in ch. x. 17) sink together into nothingness. JEHOVAH is not merely the *highest* but the *only* God.

In ch. v. 26, where the people say, "For who is there of all flesh, that hath heard the voice of the living God, אלהים הייב . . . and lived?" the contrast between man and God, the *infirmissima creatura* and the *omnipotens numen*, is designed to be expressed in its widest extent. So also in v. 24. .

In reference to ch. ix. 10, "written with the finger of ELOHIM," compare the remarks on Ex. xxxi. 18. That the reason there alleged is valid, that JEHOVAH is not avoided, because the act might appear unsuitable, is shown in ch. iv. 13, where the writing of the law on the tables of stone is expressly attributed to JEHOVAH.

Also in ch. xxi. 23, "He that is hanged is accursed of ELO-

HIM, that thy land be not defiled, which JEHOVAH thy God giveth thee for an inheritance," the ELOHIM is explained on the ground of contrast. Not merely human punishment, but the curse of God, rests upon him. Therefore he must not remain on the face of JEHOVAH'S land.

Thus also in ch. xxxiii. 1, Moses is called the man of God אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים, as opposed to a *vulgaris homo*, a fact which here is deserving of peculiar notice, since without it the blessing would be of no importance. Compare Joshua, ch. xiv. where Caleb, in v. 6, calls Moses אִישׁ אֱלֹהִים, and in v. 7, עַבְדֵי יְהוָה; besides 1 Sam. ii. 27, ix. 6.

If we now enquire what relation the Divine names in the Pentateuch bear to the enquiries respecting its genuineness, we obtain the following result. The arguments drawn from the interchange of the Divine names for the fragmentary composition, and so for the spuriousness of the Pentateuch, have been proved to be perfectly futile. On the other hand, the constant use of ELOHIM, which is peculiar to the Pentateuch, from Gen. ch. 1, to Exod. ch. 6, connected with the constant moderation in the use of it from thence to the end, can only be explained on the supposition of one author, who wrote on a deliberate plan, so that in the earlier part he had the sequel, and in the sequel the earlier part, present to his mind. The Document-hypothesis, as well as the Fragment-hypothesis, is thus proved to be untenable, and thus we reach a point of view from which we can easily obtain evidence of its Mosaic authorship.

THE
GENUINENESS OF THE PENTATEUCH

IN RELATION TO THE

HISTORY OF THE ART OF WRITING.



THE grounds taken from the History of the Art of Writing, on which WOLF (*Prolegomena ad Homer.* p. 50) has disputed the antiquity of the Homeric Poems, have been laid hold of by the opponents of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and applied to their own purpose, though with little discrimination. (See especially VATER, p. 524).

A remarkable retribution has been inflicted here. JOSEPHUS, in his work against Apion, hinted doubts of the antiquity of the written Homeric Poems, for the purpose of aggrandising the Jewish nation and his own sacred writings.* His opinion, hastily thrown out, had a far greater and more enduring effect than he himself ever anticipated. After seventeen centuries, PERIZONIUS adduced it (though it merely proceeded from a peculiar bias) as a weighty historical testimony against Homer. (*Animadv. historicæ.* c. vi. p. 203.) And a century later, in a critical age, WOLF made it one of the chief instruments of his attack. But the adage, *mala parva male dilabuntur*, is applicable to critical enquiries, and every untruth at last injures the cause that it was invented to support. PERIZONIUS was within a little of applying his notion of the rarity of writing in the ancient world, founded on Josephus, to the Pentateuch. He asserted this much, that, according to the accounts of the Pentateuch, the

* See the excellent remarks on the passage in Josephus, by NITZSCH, *Historia Homeri*, i. 24.

memory of ancient events was retained by songs, and it will appear in the sequel that he thought more than he actually said. And the complete fulfilment of the wishes of Josephus by Wolf, had their complete frustration in their immediate consequence.

It is true, this consequence lay not so much in the nature of the case, but was rather produced by the blind imitative zeal of theologians, who were misled by their bias to overlook the most palpable differences. The antiquity of the Pentateuch by no means stands or falls with the antiquity of the written Poems of Homer. To notice here, as a preliminary, only one single point, how extremely different are the depositions of the two writings in question respecting the use and spread of the art of writing in the age when they were produced! In reference to Homer, WOLF remarks (p. 88), "*Nusquam vocabulum libri, nusquam scribendi, nusquam lectionis, nusquam literarum; nihil in tot millibus versum ad lectionem, omnia ad auditionem comparata; nulla pacta aut foedera nisi coram . . . ; nullus in cippis aut sepulchris titulus, non alia ulla inscriptio; nullus usus scripti in rebus domesticis, aut mercatura; nullae geographicae tabulae, denique nulli tabellarii, nullae epistolae.* And though this description, on closer examination, may be shown to be overwrought, though it may be proved that Wolf, to favour his hypothesis, must have forcibly set aside several important attestations to the use and spread of the art of writing, that occur in the Homeric Poems;* yet, after all, as the subsequent consideration of the evidence in the Pentateuch on this subject will show, the difference is sufficiently great.

Among the older defenders of the genuineness of the Penta-

* The first passage of the kind is Iliad vi. 168.

πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πόρεν δ' ὄγε σήματα λυγρὰ,
γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῆ Ἐυμοφθόρα πολλά.

— him therefore he dismissed

To Lycia, charged with tales of dire import

Written in tablets —

(COWPER.)

In reference to which PLINY remarks, "*pugillarium usum fuisse etiam ante Trojana tempora apud Homerum.*" HIST. NAT. vii. 56. The prolix argumentation by which Wolf tries to evade the force of this passage is all in vain. It is too clear and distinct. Less noticed, but not less convincing, are the passages in the Iliad and Odyssey, in

teuch, EICHHORN and JAHN have gained themselves credit by opposing these arguments—the latter in his *Introduction*, and his *Contributions to the Inquiry on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*, in BENGEL'S *Archiv*. ii. 3, where FRITZSCHE (*Prüfung*

which the words γράφειν, ἐπιγράφειν, ἐπιγράβδην, γραπτός occur. They are the following:—

— γράψεν δὲ οἱ ὀστέον ἄχρῖς
αἰχμῇ Πουλυδάμαντος —

IL. xvii. 600.

— the foe Polydamas

Struck on his shoulder's summit with a lance
Hurl'd nigh at hand, which slight inscribed the bone.

(COWPER.)

Ἀκρότατον δ' ἄρ' οἷστος ἐπέγραψε χροά φωτός.

IL. iv. 139.

— but it pass'd

That also, and the hero's skin inscribed.

(COWPER.)

νῦν δέ μ' ἐπιγράψας ταρσόν ποδός, εὔχειαι αὐτως.

IL. xi. 388.

Vain boaster! thou has scratch'd my foot no more—

(COWPER.)

οὐδ' ἐδύνατο

εἶσω ἐριγράψαι τέρενα χροά νηλεῖ χαλκῷ.

IL. xiii. 553.

but none with ruthless point prevailed,

Even to inscribe the skin of Nector's son.

(COWPER.)

τῷ δ' ἐτέρῳ μιν πῆχυν ἐπιγράβδην βάλε χειρὸς
δεξιτερῆς, σῦτο δ' αἶμα κελαινεφές—

IL. xxi. 166.

— the other as it flew

Grazed his right elbow, sprang the sable blood;—

(COWPER.)

γραπτός αλεείνων, Od. xxiv. 228, in reference to scratches by thorns. And several other passages exactly similar, may be found in Damm's Lexicon. The common opinion for which of course the glosses, such as γραψαι, χαραξαι in Hesychius and others, prove nothing, is, that γράφειν, ἐπιγράφειν signify in these passages *to pierce or to scratch* (see WOLF, p. 88). Even NITZSCH (p. 74) has not ventured to combat this opinion. And yet it is not merely unfounded, but there are also weighty arguments against it. 1. We may be perfectly satisfied with the meaning *to write, to write upon*, if we only take these expressions figuratively, as we speak of a token of remembrance (*Denkzeichen*)—the blood is the ink, the spear or the thorns the pen, &c. The figurative use of writing is also elsewhere very extensive; as, for instance, NONNUS *Dionys.* 37, 167; ὅς ἔγραφε πολλάκις ὕδωρ. Who supposes here that γράφειν here means *to navigate*? PLAUTUS uses a phrase that corresponds exactly with the Homeric passages; *corpus vulneribus inscribere*. ENNODIUS, in his *Panegyricus*, uses *scribere* figurately for *arare*—*cum bene molitos incurvi dente ligonis scribat agros*. In another passage, he says, *nisi edomitam terram ter quaterque Agricolae ligonibus scrip-*

der Aechtheit der Mos. Schr. 56–58) has added nothing of importance. In later times, the futility of these reasons has been so well known, that we might be tempted to consider their refutation as unnecessary. Even one of the opponents of the genuineness, BERTHOLDT, who, in his *Theologische Wissenschaftskunde*, i. 54, entered into a very full investigation of the art of writing, has made it his special business to refute them. He shows, incontrovertibly, that they can be considered as originating only in the wish to prove the spuriousness of the Pentateuch. “This secret motive may not have come into distinct consciousness, or its existence may not have been allowed; but it cannot remain concealed from unprejudiced and disinterested minds.” Several modern opponents of the genuineness could, therefore, no longer avail themselves of these arguments, since they have felt themselves obliged to acknowledge that the Pentateuch contains an important number of genuine Mosaic materials. Modern discoveries relating to Egypt have been well adapted to teach caution in the use of *a priori* reasonings about the re-

serint. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS says (v. 412), *descriptosque per agros fragrat odor.* An Arabian poet, quoted by Schultens, (*In Jobum*, p. 1104), *Extantque scriptiones ejus* (the cloud) *in tractibus manifesto impressae.* 2. If in this way it is settled that the meaning to write, need not be given up in the passages above quoted, so also it is settled that it ought not. Since γράφω, at a later period, has everywhere the meaning to write, and no other, so it possessed this meaning in Homer, of which it cannot be deprived, except for the most cogent reasons. The meaning to write, occurs in Homer undeniably in the first passage quoted, II. vi. 168. Also *scribere*, which is derived from γράφειν, has only one meaning, to write. 3. According to the ordinary opinion, one does not know what to do with the ἐπί in ἐπιγράφειν. The result we obtain from this enquiry is important in more respects than one. Such a frequent and established figurative use of *writing* implies that writing to a certain extent had become popular, so that the great body of the people, even if they could not write themselves, yet possessed a clear conception of the *modus procedendi* in writing, which alone could render the figurative language intelligible. Further, the existence of a particular word which denotes *writing*, and nothing else, and had not been borrowed from another language, proves the high antiquity of the art among the Greeks. Nations among whom the art of writing came into use at a later period, helped themselves, at least they could, either by attaching the meaning of *writing* to a word already existing in this language, which had another but somewhat related meaning, or by borrowing the word from the people from whom they received the art; thus from γράφω the Latin *scribo* was formed, and from this the German *schreiben*. Lastly, γράφειν, if from the first is meant to write, and had not the primary meaning of *engraving, making incisions*, can no longer be employed to confirm the current prejudice, for which, nevertheless, it is used by HARTMANN (p. 617), that originally, they wrote only on hard materials, and very gradually advanced from rude, laborious attempts to a rapid expertness.

motest antiquity. If it has been here seen, on a large scale, how little facts accommodate themselves to such reasonings, some moderation must also be learnt in smaller matters, or, if that is not done, yet these reasonings will meet with less acceptance and applause.* In addition, the enquiries respecting the antiquity and genuineness of the Homeric Poems took a new turn. In this instance, "that food cometh out of the eater," holds good. The *Vorfrage über Homeros*, by KREUSER, of which the first volume (published in 1828) was occupied entirely with the history of the Art of Writing, and in which unfortunately many strong points are injured by still more important weak ones; this was followed by NITZSCH's *Historia Homeri*, a work distinguished by sound judgment and acuteness. The advantage which accrues from these writings, especially the latter, to our present enquiry, does not depend on their having attained their immediate object, which we are content to leave undecided.† Yet thus much may be ascertained by their means,

* HEEREN, *Ideen Ägypten*, p. 367, remarks in reference to this point—"Almost more instructive than for the productions of agriculture, are the monuments of ancient Egypt for those of art. Before we possessed paintings of these, none imagined that the nation had advanced to such a degree of perfection."

† The only opponent of consequence who, up to the present time, has appeared, is, as far as we know, O. Müller, in the *Göttinger gel. Anzeiger*, 1831, p. 281. In reference to this review of Nitzsch's work, we allow ourselves only one remark. The author rejects, as perfectly antiquated, the opinion of those who divide into parts the origination of that great whole, the Iliad and the Odyssey, of which the separate composition they ascribe to a *rudis antiquitas*, but their artistic combination to an age already refined. Men now acknowledge (what the period in which that opinion arose was incapable of doing), that organic connection which governs all the parts as members of one body. They comprehend that whatever is truly connected together as a whole, can only proceed from an internal germ of life which dynamically contains already the whole in itself. But those who have held that opinion, merely draw, as appears to us, the correct consequence from the Wolfian hypothesis. If that consequence be acknowledged erroneous, the whole hypothesis must be given up. If all the parts of the Iliad and Odyssey are governed by an organic connection, then we must, in all essential points, possess them as they emanated from the spirit of their original author. For it is inconceivable that a whole succession of later poets should have so translated themselves into the author's spirit as to be capable of developing that internal germ of life which pervades the whole. The productions of the human mind are in this respect to be distinguished from those of nature. The originally existing organic connection would be destroyed by the latter artists or continuators. At least, since the world began, such an amalgamation of minds has been unheard of. Let us only think how the continuation of GOETHE'S *Faust*, and the pre-announcements what course the author's *own continuation* would take, have been put to shame by the appearance at last of that work. But if we possess these great Homeric works complete, in all essential points, as they issued from their author, we are necessarily led to their being ori-

that in this department we cannot build up and pull down history with one or two scanty suppositions ; that to form a judgment on the genuineness of a writing from such grounds, the most careful investigation of its object and purpose, of the character and original tendencies of the nation for which it was designed, is necessary ; that oral tradition and writing do not exclude each other, but render mutual assistance ; that the supposition of a gradual advance from hard and inconvenient writing materials is quite untenable ; and, lastly, that the use of the art of writing among the Greeks reaches as far back as the Mosaic times. HUG

ginally committed to writing. The uninjured preservation of a work of such extent, merely by oral tradition, cannot be imagined. "That the human memory," the author indeed remarks, "could attain the strength necessary for such a task, is sufficiently ascertained by examples from many nations less cultivated than the Greeks." But these analogies vanish on closer examination, particularly that of Ossian, on which the strongest reliance is placed. Where can be found in Ossian one great whole, in which the organic connection governs all the parts as members of one body? The unity here is throughout not so much one of plan, as of tone and colouring. Let any one compare the history of poetry among the Arabians. However lively their poetic genius might be, yet, according to SOYOUTI, (in DE SACY, *Memoire sur l'origine et les anciens momumens de la litterature parmi les Arabes*, in the memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, L. p. 350), their older poetry consisted only of single verses, which each poet uttered as occasion presented ; and, after Talebi, Mohalel was the first who completed a Kazidah, a poem of thirty verses, and who lived not long before Mohammed, in the first age of the spread of the art of writing. (See the confirmation of these accounts, pp. 353, 354). Soon after this the first large Arabic poem, the Moallakat, was produced, which has been distinguished ever since. It is here shown very plainly how little the pleasure of hearing, and the employment of the "poor substitute" of writing down, excluded one another. The poetic art was then as popular among the Arabians as among any other people—their love of hearing required to be satisfied at every public meeting by the recitation of verses—and yet poetry did not flourish till they began to apply "the poor substitute," which, when "the word was remembered by the poetic rhythm," was as necessary in another relation, since everything here depended on the inviolate preservation of the form. We have, in the above observations, kept closer to our object than might be supposed. The position, that an organically connected whole can only proceed from one author, and must be perpetuated by writing, which we have maintained in reference to Homer, finds its application also in the Pentateuch. With the assertion that Moses never wrote the Pentateuch—the splitting of it into a number of unconnected fragments, which were not cemented together till a later refined age—went hand in hand. This latter notion is now to be regarded as completely exploded. The fixed and well-concerted plan, "the organic connection, which governs all the parts as members of one body," is now victoriously pointed out, and meets with increasing acceptance. If now what we have endeavoured to carry out has been established, then must those persons who acknowledge a Mosaic element in the Pentateuch—and they are not few—henceforth make up their minds to admit the Mosaic authorship, and, what is closely connected with it, that the whole was originally committed to writing.

has laboured meritoriously in our cause, by his *Inquiry respecting the antiquity of the art of writing among the Hebrews*, in the *Zeitschrift für das Erzbisthum Freiburg*, iv. 1. This essay vindicates very fully the account of HERODOTUS and other ancient writers respecting the writing communicated by Cadmus the Phœnician to the Greeks, particularly against WOLF and GESENIUS, and hence draws the conclusion, that Moses, his contemporary, was able to write. But how much or how little, depends upon the materials on which he wrote. This leads the author to an enquiry respecting the materials of writing, but in the results of which we cannot altogether agree with him. He then produces the express statements of the Pentateuch, in reference to the spread of the art of writing in the Mosaic age. Lately, HÄVERNICK (in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*, i. 1, p. 258) has entered deeply into an examination respecting the antiquity and spread of the art of writing among the Hebrews.

Meanwhile it has also been apparent how anxiously destructive Criticism has striven to preserve the completeness of its ranks, how reluctant it has been to surrender a single argument, as long as it would partially apply *ad hominem*, and hence how careful we need be, not too hastily to consider an objection as antiquated. At first, HARTMANN undertook to prop the tottering edifice. According to him the art of writing was not yet in use among the Hebrews in the Mosaic age. "Not till the period of the Judges, when they reposed in their fortunately won possessions, were they able to advance in the path of civilization, and to obtain from their diligent neighbours the precious gift of the art of writing." And while he has only repeated the old assertions, VON BOHLEN, with whom VATKE unites, has gone far beyond them. He asserts the novelty of writing, not merely among the Hebrews, but the Semetic tribes generally; the highest date for Semetic writing is scarcely ten centuries before the Christian Aera, and even this is by no means accredited. "Whoever guesses more, he may guess indeed, and easily add a thousand years, since, without solid grounds, it only depends on faith which he finds." So boldly and confidently does this writer speak, who was unable to bring a single new fact to the enquiry, nor had even made himself thoroughly acquainted with what others had advanced on both sides of the question! To give only one example—he even asserts, that, in the age of Ho-

mer, writing was unknown, and that the first imperfect application of it appeared with Solon. The author cannot here mean to give the results of his own new investigation, but only to state the point of view from which the investigations of others have been carried on. For otherwise he would be obliged to indicate at least his reasons and proofs. But even if we declined noticing that the author is quite silent on all the opposite results of the investigations of celebrated scholars; still there is one reproach from which he cannot clear himself, that he attributes to the opponents of the original written form of Homer's poems, a view essentially different from their own. They never thought of refusing to Homer and his contemporaries all acquaintance whatever with the art of writing. WOLF says (p. 44), "*Ceterum mihi spero minus succensebunt ab Homero non tam cognitionem literarum, quam usum et faultatem adjudicanti.*" He attempts, indeed, to cast suspicion on the account of Cadmus, but says (p. 55), that he would not attach great importance to it; and allows (p. 57), that, from the testimony of Herodotus, it may be concluded with certainty, that the art of writing was introduced in very ancient times. O. MÜLLER (p. 295), says, that writing was brought to maturity in Greece several centuries before Solon, &c.

That the origin of the art of writing goes beyond the Mosaic age, the most discreet of our opponents do not venture to deny. "The acquaintance of Moses and the Mosaic age with alphabetical writing is not merely possible, but more than probable," says VATER (p. 452). "The conclusion appears not overhasty," remarks HARTMANN (p. 615), "that the art of writing long practised by the Babylonians, passed over to the Phœnicians, as soon as they felt their need of it." How, indeed, could these confessions be avoided, if men were not lost to all shame and modesty. The traditions of all the nations of antiquity agree in this, that the art of writing belonged to the earliest period of the human race. The Phœnicians attributed its invention to Thaut, the Chaldeans to Oannes, the Egyptians to Thot, or Memnon, or Hermes—all bearing witness that this invention went farther back than the beginning of history; so that PLINY (*Hist. Nat.* vii. 56), after he had quoted some of these authorities, properly remarks, *ex quo apparet aeternus literarum usus.* Phœnician colonists,

personified under the name of Cadmus, brought, probably about the time of Moses, the art of writing into Greece.

This latter fact is so important for our object, that we cannot refuse to give it a closer examination and confirmation. The principal witness for it is HERODOTUS. He says, after narrating the settlement of the Phœnicians under Cadmus, in Bœotia, *Οἱ δὲ Φοῖνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι . . . ἄλλα τε πολλὰ, οἰκίσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἔοντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν.* From the Phœnician colonists the Ionians, who then dwelt in Attica, received writing, but through the medium of the Gephyreans, who, being expelled from Bœotia, took refuge in Attica. *Χρῶμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαρόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινικήϊ κекλησθαι καὶ τὰς βύβλους διφθέρας καλέουσι ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ ἐν σπᾶνι βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι αἰγέησί τε καὶ οἰέησι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐμέ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσι.*

Herodotus speaks like a person who knew that he was not uttering mere conjecture, but historical truth. For that the phrase *ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν* expresses no uncertainty, but only the conviction of his own mind as opposed to any other opinion, NITZSCH has shown against WOLF (p. 78), with whom BAHR (on *Herodotus*) agrees. The facts form an unbroken chain. (See HUG. p. 22.) The names of Cadmus and the Cadmeans remain as important evidence of the very ancient Phœnician settlement in Thebes, even for those who on the whole acknowledge the correctness of O. MÜLLER'S assertion (*Orchomenos und die Minyer*, p. 94). "From the resemblance of simple and short names, especially in different languages, no conclusion can be positively drawn." For the agreement with קַדְמ, *Kadm*, the East, is too marked to be accidental; the name and the tradition render mutual support, and that the latter did not arise in the first instance from the name, appears from the fact that the Grecian writers had no suspicion of its meaning, and still more from their personifying the whole colony as an individual. Lastly, although the great mass of later witnesses for these facts cannot be adduced, on account of their dependence on Herodotus, to corroborate his statement, yet independent vouchers of its correctness are not altogether wanting.

DIODORUS SICULUS (see HUG. p. 29) appeals to Dionysius the Cyclist, who lived before Herodotus, under Darius Hystaspes. In Book iii. ch. 66, he adduces the testimony of the Cretans for the communication of writing to the Europeans through Cadmus and his Phœnicians. ARISTOTLE also asserts that the Phœnicians invented writing, but that Cadmus brought it into Greece. (v. BEKKER, *Anecdota Græca*, vol. ii. p. 783.)

In this state of things, we might expect that Wolf's contradiction of this statement of Herodotus would sink into oblivion, especially since public opinion has taken a turn very much in favour of the father of history. But this expectation has not been quite realized. In our own times it has been attempted to go beyond this contradiction, and to refuse the whole narrative of Herodotus any historical credit. PAINE KNIGHT (*Prolegom. ad Hom.* p. 72, ed. Ruhkopf) founded his doubts on the distance of the alleged Phœnician colony from the sea, and on the circumstance that Casmilus (or Cadmilus), probably identical with Cadmus, was an ancient name of Mercury (*Schol. in Apoll. Rhod.* i. 917). Independently of him, O. MÜLLER has elaborated this argument, and carried it to its utmost length. Kadmilos or Kadmos was a deity of the Tyrrhenian Pelasgians, a people who came from Thebes, and originally were the same with the Cadmeans. "This symbolical fundamental meaning of the hero in an ancient Grecian worship, appears to me decisively to put an end to all belief in the leader of the colony, and in the Phœnicians." He also thinks it of weight that Thebes, unused to traffic, was unsuitable for the settlement of a mereantile people; and the formation of the legend may easily be accounted for,—that it proceeded from a later misinterpretation of the original appellative, PHENIX, as a proper name, v. *Orchom*, p. 117, 461; and ERSCH, and GRUBER'S *Encycl. Art.* Bœotien.*

If we examine these reasons more closely, we can hardly doubt, that this distinguished, and, in general, cautious scholar, allowed himself to be misled by that corroding historical scepticism, which

* It seems that this hypothesis has served as a pattern for BLUM, who, in his *Introduction to the Ancient History of Rome*, Berlin, 1828, has made Romulus a god of shepherds; likewise for BAUR, who maintains that Simon Magus was a later deity of the Samaritans transformed into a man.

has struck its roots so deeply into the spirit of our age. We might suppose ourselves transported into the field of Biblical criticism, where arguments of this sort are common enough. If *they* are sufficient to invalidate accredited history, then it is all over with history. But such arguments easily overreach themselves. How can any one think of exalting the testimonies of later scholiasts about Cadmilos the god, and his identity with Kadmos, above the testimony of Herodotus respecting Kadmos the leader of the colonists! But if Kadmilos or Kadmos was originally regarded as a god, this can only serve to confirm the account respecting Kadmos the leader of the colonists. It shows that the colony brought with them from their native land their god Kadmilos, a name formed of קַדְמ, *Kadm*, and אֵל, *El*; in the pretended Sanchoniathon Ἴλος, *God*.

It is a gratifying sign, that this hypothesis, though brought forward by so distinguished and influential a man, has scarcely met with any acceptance, but, on the contrary, has frequently been opposed. It is rejected by NITZSCH and BAHR in their respective works on Herodotus; LIMBURG BROUWER, in his *Histoire de la civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs*, Gröningen, 1833, states, that the Egyptian origin (once disputed by O. MÜLLER) of Cecrops is very doubtful; that, on the other hand, the doubts in reference to Danaus and Cadmus are of no importance. BUTMANN, in his *Mythologus*, ii. 171, maintains from first to last, that Kadmus, the East, was a symbol of the Phœnician race. But PLASS, in his *Vor-und Urgeschichte der alten Hellenen*, Leip. 1831, p. 104, enters most deeply and fully into a refutation of this hypothesis. Only so much he grants, and in this we agree with him, that Kadmus was perhaps only a representative of Phœnician mercantile settlements, and Phœnician worship. "But never," he says, "can the Phœnicians be got rid of, by the most subtle combinations." He endeavours to verify the tradition of Kadmus by the course of civilization from the east to the west, by the spread of the Phœnician systems of religion—by the existence of a continued active traffic carried on by the Phœnicians with the islands and maritime party of Greece in ancient times, &c. He also advocates the introduction of writing into Greece by Cadmus, (p. 141), but endeavours to reconcile this fact with the current views by an extravagant *juste milieu*. He thinks that

the communication of the art had at first no important consequences. The people were in too rude a state to make use of it. At most, the art of writing was only in the possession of a small number of persons. Afterwards it was entirely lost; perhaps between 700 and 800 B.C., writing was introduced a second time by the Greeks of Asia Minor from their intercourse with the Phœnicians. Certainly either extreme would be better than such a mean. Only admit that between the first and second introduction, there was a void of some centuries, and the tradition of the first introduction loses all foundation. For that the knowledge of a useless communication could be retained through so long a period, cannot be imagined. The memory of the giver could only be retained by the use of the gift. Moreover, the supposition of such a void period may be regarded as gradually on the decline. That in the age of Lycurgus, which would have fallen exactly in this interval, some things (such as a Rhetra mentioned by Plutarch), were described in writing by the Spartans, the least literary of all the Greeks, MULLER himself is disposed to acknowledge (*Gött. Anz.* p. 292), also that among them, from the most ancient times, anagraphs were in existence, which contained the names of their kings (p. 297). The proofs of a certain knowledge of the art of writing among the people at large in very early times, we have already collected from Homer.

But while it is now admitted that the art of writing was in existence in the Mosaic age, attempts are made to dispute, on various grounds, its use among the Hebrews. The commonest—in substance it occurs frequently in Wolf, and only requires an alteration in the names—is the following. The Hebrews, it is alleged (v. HARTMANN, p. 590), continued to be in Egypt, what they were in Canaan, a rude, uncultivated, pastoral people, separated from the other inhabitants of the land. How should they make themselves masters of the art of writing for the practice of which they had no occasion? Centuries or even thousands of years may pass away, before nomadic tribes are impelled to acquire an art of which they feel no need.

For, once let it be assumed that the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt was really such as has just been described—yet this argument could only be of weight if the point in dispute were to be

decided only on a balance of probabilities, in the absence of all historical testimonies. For with equal propriety we might attack the introduction of the art of writing into uncivilized Greece, yet that is vindicated; with equal propriety we might deny that Uphilas taught the art of writing to the Goths. Invention is one thing; and the easy appropriation of an art already invented is quite another thing. For this an uncultivated people have so much occasion, that in truth historical evidence for its existence could not be settled with so little trouble.

But the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt, if we are disposed to follow the statements of the Pentateuch, was very different. This we must point out with some minuteness, since erroneous conceptions respecting it, have introduced perplexity in several other questions connected with it. Thus for instance, WINER collects the modern objections that rest on this ground, against the Mosaic account of the Tabernacle, in the following words (*Realwörterbuch*, ii. p. 620.) “A stock of gold and silver is too valuable for a *nomadic people*; the working of metals is too great an advance in the arts; simply the materials that were to be employed for this purpose could not even be collected in so short a time from the travelling merchants.” Thus the assertion has been so often repeated, that for a *rude nomadic people* the Mosaic laws were far too complicated. Thus VATKE would infer the spuriousness of the Mosaic legislation, from the Mosaic state being founded on the supposition of agriculture and a settled life, therefore on a social condition which was not then in existence, and thus several other things.

In the case of the Patriarchs, it may be plainly perceived, that their nomadic kind of life was only forced upon them by their relation to those around them, by their residence in a land which was wholly in the possession of its earlier inhabitants. Of nomadic rudeness we find no trace among them; in point of intelligence and manners they rank with civilized people. They took part in the advantages, conveniences, and enjoyments which civilization had created for the neighbouring inhabitants, who were more favoured by their outward circumstances. Judah had a signet; Joseph wore a richly adorned garment; Abraham paid for the land he purchased, and Jacob's sons for corn, with money; Abraham's servant presented Rebecca with a gold ring and brace-

lets, &c. Wherever it is practicable, the nomadic style of living is forsaken. Lot settles in Sodom, dwells in a house there, and is only too much attached to a residence in a city. Abraham when he left Egypt, instead of confining himself, as tribes of nomadic habits and tastes have done for thousands of years, to a sojourn on the borders in pasture-land, proceeds to the king's residence (See Gen. xii. 10). Afterwards he settled at Hebron; he is there a prince of God in the midst of the Hittites (Gen. xxiii.); Isaac resides in the chief city of the Philistines, and occupies a house near the palace (Gen. xxvi. 8). He cultivated land there (ver. 12). Jacob, after his return from Mesopotamia, built a house, though in a place where he remained only a short time (Gen. xxxiii. 17).

When Jacob's family were transplanted to Egypt, a foundation was laid for their transition from a nomadic to a settled mode of life. On Joseph's application on their behalf, the Israelites obtain residences, not in a district unfruitful and useless to the Egyptians for agricultural purposes, but exactly in the best and most productive part of the country. They held the district assigned to them not merely as a loan, from which they might be expelled at the king's caprice, and therefore would not think it worth while to form permanent domestic establishments, but as a grant for their peculiar and constant occupancy. These facts are incontestably stated in Genesis. "And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a *possession* אֲרָמְנוֹת in the land of Egypt, in the best אֲרָמְנוֹת of the land, in the land of Rameses" (Gen. xlvii. 11). "And Israel dwelt in the land of Egypt, in the^l country of Goshen, and they had possessions therein אֲרָמְנוֹת אֲרָמְנוֹת, and grew and multiplied exceedingly" (ver. 27). The attempts are vain (compare, for instance, JAHN, *Archæologie*, p. 15), to impose another meaning on אֲרָמְנוֹת, *pasture-land*; vain also the attempts to weaken the force of אֲרָמְנוֹת and אֲרָמְנוֹת. Both, according to the *usus loquendi*, denote permanent and peculiar possession. In Palestine, the Patriarchs only had אֲרָמְנוֹת קָבֵר "a possession of a burying place," Gen. xxiii. 4, 9, 20, xlix. 30, l. 13. But in future the land of their *pilgrimage* was to be their אֲרָמְנוֹת, their inheritance and peculiar possession; compare Gen. xvii. 8, "And I will give to thee the land of thy pilgrimage, אֲרָמְנוֹת אֲרָמְנוֹת, for an everlasting possession, אֲרָמְנוֹת אֲרָמְנוֹת. Gen. xlvi. 8 ;

Num. xxxv. 8; Levit. xiv. 34, xxv. 24. In opposition to their hitherto nomadic kind of life, the Sichemites proposed to Jacob's sons, "get you possessions אֲדָמָה in the land," Gen. xxxiv. 10. The originality of the passage in Gen. xlvii. 11, 27, receives confirmation on philological grounds; אֲדָמָה occurs frequently in all the books of the Pentateuch; in the whole thirty-eight times; it is found besides independently only in the book of Joshua, which belongs to the same stage of the language. At a later period, it almost disappears from the living language. Except in the books written after the captivity, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, which drew their phraseology less from actual life than from the earlier Scriptures, and principally from the Pentateuch, it only occurs in Psalm ii. 8, "And the ends of the earth for thy possession," in allusion to Gen. xvii. 8. Instead of Canaan, which was promised to Abraham, with its narrow boundaries, here the ends of the earth are introduced. Besides the noun, the verb also in Niphal is confined to the Pentateuch and the book of Joshua.

If such was the situation of the Israelites in Egypt from the first, it was impossible that a residence among the most civilized people of the ancient world could be without important influences upon them, who, as their whole history shows, were endowed with a nature pre-eminently capable of culture. It is quite incredible that they should have entirely neglected the excellent opportunity for improving in agriculture that was presented to them,* and a participation in Egyptian agriculture was immediately connected with Egyptian civilization.

If we bring together the separate statements respecting the situation of the Israelites in Egypt, which are scattered through the Pentateuch, our supposition will acquire the firmness of historical certainty. The Israelites dwelt in *houses*, Exod. xii. 4, with door-posts and lintels (ver. 7, 22, 23), and intermixed

* See HEEREN, *Idcen, Ægypt*. p. 161, "The transition from a nomadic to an agricultural life, however difficult it may be to explain it, was at least never easier than in Egypt, where field labour required scarcely any exertion, and little more was necessary than to scatter the seed, in order to procure a harvest." Also, in p. 147, it is remarked, that even the Bedouin Arabs, renouncing their native character, have taken to agriculture in Egypt.

with Egyptians, so that the destroying angel would pass by one door and stop at another. They lived with the Egyptians, with whom, in part, they stood on the most friendly terms, in cities. This appears from Exod. iii. 20-22, xi. 1-3, xii. 35, 36. According to the first passage, ("But every woman shall ask of her neighbour and of her that sojourneth in her house יָגֵרִית בֵּיתָהּ, jewels of silver and jewels of gold,") it was not unfrequently the case, that Egyptian lodgers dwelt with an Israelitish householder and persons of good property, so that they could give from abundance gold and silver ornaments and clothes. That a great part of the Hebrews devoted themselves to agriculture while dwelling in Egypt on the fruitful banks of the Nile and its canals, is evident from Deut. xi. 10, "For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and waterest it with thy foot as a garden of herbs." (The difference here pointed out is, that in the land of Canaan, the rain was freely poured down from heaven, whereas in Egypt it was necessary to water the land by their own labour and exertion.) The way and manner here described in which the Israelites watered their fields in Egypt, is the very same which the Egyptians have practised for centuries and thousands of years.* GROTIUS has pointed out a passage in PHILO *De confusione linguarum*, p. 255, which describes the Egyptian machine by means of which water is brought over the fields from the Nile and its canals. It was a wheel with buckets, worked by means of the feet. Such a machine is also mentioned by DIODORUS SICILUS, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ῥαδίως ἀπασαν ἀρδενόντων διά τινος μηχανῆς, ἣν ἐπενόησε μὲν Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ Συρακούσιος, ὀνομάζεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος κοχλίας, i. 34. Compare v. 37, where this machine is described, and the assertion of its invention by Archimedes is repeated; an assertion, however, on which too much stress must not be laid, since Archimedes may here be considered only as a personification of the mechanical invention, and it can hardly be allowed that he brought to perfection a machine that had been already long known. STRABO, xvii. p. 1160-74; VITRUV. x. 11. In this community of occupation, it may easily be conceived how

* v. KITTO's Physical History of Palestine, p. 294-298; NIEBUHR's *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, &c. i. 148.—[T.R.]

the Israelites might be compelled by the Egyptians to the performance of their agricultural labour. Exod. i. 14, "All manner of service in the field," (וּבְנֵל-עֲבֹדָה בַשָּׂדֶה). How fully the Hebrews partook of the advantages which the Nile afforded the Egyptians, also appears from Num. xi. 5, where the people who murmured in the wilderness say, "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely, the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick." So likewise from ch. xx. 5, "Wherefore have ye made us come out of Egypt, to bring us unto this evil place? It is no place of seed, or of figs, or vines, or of pomegranates." According to these passages, the Hebrews cultivated most successfully the edible plants—wheat, the vine, and other fruits. From such a state of things, no one will argue against the genuineness of the Mosaic legislation, because, according to it, the state was founded on agriculture. MICHAELIS, *Mosaisches Recht*. i. § 41. We should rather regard it as a proof of the great alteration which preceded in reference to the Israelites' mode of life in Egypt*—an alteration so evident, that, though it might escape the eyes of theologians, it could not those of the comparatively unprejudiced historians. Thus SCHLOSSER remarks (*Übersicht*, i. 222), "We find in the Jewish books at first only nomads, nomadic manners, nomadic traffic, a patriarchal constitution, and a very simple religion appealing to the senses. In Egypt, every thing was changed. The nomadic people obtained ideas of agriculture, of the constitution and management of civil life." After we have gained this sure foundation, the accounts in the Pentateuch of the skill in the arts possessed by the Israelites, (which are confirmed by Amos v. 25, who informs us that they made images of their gods, and tabernacles for them in the wilderness), acquire an importance. Only while this foundation was wanting, when we found again the arts and artificial productions of highly cultivated Egypt almost complete—for example, the finest Egyptian stuffs, several kinds of skins artificially prepared, the art of casting metals and working them with the hammer, the polish-

* Particularly since VATKE (p. 213) remarks, "The legislation does not show the direct tendency to introduce agriculture, to regulate a ruder mode of life, and to facilitate the transition from it; but rather its basis is assumed as certain, and it is regarded as customary," and since "later tradition has not made it appear that Moses in this respect effected a revolution."

ing and engraving of precious stones, &c., there might be some plausibility in arguing against the credibility of the Pentateuch. But after we have gained this foundation, we can with confidence make use of these accounts to enlarge our representation of the participation of the Israelites in Egyptian civilization. If we keep in view the state of the Hebrews as warranted by these accounts, it will appear, that civilization among them in the Mosaic age was in a far higher state than in the times of the Judges, that it is therefore truly ridiculous when HARTMANN claims for the latter the first knowledge of the art of writing, because the former was not yet ripe for it. On the contrary, if it was in use in the far less cultivated period of the Judges, and indeed so generally, that the earliest could write best, we must beforehand expect it in the Mosaic period.

The objections to the view we have taken of the condition of the Hebrews in Egypt may be easily disposed of. An argument is brought against the communication of culture from the Egyptians to the Hebrews from Gen. xlv. 34 ("Thy servants' trade hath been about cattle from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians"). But this carries all its force to the presumption of the nomadic life of the Israelites. Not foreigners, as such, were an abomination to the Egyptians, nor shepherds having a fixed residence, but rather "the nomadic kind of life which was necessarily opposed to the views and policy of the dominant caste." HEEREN, *Ideen, Ægypt.* 154, with whom compare CREUZER, *Comm. Herod.* p. 282, but especially ROSELLINI *monumenti dell' Egitto*, I. i. p. 177, ii. 276. This last-mentioned writer shows that the Egyptian state was founded on agriculture; that on this rested the laws, the castes, the institutions, the religion itself; that among the nomadic tribes their kind of life caused a fundamental difference in their institutions from those of the Egyptians; that the nomadic neighbours of the Egyptians were their natural enemies; he points out the striking contrast of fulness and of want; of life and of death; of Osiris and of Typhon; and shows that the founders of Egyptian civilisation must have been anxious in the extreme to separate the Egyptians from the Nomads, from whom they could learn nothing, and to infuse an aversion to them. "*Col*

nome di pastori pertanto significavisi per gli Egizi l'idea opposta a quella di popolo civile." (I. i. p. 180.) That the aversion of the Egyptians was not against foreigners as such, is shown in the instance of Joseph. The whole house of his master is confided to him; and at a later period he espouses an Egyptian female of rank. It is also shown by the fact, that at the Exodus many Egyptians joined the Israelites (Exod. xii. 38; Numb. xi. 4), which is only conceivable on the supposition of a close connection between the two nations. The admission of such a connection is also required by the great leaning of the Israelites to the Egyptian character, and particularly to the Egyptian idolatry, which, on the supposition of a strict separation, is hardly conceivable.

HARTMANN attempts to support his view by direct evidence from passages in the Pentateuch. The Israelites, he says, were, and continued to be, shepherds. As such they are represented in Exod. x. 9, 24; xi. 7; as shepherds they went out of Egypt, Exod. xii. 32, &c.; as shepherds they wandered through the wilderness, Exod. xvii. 4; xx. 24, &c. To this point of view we are also led by the accounts in the 1st Book of Chronicles, ch. iv. 39. But passages such as Exod. x. 9, &c., can be admitted as conclusive, only by overlooking the important difference between Nomads and possessors of flocks. It might as well be asserted that the Egyptians, who devoted themselves with great earnestness to the breeding of cattle, were Nomads. In the wilderness the Israelites were Nomads by necessity. Their tending flocks and herds for forty long years in the wilderness was laid on them as a punishment. As such, Hosea also notices (xii. 10) their dwelling in tents during that period. That it was a characteristic feature of their sojourn there, which distinguished it not less from their residence in Egypt than from that in Canaan, is shown by the institution of the Feast of Tabernacles. The most highly civilized people, if condemned to live in the deserts of Arabia, must adopt a nomadic kind of life. Lastly, 1 Chron. iv. 39 ("and they went to the entrance of Gedor, unto the east side of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks") refers, as the slightest consideration will show, not to the time of their residence in Egypt. The only passage in the 1st Book of Chronicles that relates to that period, is ch. vii. 21. Even if it be admitted that in that passage a foray of the Ephraimites on the Gathites is spoken of, and not rather the reverse, a foray of the Gathites on the Eph-

raimites (which, besides other reasons, the verb הָרַד , *they went down*, favours, since during the march from Egypt the verb $\text{הָרַעַ$, *to go up*, is always used*), yet it proves nothing more than that the transition of the Israelites from the nomadic life to the agricultural was not entirely complete. To draw in this way a general inference from a single instance, we might maintain that the Israelites in Canaan continued the nomadic mode of life. For there also we find, in districts which could not be used for any other purpose, shepherds wandering about. See J. D. MICHAELIS on the roving shepherds of the East, in his *Verm. Schriften*, p. 136, and *De Nomad. Palaest.*, in his *Syntagma*, p. 223.

If we have now in this manner constructed a secure bridge from the Egyptians to the Hebrews—(the correction of the current error is here also so far important, that from the point-of-view we have gained, the design of bringing Israel into Egypt is seen in a clearer light; this country appears no longer as a preparatory school in which, bad habits excepted, nothing was learnt, rather it shows how God understands to make available for his kingdom what the world has gained for its selfish purposes, a procedure which is repeated through the whole history)—our readers may expect other difficulties which will dispute our passage, especially in reference to the art of writing.

We shall very easily dispose of the first objection. Among the Egyptians, it is said (HARTMANN, p. 636), the priests alone were in possession of the art of writing. How should they have generously imparted to the Hebrews what they withheld from their own countrymen? But that the priests were in exclusive possession of the art of writing, is an assertion which all well-informed persons will laugh at. There is not a single reason for it, and there are many against it. DIODORUS says—*ἰδίῳν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίοις ὄντων γραμμάτων τὰ μὲν δημόδη προσαγορευόμενα πάντας μαυθάνειν, τὰ δ' ἱερά καλούμενα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μόνους γινώσκειν τοὺς ἱερεῖς*, and by another statement i. ch. 81, the *πάντες* is only so far limited, that the opportunity of learning is presented to all, which is sufficient for our object, but not that all avail themselves of the advantage; *παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς*

* See *Annotatt. über in Hagioq.* t. iii. p. 370.

οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς γράμματα διττὰ, τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα καὶ τὰ κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. . . . τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ παίδων μαθάνει παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἢ συγγενῶν τὰς περὶ ἕκαστον βίον ἐπιτηδεύσεις γράμματα δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον διδάσκουσιν, οὐχ ἅπαντες, ἀλλ' οἱ τὰς τέχνας μεταχειριζόμενοι μάλιστα. PLATO (*de Legg.* vii. p. 818. ed. Bipon. v. viii. p. 383) says, when he recommends the study of Mathematics, that it was zealously cultivated in the schools in Egypt: τοσάδε τοίνυν ἕκαστα χρὴ φάναι μαθάνειν δεῖν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους, ὅσα καὶ πάμπολυς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ παίδων ὄχλος ἅμα γράμμασιν μαθάνει. And when HERODOTUS says (ii. 36) διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρά τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται, he only conveys indirectly what Diodorus expresses in plain terms. Whence could originate the appellation of *Demotic* writing, if the people were not in possession of the art? ZONARAS in CREUZER (*Comm.* p. 370) remarks: δημότην οἱ Ἴωνες τὸν τῶν πολλῶν ἔνα οὕτως καὶ Ἡρόδοτος with an allusion to ii. 172, where it is said of Amasis ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν εἶντα. Yet in reference to the hieroglyphics, the older view of their exclusive possession by the priests, has been considerably modified by the modern investigations of CHAMPOLLION and others; it is now generally acknowledged (compare CHAMPOLLION, *Precis*, p. 360; HEEREN, p. 189), that the people were not altogether excluded from an acquaintance with them.

But it is further alleged, that the art of writing, such as might be borrowed from the Egyptians, would have been perfectly useless for the Hebrews, partly on account of the total difference of language, partly because at that time the Egyptians possessed no pure alphabetic writing. What may prove the existence of the art of writing among the Egyptians does not come into consideration; but the Hebrews in the time of Moses stood in no such connection with the kindred races that they could receive this art from them. This allegation contains three assertions, each of which we would here examine.

1. Those who maintain that the Egyptians had no pure alphabetic writing, represent as decided what is still disputed among scholars, and the latest enquiries lean rather to the opposite decision. In earlier times it was generally assumed that the alphabet among all nations of the highest antiquity was one and the

same. In this view, all the classical writers, whatever might be their difference of opinion as to the birth place of the art of writing, were unanimous. It is easy to understand how this view implies that the Egyptians possessed a pure alphabetic character, besides their peculiar hieroglyphic writing. Those who maintain the invention of writing in Egypt, and its transmission thence to other nations, are—PLATO, the writer to whom PLINY himself appeals, *Hist. Nat.* vii. 56; TACITUS, *Annal.* xi. 14, according to whom the Egyptians themselves claimed the invention; GELLIUS, who maintains that writing was invented in Egypt by Mercury; PLUTARCH, in *Quaest. conuir.* ix. 2; DIODORUS, VARRO, in AUGUSTIN, *De Civ. Dei.* xviii. c. c. 40; see the collection of these testimonies in ZOEGA *De Obel.* p. 554; and many witnesses for the existence and high antiquity of alphabetic writing in Egypt. PLUTARCH expressly asserts that the Egyptians had an alphabet, consisting of twenty-five letters. *De Is. et Osir.* p. 374. (v. ZOEGA, p. 497.)

First, TYCHSEN, in his and HEEREN'S *Bibliothek für alte Litt. und Kunst.* 6, put forth the assertion, that the Egyptians had no alphabetic writing whatever, till they received it from the Greeks, in the times of Psammeticus. He was fully refuted by ZOEGA (p. 567), who decidedly defended the high antiquity of alphabetic writing among the Egyptians, and its original identity with that of other nations. Tychsel's chief argument was this, that Egyptian history became clearer after the reign of the Dodekarchs; just as lately O. MÜLLER (*Gott. Auz.* p. 297) has endeavoured, from the scarcity of historical notices among the Spartans, to adduce proof that the art of writing had not spread in the very early times of Greece. But if this reasoning were valid, it must be first shown that the Egyptians of ancient times, and likewise the Spartans, possessed a historical mind, that they wished to write history; which certainly, in both cases, is no easy task. A taste for historical composition is wanting to the later Egyptians in a high degree; only the influence of foreigners has prevailed upon them to give their attention somewhat more to history, and from foreigners alone, directly or indirectly, proceeds the greater clearness which the later Egyptian history possesses above the earlier. How little the possession of the art of writing alone is able to create a real his-

torical literature, is shown sufficiently by the example of the Indians.

From another point of view, on the ground of existing written monuments, an attack was made on Egyptian alphabetic writing, by JOMARD (compare the collection of his assertions in CREUZER, *Comm. Herod.* p. 376), and repeated by CHAMPOLLION. These writers maintain, going a step beyond TYCHSEN, that the Egyptians possessed no pure alphabetic writing. CHAMPOLLION especially attempts to show that the common writing which is cited by HERODOTUS and DIODORUS under the name of *Demotic*, by CLEMENS ALEX. under the name of *Epistolographic*, and by the inscription of Rosetta, under the name of *Enchorial*, is only the *Hieroglyphic* in a state of transition to the *Alphabetic*. *Cette troisième espece d'écriture, se-dériva de l'hieratique, comme celle-ci elle-meme dérivait de l'hieroglyphique. . . . Il fallait au peuple et même aux castes supérieures une méthode plus simple et plus abrégée pour les relations habituelles, et pour tous les détails de la vie civile. . . . L'écriture démotique emprunta tous ses élémens de l'écriture hiérotique ou sacerdotale, et consiste principalement en signes de sons ou phonétiques.* CHAMPELLION, *Precis.* p. 356. *Il (Champollion) regarde la méthode hiéroglyphique comme l'écriture primitive, qui fut simplifiée plus tard dans l'écriture hieratique, laquelle rendue plus simple encore, pour devenir facile au peuple, forma à son tour l'écriture démotique. . . . L'écriture demotique, la plus cursive et la plus simple des trois, qui n'admettant presque, que des signes phonétiques, ou alphabétiques, se rapproche beaucoup des méthodes graphiques des autres peuples. . . . était destinée aux usages ordinaires de la vie civile.* GREPPO, *Essai sur la système hieroglyphique de M. Champ.* Paris, 1829, p. 40, 41.

But even enthusiastic admirers of Champollion (as Greppo, p. 42) remark, that his investigations on the two first kinds of writing, the demotic and the hieratic, are merely occasional and incomplete; his attention has been directed merely to the hieroglyphic, and in reference to that he has gained great credit. LETRONNE (in Champollion's *Precis.* p. 406), speaks (without noticing Champollion's view,) of the demotic writing as absolutely alphabetic, and is disposed to maintain the original identity of the Egyptian

and Phœnician alphabets, and indeed to concede to the Egyptians the honour of the primary invention. KLAPROTH, in his first controversial work against Champollion (*Opuscules archéo-graphiques par Th. Ausonioli*. Par. 1824), represents the opinion that the alphabetic writing proceeded from the hieroglyphic, as long ago antiquated, and unseasonably revived (p. 41). He maintains, that if it be assumed that the foundation of a pure alphabetic writing was contained in the phonetic hieroglyphics, it is not conceivable that among the whole population not an individual was to be found who substituted the easy for the difficult, the convenient for the laborious, the simple for the complex; it must then be supposed, *qu'une loi fondroyante des Pharaons défendoit aux castes lettrées d'Égypte, de se servir d'un système d'écriture autre, que celui inventé par le sacerdoce.*

In CHAMPOLLION'S most important discovery, that which forms the quintessence of his book, in his view of the phonetic hieroglyphics, which, to the present time, has passed triumphantly through every ordeal, there really is contained what forms the best counteractive to his assertions relative to the alphabetic writing among the Egyptians. These assertions rest on an assumption which is common to him with his predecessors, particularly with ZOEGA, namely, that writing was developed in regular progression from the easier to the more difficult, an assumption which certainly has an air of probability, but which must not be received without hesitation as absolutely valid; for real history often mocks probabilities, since so easily and so often, a single fortunate glance, a flash of thought, suddenly breaks in on the natural sequence, and springs over the intermediate steps. As soon as the existence and the originality of phonetic hieroglyphics, as stated by CHAMPOLLION (the nature of which may be learnt most speedily from BROWN'S essay, and HEEREN'S introduction to the description of Egypt in his *Ideen*), is admitted, the chief difficulty which equally at first in Egypt opposed the invention of alphabetic writing,* is considered to be overcome, and a tedious development of a partial alphabetic writing from the hieroglyphic can no longer be maintained. We shall involuntarily be brought to the con-

* Lento passu et per multos gradus eo ventum existimo, ut sententiæ dispescerentur in vocabula, vocabula in syllabas, syllabæ in sonos componentes, ZOEGA, p. 552.

clusion, that the most complicated was also the latest, that from the alphabetic writing the phonetic hieroglyphics proceeded, and these were followed by the ideographic and figurative. This process LATRONNE appears to have indicated, when in Champollion's *Precis*, p. 406, he remarks, *D'après vos recherches il paraît clairement établi, que les hieroglyphes phonétiques n'ont eu pour but, que de pouvoir en certains cas peindre dans un caractère sacré les sons représentés par l'écriture alphabétique. D'où il résulte, qu'on a dû nécessairement prendre autant de signes hiéroglyph., qu'il y avait de caractères dans l'alphabet.* It is indeed to be observed, that the hieroglyphic writing was exclusively sacred, which, therefore, has a presumption against it of being artificially composed from the earlier simple writing. If we seek in hieroglyphics for the first principles of writing, it is hardly conceivable how they could be from the beginning in the exclusive use of the priests. This ZOEGA observed. Hence he hazards the assertion, that the hieroglyphical writing was not exclusively employed by the priests till after the invention of alphabetic writing. *Ante inventas literas alphabeticas ad omnia, quæcunque memoriae mandanda censuerunt Ægyptii, usi sunt literis hieroglyphicis. . . . Inventa scriptura alphabetica hanc in epistolis et quæ alia sunt communis vitæ usibus inseruientia adhibere Æg. p. 549.* But this assertion is destitute of all proof.

But the more profound study of the demotic writing in more recent times has raised an important objection to CHAMPOLLION'S view of it, which HEEREN (p. 14) (as CREUZER in reference to JOMARD) has wisely satisfied himself with merely alluding to, without giving a decided opinion upon it, while, in reference to Champollion's discoveries in the department of hieroglyphics, he has not withheld his applause. KOSEGARTEN (*De Ægyptiorum literatura*, Weim. 1828), has pointed out, that the inscriptions written in the Enchorial or demotic character consist, for the greatest part, of words, which are written in the alphabetic writing—that in them the whole alphabet occurs, and indeed every letter in different forms, which is also the case in the oldest Greek inscriptions, (compare ZOEGA, p. 501)—that the alphabetic writing of the Egyptians in many peculiarities is allied to the Phœnician. *A dextra ad sinistram scriptura enchoria progreditur*

(Herod. ii. 36)* *litteras vocales in mediis vocabulis pariter atque scriptura Phœnicia modo ponit, modo supprimit. Significatio vero literarum inter sonas similes fluctuat, ut apud Phœnicios et Hebræas pronuntiatio literarum Alef, Vau, Jod, Ain, et Cheth, (p. 5).* He does not enter on a comparison of individual letters with the Phœnician, but only considers that the Egyptian writing was first fixed for itself, but states without contradicting it, that LETRONNE maintained the identity of the enchorial characters with the Phœnician. Along with the alphabetic writing in the inscriptions referred to are a number of signs, which probably are to be considered as abbreviated hieroglyphics. *Significant hæc vocabula peculiari modo, ut videtur, scripta, maxime nomina deorum Ægyptiaca, aliaque vocabula solenniora ut e. g. vocabulum anni.* The investigation has been carried a step further by REUVENS in his *Lettres a Mr Letronne*. He there states (p. 88) the results which he had obtained in reference to the demotic writing from the examination of the Papyrus at Leyden. Several signs which hitherto had been considered as not alphabetic occur in that Papyrus, and can be decyphered. Other signs hitherto unknown are mere contractions in the demotic writing to save room; the letters are often put above one another, and so by degrees written words degenerate into contractions. How little the remaining non-alphabetic characters can support the assertion, that the Egyptians had no⁷ pure alphabetic writing, is proved by the fact mentioned p. 89, that the Egyptians mixed the Hieratic character with Grecian writing. These characters are in both cases to be regarded as mere abbreviations, which are not constantly employed, but so, that at pleasure sometimes the signs are used, sometimes the word is written in alphabetical characters, on which REUVENS grounds a hope of the future decyphering of what has been hitherto unknown; *n'est il donc pas très probable, que les abbreviations demotiques se trouveront transcrites en toutes lettres dans quelque double des mêmes actes Egyptiens?* In this state of the question, we have no more right to infer from

* Γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι "Ἕλληες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά καὶ ποιούντες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν," Ἕλληες δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερα. Διαφασίοισι δὲ γράμματα χρέονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἰρὰ, τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέσται.

the non-alphabetic signs in the midst of the alphabetic writing among the Egyptians, anything against the existence of a pure alphabetic writing among them, and for the dependence of the demotic writing on the Hieroglyphic, than a person would have to ground similar conclusions on the conventional abbreviations in the writings of modern chemists and astronomers.*

2. The difference of language, which we have no right to regard as total, can as little serve to support the position that the art of writing, as practised by the Egyptians, would have been useless for the Hebrews. How many examples of the transmission of the art of writing from one nation to another of an entirely different language does not history present! Compare ZOECA (p. 567), whose settlement of Tyehsen's objections against the alphabet's being borrowed through the Phœnicians from the Egyptians, as far as they rest on the same ground—the difference of language—is here undoubtedly applicable. One might, with equal reason, dispute the derivation of the Greek alphabet from the Phœnician—indeed with greater, since the Egyptian and Semetic language possess an important element of similarity. But what completely settles this question is the following: As soon as it is proved that the ancient Egyptians had a pure alphabetic character, it follows that either the Phœnicians borrowed writing from the Egyptians, or the reverse. For a repeated invention of alphabetic writing is, as ZOECA has shown (p. 557), in the highest degree improbable. If the first alternative be admitted, then the difference of language, if it could not prevent the transmission of writing to the Phœnicians, could still less form an obstacle to its transmission to the Israelites, while dwelling in the midst of the Egyptians. If the latter alternative be taken, for which there are far stronger probabilities, then the inconveniences which the Egyptians had first to overcome, were not in existence for the Israelites, and the borrowing of the original Semetic writing from its non-Semetic depositories, must have been very easily accomplished.

* Even BOULEN observes, "what at that time Caylus and Büttner had anticipated or discovered, that the demotic writing of the bandages of the mummies exhibit Phœnician characters, has been wonderfully confirmed in modern times by the attempts to explain Hieroglyphics (?) and the Palæographer can pledge himself to furnish almost every letter of the enchorial alphabet from ancient Phœnician inscriptions."

But the supposition that writing was directly borrowed by the Hebrews from a Semetic people, has no conclusive argument against it, so that we need not despair, although (which, in the present state of the case, can scarcely be any longer thought) the view, apparently unfavourable to us, respecting writing among the Egyptians, should be established as correct. What could be urged against the supposition that Jacob and his sons were in possession of the art of writing when they first went down into Egypt, and that their participation of Egyptian civilization only served to bring it more into use among their descendants? That no mention occurs of it in Genesis, only makes it probable that Abraham knew it not. For only in his history an event occurs, his treaty with the Hittites, in which, had the art of writing been known, an application of it might have been expected. That it was in use among the Israelites before the time of Moses, appears from the mention of Israelitish officers, called *Shoterim*, antecedent to that period. That this word signifies *scribes*, nothing but the greatest obtuseness can deny. The forms of שטר, Vater remarks (p. 537), also signify *overseer*; the Chaldee ܫܘܬܪܝܢ, Esther ix. 3, has the same meaning, and משטר is in Hebrew *government*. But the verb שטר has in Arabic exclusively the meaning *to write*; the noun سوط denotes *linea, ordo, series*; مسطرة *canon geometricus ad quem lineae ducuntur, a ruler*; only the derivative مستطير has the meaning *praefuit ut inspector*, and that this is derived from that of *being a scribe*, appears plainly enough from the derivative noun مستطير *praefectus et inspector rei, commentariensis, qui annotat, quaecumque ad rem curandam et gerendam spectant*. This connection of the meanings is acknowledged by the Arabic grammarians and lexicographers. See, for example, the Scholiasts on HARRIRI, in SCHULTENS *on Job xxxviii. 33, radix شتر notat scriptiorem, unde مشير dictus praepositus rei ad rationes exigendis et inspiciendum, quid redeat inde*. How could the meaning of *drawing lines and writing*, from which, in the fifth form, the meaning *vana et ficta locutus est, to deceive a person*, is easily deduced, proceed inversely from that of *being overseer*. Does كاتب mean first *a judge* and then *a scribe*, or the reverse? Against

this appeal to the Arabic *usus loquendi*, VON BOHLEN objects (p. 42), "that the verb must have acquired the meaning *to write* at comparatively a later period, since the Arabians themselves could have no idea of writing till the time of Mohammed." But in this passage the Arabians in general are substituted for the inhabitants of Hejaz, among whom the art of writing first came into general use, a short time before Mohammed; and, altogether apart from that, writing was considerably earlier in use among the Himyarides; it is without reason taken for granted, that a people who are in active intercourse with other nations acquainted with writing, if they did not write themselves, could have no term to signify writing; likewise it is not considered that the general meaning of drawing lines, as it still appears in the derivatives, serves to confirm the explanation of שָׁרַר by *scribe*; lastly, if the word came into use at the same time with the later introduction of writing among the Arabians, yet it must have had the meaning of *writing* among the nation from whom they received it, as well as the *art*. The Chaldee serves very much to prove our opinion. שָׂרַר, in that language, signifies *scriptum obligationis*; in the Rabbinical writings, in general, *literae* (v. BUXTORF, *Lex.* 2381). The meaning, *dominatus, dominium*, which Buxtorf likewise gives, rests upon a false explanation, of which any one may easily convince himself by examining the three passages that are quoted for it. The word מַשְׂרֵתָא, to which VATER appeals, belongs not to the pure Chaldee Language (v. BUXTORF, s. v.). Lastly, in Job xxxviii. 33, the meaning *government*, or *dominion*, however numerous the expositors may be who adopt it, is affixed arbitrarily. The meaning *writing* is there quite suitable. MICHAELIS (*Suppl.* p. 2320) paraphrases the passage, "*Tunc in terris poteris leges scribere ad quas astra cursus suos ac motus moderentur?*" And even if מַשְׂרֵתָא is joined with מַשְׂרֵתָא, it will not require a different meaning. In this state of the case, we need scarcely to notice that the LXX. translate שָׂרַר by *γραμματεῖς*, and the Syriac version by SOPHRE. How weighty the reasons for the meaning *scribe* must be, appears from the fact that men like GESENIUS and HOFFMANN, who at one time joined with VATER in explaining the word by *overseer, officer* (GESENIUS, *gr. Wtb. u. Gesch. d. Heb. Sp.* 141; HOFFMANN, *Art. Heb. Schrift in Ersch u. Gruber Enc.* II. iii. 365), afterwards (see

Gesenius in the later editions of his *Kl. Wtb.*; HOFFMANN, *Heb. Alterth.* Weim. 1832, p. 302) retracted this opinion. The latter remarks, "In legal transactions, and on other occasions where we expect to see the *Shoter*, an acquaintance with writing is necessary and essential, so that the first etymological meaning is certainly the most probable, and most to be recommended. How little value is to be attached to VON BOHLEN'S veto, is apparent from the mode in which it appeared to him. "The forms of this word," he says, "in Hebrew, *all* denote only overseer and magistrate." What various forms, I would ask, are there of this word in Hebrew?

But the transmission of the art of writing to the Hebrews in the later times of the patriarchs has so little difficulty, that we could show by numerous examples besides, that they were by no means inaccessible to the inventions of the civilized people among whom they lived (v. p. 431). Here Judah's signet is particularly worthy of notice, Gen. xxxviii. 18-25. That signets commonly bore alphabetic writing is evident from such passages as Exod. xxxix. 30, "And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing like *to the engravings of a signet*, פתוחי הוהם, Holiness to the Lord;" (compare ver 14, ch. xxviii. 9). The objection which GESENIUS (*Gesch.* p. 14) DE WETTE, HOFFMANN, and others, have raised against the existence of writing in the patriarchal age, that other means were then made use of to preserve the memory of important events, such as altars, heaps of stones, and even trees, is certainly not very formidable. The use of such memorials has among all nations, and in all ages, gone along with writing. Or will any one infer that because Absalom erected a pillar "to keep his name in remembrance," 2 Sam. xviii. 18, the art of writing was not known in his age? How frequent the erection of such monuments was in Egypt, the information in DRUMANN'S work will show (p. 262). But even if the supposition of the acquaintance of the children of Israel with the art of writing at the time of their going down into Egypt be rejected, yet still the other will remain, that during their residence in Egypt, they received the art directly from a people who spoke Semitic. Modern investigations have placed it beyond all doubt, that between people of very remote antiquity, even those who were separated by great distances from one another, a much more active intercourse subsisted than there has been a disposition to

admit. But particularly the current notion of the entire inaccessibility of Egypt to all foreigners has been acknowledged of late as requiring considerable limitation and modification. How little such a notion is applicable to the most ancient times is shown by the account in Genesis of the Midianitish merchants, by whom Joseph was sold into Egypt; and by the fact that the failure of the crops in Egypt caused a famine in all the neighbouring countries, and that caravans came from all parts to purchase corn from Joseph's store-houses. As little does it accord with the complete inaccessibility of Egypt, that Abraham, when a famine arose in Canaan, went into Egypt, without apprehending any repulse—that Isaac did the same—that Joseph was raised to the highest dignity, and contracted marriage with an illustrious family, and without the slightest difficulty obtained permission to bring down the whole of his kindred into Egypt, &c. Moreover, the language furnishes remarkable evidence. It contains Phœnician elements so important, entering so deeply into its structure, as to compel the admission of a close connection between the Egyptians and Phœnicians in the earliest times. (See HUG in ERSCH and GRUBER'S *Encycl. Th.* ii. p. 35, and the works there quoted). The expeditions for conquest of the ancient Egyptian kings, which the supposition of their complete seclusion from other nations has led to be regarded as fabulous, have acquired important confirmation by the most recent discoveries (v. HEEREN, p. 321). Now also the accounts of Egyptian colonies have obtained credit (HEEREN, p. 124), and O. Müller's attempt to strike Danaus entirely out of history (*Orchomenos*, p. 109) has found little acceptance, while Cecrops has been willingly left at his disposal; (compare, on the other hand, PLASS, p. 102; LIMBURG BROWER, p. 87). BUTMANN (p. 178) states as the nucleus of the legend of Danaus, that there was an ancient tradition that a part of the population of Argolis, probably one special family or caste among them, the Danaï, referred their origin to Egypt. "A tradition which is powerfully supported by the undeniable traces of Egyptian origin in the religion, manners, and arts of the Grecian people."* But more especially the notion of the total

* Those who receive this tradition can support it only by the ancient and able Greek vouchers. Manetho's testimony (in Josephus *cont. Apion*, i. 1, § 15), has cer-

isolation of Egypt has had its fallacy exposed by the more accurate knowledge resulting from modern discoveries of Egyptian art and luxury. HEEREN particularly has shown that it is inconceivable that among an isolated people, art could arrive at such a pitch of perfection—that the narrow valley of the Nile could not furnish so many objects of luxury as are exhibited on Egyptian monuments—that there were a number of raw materials indispensably necessary which could not be among its native productions—brass, for instance, which yet we see used in large quantities, and, in short, that to account for the facts of the case, nothing less than a commerce with the whole known world is sufficient (pp. 275, 376, 571). Moreover, we find, even among the people from whom the one-sided representation of the Egyptians has proceeded (the formation of which is explained from the easy transformation of a relative into an absolute opposite), the means for its correction. HOMER represents Menelaus as sailing to Egypt: “*Les endroits connus sur Thebes* (remarks LIMBURG BROUWER, I. ii. p. 15), *dans la troisième livre de l’Iliade et celui sur les objets de luxe Egyptien à la cour de Ménélaus et d’Hélène*, Od. iv. *démontrent assez. que l’Egypte elle-même n’étoit pas tout-à-fait inconnue.* But whatever proves the accessibility of Egypt to foreigners, goes to show the possibility of the intercourse of the Israelites with them, and to demonstrate that the current representation of an isolated nomade life of the Israelites is erroneous. If it appears from this evidence that the Hebrews in Egypt could hold intercourse with Semetic nations, which must be promoted by a community of language, it may be shown from other quarters that such intercourse was possible beyond the

tainly not the importance which Rosellini (i. p. 301) attributes to it. It is remarkable what favour our critical age has shown this pitiful writer. We shall find another opportunity for fully proving how little it is deserved. The discoveries in hieroglyphics have tended to mislead still more the judgment respecting him. As they have given confirmation to his *names*, a very hasty conclusion has been drawn respecting the credibility of his *facts*. The knowledge of Danaus was evidently brought to Egypt first through the Greeks. Egyptian vanity easily seized on what flattered it, and invented a native tradition. A similar course has happened with the Hycsos, which, after the temperate and profound work of *Thorlacius de Hycosorum Abari*, can be no longer doubtful. How truly NITZSCH says in his *Hist. Hon.* p. 21, *Profecto nondum eo res pervenit, ut nimis parce credere arguamur. Inconsiderantia nos saepe vexet; condimusque historias, tum antequam testes examinaverimus tum de iis, de quibus non liquet.*

bounds of Egypt. The Hebrews dwelt on the borders of people who spoke Semetic; and even in the times of their oppression, nothing prevented the more distinguished among them, who appear to have suffered this oppression less severely, from passing over these borders, as we see from the example of Aaron, who, without difficulty, undertook a journey into the wilderness. Moses certainly performed nothing extraordinary when he betook himself to the Midianites, and at a later period returned to Egypt. We need only mention the procession to Canaan at Jacob's burial.

Here, likewise, the far greater freedom from prejudice on the part of the historians, compared with the theologians, even when on essential points they have the same general convictions, is evinced by a remarkable instance. While the latter collect every thing which can furnish the merest semblance of argument to rob Moses of the ability to commit the Pentateuch to writing, one of the former class, SCHLOSSER, remarks, "This (the composition of the greatest part of the four first books by Moses) was rendered more easy and natural, since Moses was educated in Egypt, where every thing, even law-suits, was carried on in writing, since among the Phœnicians he had found characters for the tones of his own language, and even had appointed a multitude of scribes in the country, who, partly to assist the police, partly on account of the disputes respecting the boundaries of lands, were obliged to write down the genealogies, and to note any remarkable changes."

"Of a transmission of writing in the use of common life among the Israelites in the Mosaic period"—it is further said "there is no trace in the Pentateuch (compare VATER p. 584). We must hence look for an analogy in other nations. This shows that the commencement of authorship is separated by a wide interval from that of the art of writing; that people for a long time have known and practised the art before they wrote more than they were obliged to write."

Here we must, first of all, strictly limit the assertion that the art of writing had not extended very far in the Mosaic age. If we follow, without prejudice, the traces which are met with in the Pentateuch (to which indeed an appeal is made), we arrive at the

result that writing had already been firmly established among the people. How important in this respect is the designation of the *Shoterim*! If the Hebrew officers, the overseers of the labourers, took their title from *writing*, it is quite impossible that the art of writing could be confined to a few. A second leading proof for the spread of writing in the Mosaic age is furnished by Deut. vi. 9. "And thou shalt write them (the commands of God) upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates," ch. xi. 20. We do not regard this prescription (as is commonly done) as to be literally fulfilled; we attach to it only *this* meaning, that the law was to penetrate the innermost life, and to govern all its relations. For this interpretation there are the following reasons. It is beyond a doubt, that the writing on the door-posts is required to be understood in no other sense than the precept immediately connected with it, to bind them as bands on the hands and between the eyes; ch. vi. 6, 8, "And these words which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets (פְּתִילִים) between thy eyes." xi. 18, 19, "Therefore shall ye lay up these my words in your heart and in your soul, and bind them for a sign upon your hand that they may be as frontlets between your eyes. And ye shall teach them your children, speaking of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Compare Exod. xiii. 16, "And it (the precept in reference to the redemption of the first-born) shall be for a token upon thy hand, and for frontlets between thine eyes." Here can be no doubt that the figurative meaning is the only correct one; the Jewish custom of phylacteries has proceeded from a mere carnal misunderstanding, if it was not perhaps originally a mere incorporation of the image correctly acknowledged as an image, a change of the image into a symbol. J. H. MICHAELIS justly remarks (in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, Halle, 1720), on Exod. xiii. 16, *Locutio proverbialis, cujus sensus; perpetuo hujus beneficii memor eris. Judæi autem id externe et carnaliter accipientes, hinc sua Tephillen s. phylacteria construxerunt; non intelligentibus Pha-*

risæis, quod hæc in corde portanda sint, non in corpore, ut loquitur Hieron. ad Matt. xxiii. 5. For this figurative interpretation which the Karaites defend, and which is likewise indicated by ABEN EZRA, there are the following reasons. 1. The whole proverbial character of the passages. 2. The arbitrary license which must be allowed in determining what must be written on the Tephillin, if generally some one part of the law—the Ten Commandments as the quintessence must be designed for this use; but of this not a word is said. 3. The comparison with Exod. xiii. 16, and ver. 9, where the precept is given, not as in the two other passages in reference to the commands of God, but in reference to one of his mercies. 4. The connection with laying them *upon* the heart and *upon* the soul (על-לבבכם ועל-נפשכם), and it is not said, thou shalt write them on bands; but “thou shalt bind them.” 5. Lastly, the comparison with the parallel passages Is. xlix. 16, and especially Prov. iii. 3. “Let not mercy and truth forsake thee; bind them about thy neck; write them upon the table of thine heart;” ver. 21, “My son, let them not depart from thine eyes;” ver. 22, “And grace to thy neck.” iv. 21, “Let them not depart from thine eyes; keep them in the midst of thine heart.” vi. 21, “Bind them (the commandment of the father, and the law of the mother, as far as they are a reiteration of the Divine law) continually upon thy heart; tie them about thy neck;” ver. 22, “When thou goest it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee.” Ch. vii. 3, “Bind them upon thy fingers; write them upon the table of thine heart.” In these passages, the correctness of the figurative interpretation is universally acknowledged, and these may be considered as the oldest commentary on the passages in the Pentateuch. Let it be admitted, that the writing is to be understood figuratively, we cannot, indeed, proceed to draw HUG’S inference, “the writing was to be on every house; and therefore there was somebody in every house who could read it,” (p. 44). Yet the passages do not, on that account, lose their force as evidence. Among a people to whom the lively remembrance of precepts was enjoined under this form, the *litera scripta manet* must have become quite a practical thing. And particularly, the command to write on the door posts was figurative, it implies that the custom of giving inscriptions to houses was then tolerably preva-

lent. Moreover, there are not wanting special grounds for the originality of these passages of the Pentateuch. 1. The word *כְּתוּבָה*, which afterwards became obsolete, only occurs in these three passages. 2. It is undeniable, that the parallel passages in the Proverbs rest upon these. The repetition of the same thoughts with the same words is too frequent for the agreement to be accidental. And then also in the first chapters of the Proverbs, there are constant references to the Pentateuch, and most strikingly to Deuteronomy. These parallel passages, which have the weight of express quotations, occur also exactly in that part of the Proverbs which have found most favour in the eyes of merciless modern criticism. DE WETTE assigns ch. i.–ix. to the most palmy period of Hebrew literature, and UMBREIT (*Comm. Einleit.*, p. 62) considers the arguments against the authorship of Solomon as not convincing.

The seventy men of the elders of the people mentioned in Numb. xi. 24 were summoned *in writing* by Moses to the tabernacle. He made out a list of seventy persons, and then sent round messengers requiring them to appear. This appears from ver. 26, “But there remained two of the men in the camp, the name of the one was Eldad, and the name of the other Medad: and the spirit rested upon them; and *they were of them that were written* (*והיתה בכתיבם*), but went not out unto the tabernacle.”

The curse on the adulteress, according to Numb, v. 23, was committed to writing. According to Deut. xxiv. 1–4, every husband who designed to separate himself from his wife was to *write* her a bill of divorcement. A “book of life” is attributed to God in the Pentateuch, a passage of which the originality is placed beyond all doubt by the undeniable allusions to it in Is. iv. 3; lxv. 6; Ps. lxix. 29; lxxxvii. 6; cxxxix. 16, &c.; this implies that already at that time lists of citizens were made out, and supplies the want of an express statement that the numbering which is reported in the book of Numbers was taken in writing. The account also respecting the engraving of the names of the Twelve Tribes on the precious stones, as well as the inscription on the plate of the High Priest’s crown, implies a great advance and spread in the use of written characters, Exod. xxviii. 9; xxxix. 14, 30.

But the passage in Deut. xxvii. 1, deserves particular consideration. We are here informed that the Israelites, on arriving in the promised land, were commanded to set up great stones, and

plaster them with plaster, and to write upon them very plainly all the words of this law. Expositors are divided in opinion as to the meaning of the expression “*this law*” *הַחֹקֵה הַזֶּה*. We must here, in opposition to ROSENMULLER, who, following J. D. MICHAELIS, limits it to the following twelve curses and the corresponding blessings, coincide with VATER, who by the words “*this law*” understands all that precedes from ch. 44. The words “*this law*” in ver. 2 refer to “all the commands that I command thee *this day*” in ver. 1, and this reference does away with all uncertainty. In ver. 1 and 2 the *הַיּוֹם* and the *בַּיּוֹם* are evidently contrasted; “On *this day* I command thee, and on *that day* thou shalt write.” Therefore the whole extent of the laws then given must be intended, the quintessence of the Torah which forms the main substance of Deuteronomy, from which this book has its name. For this whole “*second law*” from ch. iv. 44, to ch. xxvi. 19, belongs to “*this day*.” Thus in the superscription it is called, “This is the law that Moses set before the children of Israel.” Then, in ch. v. 1, “Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the judgments which I speak in your ears *this day*.” The curses are not the law itself, but twelve curses were denounced on those who should transgress the commandments that were written on the stones—first, with a specification of distinct offences, then in the last curse, in order to show that only specimens were given in the preceding, the language is most comprehensive and absolute, “Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of *this law* to do them,” ver. 26, compare a similar expression in ch. xxviii. 1, “All his commandments which I command thee *this day*.” There was, besides, an express command to take “*great stones*” (*אבנים גדולות*) without limiting the number, which implies a considerable quantity of matter to be written,* and that the law was not engraven on the stone, but written on plaster. The engraving would have been too operose on account of the great extent of what was to be written. These reasons appear to us completely sufficient, and

* Several critics (MAURER the latest) have maintained that the stones on which the law was to be written, were the stones of the altar. But the article by no means proves this; Dent. xxvii. 8, “And thou shalt write upon *the stones*” (*הַאֲבִנִים*), are the stones which are mentioned in the preceding context as intended for this use; and Josh. viii. 32, “*the stones*” are those which were appointed in the law to which the author here, as well as in the whole preceding narrative, refers. But the stones

hence we pass on to notice some other things in the account of the execution of what is here enjoined. It is very evident how important this passage is, as evidence of the cultivation and diffusion of the art of writing in the Mosaic age. The object of thus inscribing the law cannot have been to exert an influence for centuries after on the people. There is not a hint dropped that the stones with the writing were designed for making an impression on posterity. And the mode of inscription precludes any such design. The plaster that was spread over the stones, would soon crumble away by the action of the atmosphere. The object was rather, as, among the modern critics, MAURER has correctly stated, limited to the act itself, and concerned posterity only so far as the transaction was recorded in the book of Joshua, or in the documents that formed its basis. The outward confirmation of the law symbolised the inward, "Cursed is he that confirmeth (בִּרְבֵּי) not all the words of this law to do them." Ver. 26 with ver. 4, "Therefore it shall be, when ye be gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up (הִקְמִי) these stones which I command you this day, in Mount Ebal." Now, if for such a mere temporary object, so long a section was inscribed on plaster, the cultivation of the art of writing must have risen to the same level as that of other arts, and if the symbolical act could produce the effect intended on the people, the art of writing must have been in some a degree a popular attainment.

But it has been attempted to weaken some of the proofs that have been adduced, by objections. Thus VATER (p. 533) and HARTMANN (p. 637) remark, that, by the injunction in reference to the bill of divorce, we are "suddenly brought into a period when the art of writing had extended itself from the narrow limits of a few consecrated persons to the wide circle of the laity." The latter writer dwells upon "the art exercised with a dexterity that excites real astonishment, of engraving, cutting, carving, and impressing on tablets, precious stones, metals, wood, and other softer

of the altar cannot be intended, for this plain reason, that the stones on which the law was written, were to be hewn before they were covered with plaster, while the altar was to be built of unhewn stones. If the stones had been the same, it would not have been said in ver. 5, "an altar of stones," but of "those stones." The twelve stones also which Moses erected on Sinai, when he read the law to the people, are distinguished from the stones of the altar.

materials, not only single words and sentences, but shorter or longer historical and legal fragments and records," and thinks that this does not comport with the beginnings of a rude art. VON BOHLEN (p. 38) remarks in reference to Deut. xxvii., "No eye-witness could so read 'all the words of this law,' therefore the nearest preceding and following (?) passages must have been written on great stones white-washed with lime. This could at the most be only short sentences."

But who does not see that these objections are quite irrelevant to the matter in hand? The two positions—first, the Pentateuch itself contains no traces of the spread of the art of writing; and, secondly, the statements of the Pentateuch respecting the art of writing are unhistorical—must be kept strictly apart. If men take a fancy all at once to wish to prove the latter, they give up the former, and admit that the authority of the Pentateuch is against them, when they assert that the art of writing was unknown to the Hebrews in the Mosaic age. We will, first of all, admit this confession. Apart from the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, it has its importance. If the accounts of the Pentateuch proceed on the supposition of the cultivation and spread of the art of writing, we possess an attestation of which nothing but the most cogent reasons can deprive us. For, at all events, the Pentateuch must be admitted as evidence for the tradition. If, therefore, it favours the affirmative on this point, it is settled that tradition knew nothing of a post-Mosaic introduction, or progressive perfecting, of the art of writing.

But objections of the kind just mentioned are certainly not adapted to weaken the testimonies of the Pentateuch. The remarks of VATER and HARTMANN rest upon a pure *petitio principii*. The non-extension and non-cultivation of the art of writing remain to be proved. The proof of this is not to be borrowed from the non-extension and non-cultivation of the art of writing. The supposition of the want of culture among the Hebrews, by their nomadic mode of life, would alone give some plausibility to these singular assertions, and this supposition has already been shown to be totally erroneous. VON BOHLEN'S objections against Deut. xxvii. may be handed over, without hesitation, to the department of Egyptian antiquities. On such a mode of arguing, it may be shown to admiration, that all those reporters who have told us of walls

covered with writing and painting in Egypt, have either seen or spoken falsely. We are expressly told by the Sacred Historian, that the stones were first covered with plaster, and then written upon; now this is exactly the method that we find noticed in a multitude of Egyptian monuments, and, as is most carefully described in MINUTOLI'S *Travels*, "The walls hewn out, were first carefully levelled, and the faulty places filled up with lime, gypsum, or cement, in which afterwards the figures and hieroglyphics were cut out, just as in the stone itself, which I could demonstrate by several specimens that I have brought over. Walls that were intended for painting were commonly covered with silt, lime or gypsum, and in the first place whitened, and then the colours laid on." According to chemical analysis (p. 347), the plaster consisted of pure lime, sometimes of lime and gypsum in equal proportions. HEEREN remarks on the inscriptions in the royal sepulchres—"all the walls are covered with sculptures and paintings. But on account of the quality of the stone, they cannot, as in the palaces, be worked on the rock itself, but the walls are covered with a mortar, and on this the sculptures and paintings are worked.* Now, if such a method was adopted, it cannot be maintained that the operation was too laborious, or the space on the stones too small to admit of so much writing. It was intentionally, doubtless, that no precise number of stones was fixed upon. As many great stones were to be taken as would be necessary for the purpose. In reference to the Egyptian labours of a similar class, no objection of this sort has been started. And if the native city itself of Hesiod honoured his memory† by causing his largest poem to be engraven at length on tablets of lead, how can we any longer, on such grounds, dispute the execution of a writing of smaller extent,

* These statements do away with certain explanations that have been forced on the text, as that of J. D. MICHAELIS—that the letters were first cut in the stone, and that then the latter received a thick coating of lime (*Mosaïsches Recht.* ii. § 69); and that of MAURER (*Comm. z. Jos.* p. 80), that the words, "plaster them with plaster," שָׁרֵפֶתָם בְּשֵׁרֶפֶת, merely refer to joining the stones with mortar.

† See the vindication of this statement of Pausanias, ix. 31, who asserts that he had seen this copy in lead of Hesiod, by Nitzsch, against Wolf (p. 13), who remarks, *non hoc peccare solet Paus. ut ipse fingat se vidisse, quod non viderit*, and adduces other similar facts.

but of infinitely more important meaning, on a substance far more easily worked?

Let us now collect the still remaining testimonies for the use and extension of the art of writing in the Mosaic age. GESENIUS, in his *Geschichte der Hebr. Sprache und Schrift*. p. 141, remarks, that the first trace of Hebrew writing, in the records of the law, appears to carry in itself the pledge of historical truth; and DE WETTE (*Archæologie*, § 277) marks the two tables of stone, containing the law, as being the *only* certain trace of the existence of writing in the Mosaic age. HOFFMANN also (in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyc.*) does not venture to call this fact in question, but contents himself with remarking, that when it is said that the tables of the law were written with the finger of God, perhaps this conveys an intimation that the art of writing was then not very widely spread, and was not within the range of common experience, an anti-supernatural explanation which reminds one very vividly of Palaephaetus; a kind of criticism that would not venture now to show itself in the department of Heathen mythology. VON BOHLEN has repeated the exploded objection which, in a moment of weakness, DE WETTE suffered to escape him*—that it was impossible to find space enough for the Decalogue, even in the smallest character, on two portable tables, in which two things are overlooked, 1. That the tables were written on both sides; 2. That no one yet ever ventured to maintain that the Tables of the Law never existed. Had they at a later period space for the Decalogue, why should they not already in the Mosaic age? We demand for the Decalogue a surface of between seven and eight square ells, and confidently leave it to the judgment of any intelligent person whether this is space enough or not. And on such grounds men venture to attack a fact, which is the most certain in the whole Israelitish history, by the rejection of which it cannot more deserve the name of a mythology.

In several passages of the Pentateuch, it is expressly said that

* STÄUDLIN, on the contrary, remarks, in Ammon's and Berthold's *Journal*, iv. p. 125, "One might almost wonder that there was so much space taken for it, if we were not to consider that these laws were to be written and preserved in a dignified, becoming, and imposing manner."

Moses committed things to writing. Thus Exod. xvii. 14, And the Lord said to Moses, "Write this for a memorial (זִכָּרוֹן) in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven." Writing appears here as the equally necessary, as it was the easy and unconstrained companion, of oral tradition, in things which were to be handed down with certainty to the remotest posterity. Even at that time, the truth of the adage, *littera scripta manet*, had been acknowledged. That Moses received an express command to write, marks the absolute certainty of the Divine counsel, and at the same time intimates, that the accomplishment belonged to the distant future. Therefore, this command rests upon the general position, that Divine revelations which are not intended exclusively for the present, must be committed to writing—a position which implies an insight into the whole importance of writing. In Exod. xxiv. 3–7, it is said, "And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the judgments. . . . And Moses wrote all the words of the Lord. . . . And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people, and they said all that the Lord hath said will we do." The contents of the book here mentioned consist of ch. xx. 2–14, and ch. xxi.–xxiii.* The writing of the law that then existed belonged to the solemnization of the transaction. If this was thereby rendered conspicuous—if the committal to writing served to make the people sensible of the inviolability of the law, to awaken them to a consciousness of the importance of their obligations, this presupposes, that the object and importance of writing was not only perceived by the Lawgiver, but, in a certain degree, by the whole people; that writing had already obtained a certain popularity. In Num. xxxiii. 2, it is said, "And Moses wrote their goings out (*their stations*, מַדְבָּרֵיהֶם) by the commandment of the Lord." The names of the stations were so many monuments of God's fatherly goodness, and of the criminal ingratitude of his people, as well as of the punishments which they brought thereby upon themselves. It was also important, that

* See DRESDE, *De Libro foederis*, p. 10; hæc antegressis consentanea intelligenda sunt. Ibi enim Jehovahæ effata דְּבַרֵי יְהוָה non nisi ea dicebantur, quæ complectebatur decalogus, jura vero, מִשְׁפָּטִים quæ capp. xxi.–xxiii. continebantur.

what had been hitherto separated should here be brought into one survey, in which so much still remained untold, and was to be supplied from recollection. Here also writing appears as the only certain means of remembrance, and mere oral tradition is indirectly marked as totally inadequate, when literally the faithful transmission through centuries is concerned. In Num. xvii. 17, we are informed that Moses took twelve rods, according to the number of the heads of their tribes, and wrote upon each their respective names. This implies a certain extension of the art of writing. Otherwise, it would have been more natural to have distinguished the rods merely by marks. The truth of this transaction was attested by the preservation of the rod that bore Aaron's name. In Deut. xxxi. 19, it is said, "Now therefore *write** ye this song for you, and teach it to the children of Israel; put it in their mouths." First, it is written, and then taught. The latter without the first would not have lasted long. What was only orally delivered would soon have become something very different from what it originally was. In ver. 24, it is said, "When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book until they were finished," &c., so that here the committal to writing of the whole Pentateuch, with the exception of the account of his own death, is expressly attributed to him.

No inconsiderable spread of the art of writing is implied in Deut. xvii. 18, 19, where it is said, in reference to the kings that were to be chosen in future times, "And it shall be when he sitteth upon the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests, the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God." If the king could do this, how much more the priests and Levites from whom he was to take his copy.

In Leviticus xix. 28, it is said, "Ye shall not *print any marks* upon you, I am Jehovah." כְּתֹבֵי עֵצִים *eine gebrannte Schrift, writing burnt in.* Several critics, as LE CLERC, WICHMANSHAUSEN (*dissert. on the passage*), and ROSENMÜLLER, suppose figures

* Nothing is said here, as some would understand it, of *transcription*. The expression "write ye" corresponds to the words in ver. 21, "Moses therefore *wrote* this song the same day, and taught it to the children of Israel."

impressed instead of writing. But כָּתַב always means *to write*, and כָּתָב, כָּתָבָה *writing*, never *marks*. The LXX. translate correctly, καὶ γράμματα στικτὰ οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν ὑμῖν. SPENCER paraphrases it, *Gentibus exteris in more est se stigmatibus inscribere, ut notis illis se τοῖς Baalim tanquam dominis eorum addictos et mancipatos esse profiteantur. Nolo tamen vos, mihi soli sanctos, notas illas infames et sacrilegas accipere. De legg. rit.* p. 416. The custom of slaves to bear the name of their master, the warrior the name of his leader, the idolater the name of his idol, on his body, was widely spread in later times. PHILO says of them, ἔνιοι τοσαύτη κέχρηται μανίας ὑπερβολῇ, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἀναχώρησιν ἑαυτοῖς πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἀπολιπόντες, ἔνται πρὸς δουλείαν τῶν χειροκμήτων, γράμμασιν αὐτὴν ὁμολογοῦντες, οὐκ ἐν χαρτιδίοις, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἔθος, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καταστίζοντες αὐτὴν σιδήρω πεπυρωμένῳ, πρὸς ἀνεξάλειπτου διαμονήν, *De Monarch*, lib. i. p. 819. To this practice there is an illusion in Rev. xiii. 16, "And he causeth all . . . to receive a mark (χάραγμα) in their right hand, or in their foreheads;" xiv. 1, "And I looked, and lo, a Lamb stood on the Mount Zion, and with him an hundred and forty and four thousand, having his Father's name written on their foreheads." Other examples may be found in SPENCER. We see from the passage before us that the practice was getting into vogue. It shows that the golden plate of the high priest, with the inscription כָּתָב יהוה, was not without example in the customs of the times.

As a proof of the spread of the art of writing among the Egyptians in the Mosaic age, the word כָּתָבִים may be adduced, as the name of a class of Egyptian priests. The derivation from כָּתָב, *a style*, is at least one of the most probable of any that have been proposed; see HÄVERNICK *on Daniel*, p. 52; GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, ii. p. 520; far more probable than that proposed by MILL, and revived by VON BOHLEN (p. 382), from כָּתָב *to see*, and כָּתָב supposed to be = כָּתָב, *to be concealed*. Yet on such purely etymological evidence it is, of course, not safe to build.

The accounts in the book of Joshua connect themselves with those of the Pentateuch. According to Joshua xv. 15, the city was called *Debir*, before it was captured by the Hebrews, כָּתָבִים (lit. *Book-City*), LXX. πόλις γραμμάτων. The proof

from this name for the spread of the art of writing is acknowledged, even by GESENIUS, to be important. Attempts to give another meaning to the name are fruitless; as, for instance, BUDDEUS *Hist. Eccles.* i. p. 940; GOUSSET, *Lex.* p. 1083; and SIMONIS *Onomast.* p. 67. The *usus loquendi*, in reference to כְּנַעַן (compare later investigations), is too decided.* There is no choice between the different meanings. Also Joshua xv. 49, the second earlier name of the same city, *Kirjath-Sannah*, serves rather to confirm than to contradict the explanation we have given. RELAND (*Geogr.* p. 726) remarks, *Ni fallor jam alii observarunt, Sannah, est idem quod Arab. كِنَعَان constitutio, lex; sic ut Sepher et Sannah voces sint affines significationis.* According to the evidence contained in this name (more certain than direct proof), some literature must have already existed among the Canaanites of the Mosaic age. Similar instances of names of cities are given by TROTZ, in HERM. HUGO, *de prima scribendi orig.* p. 305, 417. Joshua wrote a copy of the law of Moses on stones, ch. viii.; he sent men out who described the land in a book, ch. xviii. 9; he wrote the words of the renewed covenant with the people, ch. xxiv. 26.

It is, therefore, ascertained that the assertion that the Pentateuch knows nothing of the spread of the art of writing among the Israelites in the Mosaic age, is to be rejected as absolutely erroneous. But our method of proof has carried us much further. What the Pentateuch testifies in this respect must be true. The proofs which it furnishes are as undesigned as they are numerous; they are supported by the accounts respecting the spread of other branches of civilization among the Israelites—their participation in all the advantages which Egypt presented in this respect, where the state of civilization at that time cannot be imagined separate from a knowledge of the art of writing; among its inhabitants writing was more profusely employed in public life than perhaps in any other nation of the ancient world. Compare HEEREN, p. 349. Those who will deny the proportionate spread of the art of writing in that age, must reject the Pentateuch entirely as a work

* It will not even allow of the explanation proposed by BERTHOLDT (*Wissenschaftskunde*, p. 88), *The town of writing materials, or the chief emporium for writing materials.*

of historical authority. But truly this they cannot be justified in doing, if they assign a later date to it.

But the supposition of a general spread of the art of writing is not required by the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. "The Pentateuch," BERTHOLDT remarks, "may not altogether, as it is, have proceeded from the hand of Moses, or only the legislative parts may be the work of Moses' own hand; yet this, and likewise the whole, was manifestly not written to be read *by* every one, but these laws were to be read *to* the people, as Moses himself did at first." Exod. xxiv. 7, ('And he took the book of the covenant, and read in the audience of the people'). If, besides Moses, only a few other Israelites of distinction had learnt alphabetical writing, yet it was sufficient; for Moses certainly would have made an arrangement that the high priest, and at least the 'princes of the tribes,' the elders and judges, should learn alphabetical writing, that they might conduct the spiritual and civil concerns of the people, and administer justice according to his laws."

We might now consider this argument as finished. For the validity of the analogies which would go to prove the wide separation of the beginnings of writing from its more extensive spread and the beginnings of authorship, is made to depend on the assumption, that an extensive use of the art of writing in the Mosaic age is incapable of being proved. Yet it is worth while to take a nearer view, and to examine what is the exact state of these analogies. An appeal is made especially to the Greeks and Romans. But the turn which, in modern times, the investigations respecting Homer have taken, if they have not changed these analogies into their opposite, have at least made them very doubtful. But if they must be allowed to remain, there are others which may be easily opposed to them. It is deserving of attention, that Egyptian tradition places the beginnings of authorship in the remotest antiquity. The Egyptians attributed their written laws to their earliest kings (see DIODORUS i. 106), whose high antiquity is actually confirmed by their internal character. (Compare Heeren, p. 347.) In reference to the high antiquity of authorship in Egypt, all accounts agree (compare the full collection of them in ZOECA, p. 501). The Phœnician tradition also appears to have closely connected writing and authorship. The deceiver Philo would not indeed have placed his Sanchonia-

thon in so early an age, if he had not regarded the popular opinion of the high antiquity of their native authorship; his Sanchoniathon makes the inventor of alphabetic writing also the first author. That the name Kirjath Sepher implies, that literature of some kind existed among the Canaanites of the Mosaic age, we have already seen. But even should these analogies be open to various objections, the certain ground of history presents us with a number which are raised above all objections. ULPHILAS presented the rude Goths at the sametime with an alphabet and a translation of the Holy Scriptures (*Ulphilas*, edited by Zahn, p. 21). And what of all the analogies is the most convincing, the first beginning of the art of writing among the Korishites, according to all testimonies, was a short time before Mohammed, and yet the Coran was at once committed to writing. See DE SACY, *Histoire de l'écriture parmi les Arabes*, in the memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions, vol. 1. particularly p. 309. EWALD'S *Gramm. Arab.* p. 9. Among the Ethiopians, the introduction of the alphabet and of the Holy Scriptures was contemporaneous (v. DE SACY, p. 284); and among the Armenians, the Georgians, the Illyrians, &c., the art of writing was firmly established by the translations of the Holy Scriptures into their respective languages.

But in order to settle definitely the evidence from analogies, we must examine the matter to the bottom. WOLF, as he maintained that there was a wide interval between authorship and the first introduction of the art of writing among the Greeks, sought for the ground of this supposed fact in the external difficulties which writing presented in remote antiquity. *Superato operoso labore, ut peregrinae notae patriis sonis aptarentur, novaeque subderentur vocalibus et iis literis quibus Phœnicum scriptura caruisset,—longum hinc et multis modis impeditum iter restabat, donec artem habilibus instrumentis aptam cultior doctrinis populus ad brevium paginarum, tum ad justam librorum scripturam adhiberet.* But in later times it has been acknowledged that the human mind, in satisfying real and deeply felt necessities, cannot be restrained by such purely outward hindrances—that the ground of the fact, where it really exists, must be rather sought for within the mind itself, that it has not yet felt an inward necessity for the more extended use of writing. One sees that the proverb, “ne-

cessity breaks iron," is verified most absolutely, where an inward spiritual compulsion exists; that, therefore, only the non-existence of the latter furnishes the explanation of the fact. Thus O. MÜLLER remarks, "To make use of this poor substitute, a people so fond of hearing, and of such delicate hearing as the Greeks, only the extremest need and most pressing object could move; hence the striving to hand down individual things such as names and numbers, unchangeable to their remotest descendants." In this passage, not the toil of writing appears as the ground of the late existence of a literature, but the fondness for hearing and the delicacy of the sense of hearing, which led the Greeks to regard writing as a poor substitute for oral communication. NITZSCH says, "*Scimus viræ vocis usum non literaturæ inopia, sed naturæ judiciis, sed humanitatis quodam lege, sed dicendi genere, Græcorum denique virtute ac flore constitisse,* (p. 18.) The same writer points out, that every nation commits to writing, "*quod aut sanctum nimis habuit, quam ut memoriæ soli committeret, aut nimis operosum, quam ut memoriæ solum ope confici recte ac teneri potuerit*"—as, for instance, the reason why the laws among the Spartans were not committed to writing, must be sought for solely in this, that, by their tenacious adherence to what was established, they felt no need of making use of writing which implies an opposition between law and inclination. (*Spartani illud semper jactarunt legum vigorem non literato monumento, neque formulis, quas cives discere juberentur, sed assuetudine et usu optime constare,* p. 421). As soon as the necessity was experienced, the committal to writing followed: "*Si vero a more majorum aliquando defecit, tum maxime scribendæ et consignandæ legis necessitas potius incidit.*"

How little an extensive use of writing depends on mere outward circumstances, how much it is determined by spiritual necessities, may be also proved by the example of nations, who, although writing was in most frequent use, and in the highest cultivation among their neighbours, and although they had many occasions for making use of it, yet they abstained from its use till a vivid spiritual necessity sprung up amongst them. The Himyarites, for example, were a powerful and wealthy nation, who stood in very close and manifold connection with nations among whom the use of writing pervaded all the relations of life. Yet the writing

which came to them from Ethiopia took no root among them. When Islamism was first introduced, writing was almost gone into desuetude in Jemen, (DE SACY, p. 293). But with the introduction of the Coran, it became fixed for ever. It was first employed to satisfy the higher necessities of man's nature, and it is then applied to satisfy those of the lower. Until that time, the language of a poet before the age of Mohammed, quoted by De Sacy (p. 301), might be applicable, "*J'ai appris l'A B G D et toute la famille de Moramer,* j'ai noirci d'encre mes vêtements, et je ne suis pas néanmoins devenu un écrivain.*" Mohammed constantly places himself and the Idiots (i.e. *the illiterate*), the Arabians, in opposition to the *Book-men*, **اهل الكتاب**, the Jews and Christians, and thus makes literary culture altogether dependant on the possession of a written revelation.

This being the state of the case, analogies cannot be brought to apply in so coarse and external a manner as is done by our opponents. They only prove thus much, that, in antiquity, an extended use of writing only occurred when a powerful spiritual necessity impelled to it—that then those insignificant causes were not at work which now turn many a one into a writer *invita Minerva*. They impose upon us the duty to point out the internal necessity for the written composition of the Pentateuch. The position we have laid down, that the people of antiquity wrote when they were forced to write, remains true, only not in the sense in which it has been set forth. The necessity must be considered only as ideal.

Why did Moses commit the Pentateuch to writing? All general answers to the question we have already given in the passages quoted, p. 467. God's acts and his laws were in his sight too weighty and too holy to be trusted simply to uncertain remembrance. This would have been a defect of reverence towards God,† The two passages in Deut. xxxi. 19, 20, and ver. 26, 27, give us deeper views of the subject. In the first, it is said in reference to Moses' farewell address or "song," "Now therefore write ye this song for you, and teach it the children of Israel; put it in

* *i. e.* All the letters of the alphabet. MORAMER was the chief promoter of the art of writing among the Arabians.

† O. Müller observes (p. 292) in reference to the Spartans, "If a single formula was committed to writing, as that of the Rhetra, handed down by Plutarch, it was only done, in order to express an awful veneration for this command of the God.

their mouths that this song may be a witness for me against the children of Israel. For when I shall have brought them into the land which I swore unto their fathers, that floweth with milk and honey, and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxed fat, then will they turn unto other gods, and serve them, and provoke me, and break my covenant. And it shall come to pass, when many evils and troubles are befallen them, that this song shall testify against them as a witness; for it shall not be forgotten out of the mouths of their seed; for I know their imagination which they go about even now, before I have brought them into the land which I swore." In the second passage it is said in reference to the whole law, "Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God, that it may be there for a witness against thee. For I know thy rebellion, and thy stiff-neck; behold while I am yet alive with you this day ye have been rebellious against the Lord, and how much more after my death?" These passages shew (what is also apparent from a multitude of others; compare, for example, Deut. ix. 24, "You have been rebellious against the Lord, from the day that I knew you") how clearly Moses discovered the relation of the law to the people, how deep was his conviction that the religion of JEHOVAH stood in direct contradiction to the inclinations of the people. And with this conviction, Moses must either have given up his vocation, or would necessarily commit to writing the acts and declarations of God, in order to secure them from being forgotten or misunderstood, which would be the necessary consequence of the moral character of the people. The circumstance which among the Greeks at a later period made it necessary to commit their civil laws to writing, existed from the beginning in reference to the Divine law. *A revelation which should rise no higher than the moral and religious level of the age in which it might be delivered, would be no revelation.* Every real revelation is like leaven, which penetrates the whole mass, till after a while, the whole is leavened. Further, of the manifold objects of the law, only *one* is here specified, namely, that it would serve as a witness against the disobedient people.* If

* Quum multiplex sit doctrinae usus, una tantum pars attingitur, nec enim in eum modo finem lex scripta fuit, ut testis esset ad populum damnandum, sed ut norma esset

now Moses presupposes that this object could not be attained by the mere oral law, that its committal to writing was absolutely necessary—this supposition applies also to the remaining objects. For on what did this supposition rest, but on the perception that a law transmitted merely by word of mouth, could not withstand the force of inclination, which would either consign it to oblivion, or falsify and disfigure it. But the wish to free oneself from the law, is called forth equally by the dread of being judged by it, and by the endeavour to come to terms with God, in a way easy and agreeable to the flesh—to be able to be assured of his grace without walking in the rough path of self-denial. Whoever does this, it is thought, will live thereby. Men will live, they venture to think, as long as there is not a firm and distinct counter-declaration of God at hand, a *quid pro quo*. The poison of sin gradually becomes an anodyne for sin. The results of the sinful tendency become substituted for the maxims of Divine revelation, and act far more destructively since the stamp of Divine authority is impressed upon them. Not that the perservation of Divine revelation will suffice to guarantee its absolute security against corrupt inclination. This inclination always finds scope for itself, less by direct falsification (the external obstacle arising from the multiplication of copies, might prevent this, besides a religious fearfulness) than by false interpretation and by the associating of tradition. But nevertheless the advantages of a *written* revelation are incalculable; wherever it exists, there is not only the possibility but the certainty of a reformation; the word of God, in its own time, makes its way through the accumulation of human traditions, and disperses them as chaff before the wind. On the contrary, without Scripture, a corruption that has been once established is incurable, if only the originators are culpable, yet later generations are the prey of unmerited and inevitable errors.

From these remarks it appears with what right men argue against the Mosaic composition of the Pentateuch, as if it were of no more importance than a cookery book or a collection of anecdotes. History sufficiently shows that what *must* be committed to writing

pie sanctaeque vitae et paterni dei favoris testimonium. Sed quia cum duris et superbis capitibus negotium erat, denuntiat Moses, quoties in medium prodibit hæc doctrina inexcusabilem fore eorum contumaciam.—CALVIN.

is quite *relative*, varying according to the different valuation by different nations of the objects of writing. The Romans transmitted their *incondita carmina* by word of mouth, after they had for a long time public memorials carefully written; the Greeks had written poems, when they had not yet thought of committing their laws to writing. Among a people, of whom religion formed the heart and soul, we might anticipate that its written documents would be coeval with their national existence.

When Lycurgus only wrote as much as he was obliged to write, (v. NITZSCH, p. 58) he had occasion to write only a very little. For excepting single disputed points, the law had its firm foundation and support in established usage. When Moses wrote as much as he was obliged to write, he was obliged to write much. For most of the social relations were placed under a new arrangement by him, and what was retained of the old, obtained for the most part a new modification. But Moses wrote no more than he was obliged to write. The limits are strictly observed by him. Where the usages remained unaltered, there we find a chasm in the Pentateuch. It is impossible to extract from it a complete system of legislation in the Mosaic period. This has been pointed out by Michaelis in his *Mosaisches Recht*, (part i. § 3, 16), and yet he remarks that these chasms do not occur in the laws of the Israelites. Divorce, for example, is never either forbidden or commanded. It is only forbidden to take back the wife after she has been married to another. It nowhere stands written, that only the sons should inherit to the exclusion of the daughters. According to established usage, daughters in general could not inherit, only the exception is legislated for, to meet a special occasion; it is expressly laid down in Numb. xxvii., that in case a father died leaving no sons, the daughters were to succeed to the inheritance.

It is equally impossible to obtain from the Pentateuch a clear insight into the civil constitution of the Israelites in the Mosaic age. Our whole knowledge depends here, as far as the ancient state is concerned, on incidental notices, and hence is exceedingly fragmentary. The most important relations are here involved in very great obscurity. Let any make the trial where לְבָיִת occurs, to arrive at any settled conclusion respecting the nature of this division, its origin and relation to others, and to deter-

mine the exact position of the Elders, Princes of the Tribes, Shoterim, &c.*

Another leading argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has been founded on the alleged non-existence of suitable writing materials in that age.

But here also it may be proved, that this argument has failed of effecting its object. This is shown by a remarkable analogy, that of the first writing of the Coran, for which the materials were the most unsuitable in the world, and yet the Coran is considerably larger than the Pentateuch. “*Les fragmens (says DE SACY, p. 307) de l'Alcoran qui avoient été mis par écrit du temps de Mahomet, et dont on se servit dans la suite, sous le regne d'Abou-Bekr, pour en fermer un recueil complet, étoient écrits, non pas seulement sur des morceaux de cuir ou de parchemen, mais aussi sur des feuilles de palmier, sur des pierres blanches et plates, sur des os, tels qu'omoplates et cotes.*”

He must have a mean estimate of the human mind, who imagines that mere external and minute circumstances can prevent its satisfying wants that are deeply and vividly felt. What Nitzsch has remarked on this subject is much more agreeable to human nature and in unison with history. “*Saepe in artium historia hoc vidisse suffecerit, qua ætate expeti quæque cæpta sit. Ut enim primum alienius utilitas studiumque augetur, semper alterutrum usu venit; aut quam potest expeditissimam suppellectilem reperit usus, aut impeditiorem subigit*” (p. 71).

But what is the state of the case as regards the proofs of the non-existence of suitable writing materials in the time of Moses? A nearer examination will show that they are incredibly weak. They may be divided into general and special. Of the former class are the following: 1. That at first the rudest materials were employed, stones, pieces of metal, &c. &c.; that this continued for a long period, it is believed may be inferred from the general analogy of the advance from the imperfect to the perfect in the arts.

* The Mosaic legislation is in direct opposition to the charter and constitution manufacturing of the nineteenth century. Moses does not meddle with the rights of the earlier, as well as of the future, historical development. The facts which authenticate this delicate reserve of Moses towards history have been entirely mistaken by Vatke (p. 202), and incorrect conclusions drawn from them, as we shall point out more fully in the sequel.

But such pre-conceptions are too often contradicted by history ; a happy accident often brings discoveries to light by which many intervening steps are at once passed over. And then a material more difficult to be employed, may have the preference, not as such, but as offering itself most readily. But that this was only stones or brass tablets, we must decidedly dispute. To make use of skins, for instance, was much more obvious, especially when it can be shown that their artificial preparation for other purposes had long been found out and was in use. 2. That the original materials for writing were hard and rude, is testified by the terms used to designate writing. “ Γράφειν and χαράσσειν denote to engrave, to cut into a hard substance ; כָּתַב alternates as equivalent with כָּתַב or כָּתַב, to engrave on tablets, as Hab. ii. 2, compared with Deut. xxvii. 8, incontrovertibly proves ; חָרַט is used of the engraving on the two tables of stone, Exod. xxxii. 16.” HARTMANN, p. 617 ; GESENIUS, *Theo.* i., p. 175 ; WINER, s. v. כָּתַב. But all these lingual observations are not proofs. Γράφειν, as we have already shewn, does not mean to engrave ; and χαράσσειν does not mean to write, nor is this the meaning of חָרַט. כָּתַב originally and properly means to write, and nothing else ; its connection with כָּתַב in Hab. ii. 2, can prove nothing in favour of the meaning to engrave, for two reasons—partly because the assumption that the two words in juxtaposition are perfectly equivalent, is totally unfounded—partly because the word כָּתַב as little there, as elsewhere, means to engrave. The passage is, “ And the Lord answered me and said, Write the vision and make it plain, כָּתַב, upon tables that he may run that readeth it. The meaning to engrave has nothing to do with the proposed object. There is no connection between engraving and general legibility. This connection requires that כָּתַב denotes writing in plain and large characters ; compare the phrase כָּתַבְתָּ אִישׁ אִישׁ with the style of a man, writing which all without distinction could read, Is. viii. 1. This passage is founded on Deut. xxvii. 8, “ And thou shalt write upon the stone all the words of this law, very plainly,” כָּתַבְתָּ אִישׁ אִישׁ. The prophet intimates, that the same reason which there occasioned the injunction to write in large, plain characters, the extreme importance of the contents for all the people, was also applicable to his prophecy. Now in the passage which forms the basis of the other, the meaning engraving will not

suit, for, as we have already shewn, the law was not engraven on stones, but written on lime. Lastly, the meaning *to make plain*, is placed beyond all doubt in the only passage where כָּתַב elsewhere occurs. Deut. i. 5, "On this side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses *to declare* כָּתַב this law, saying." We are more justified in giving it the meaning *to engrave* than any other whatever. In Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic, כָּתַב means nothing else but *to write*, and in Arabic this is peculiarly the only meaning. For the other meanings of the verb, and its derivatives, may all be deduced from it. Thus, for example, ^سدَسَّ كِتَابٌ *parva sagitta qua pueri jaculari discunt*, an arrow (or style), such as is used in writing schools; ^سدَسَّ مَكْتَبٌ *botrus, cujus pars comesta*, properly *a written*, that is, *a bitten grape*; in reference to كَتَبَ *congregavit, disposuitque in turmas equites*; and كَتَبَ كَتَيْبَةٌ *exercitus cohors equitum*. Schultens has remarked (*on Job*, p. 338), *Sciendum a scribendo et illas notiones fluxisse, quatenus exercitus scribitur seu conscribitur; itemque describitur, i.e. disponitur et ordinatur*. It is true that in Scheid and Groenewood's lexicon, p. 279, we find כָּתַב Arabic, *pupugit, instrumento acuto incidit, Sculptsit; hinc incidit insculpsit literus, inscripsit, scripsit*; but the alleged primary meaning of כָּתַב is purely imaginary from the assumption of the original rudeness of the materials of writing, of the correctness of which we must certainly expect to find traces in the language, so that our negative proof gains at the same time a positive importance.* 3. That rude and hard materials were originally used is a fact testified by the Pentateuch itself, and the book of Joshua in several passages. According to these authorities, stone, metal, and wood, were used for writing upon. This statement made by VATER, p. 524, has been set in a ridiculous light by BERTHOLDT. "*Publica monumenta et leges.*" Nitzsch remarks, p. 73, "*ligno, lapidi, aeri antiquissimus tem-*

* We may here remark, that the fact that כָּתַב, as far we can trace the *usus loquendi*, means *to write*, and nothing else, points to the very high antiquity of the art of writing in the Semetic race. Among nations who have, at a comparatively late period, obtained possession of the art of writing, the designation of it is either by a term originally of more general application, or it is taken with the art itself from a foreign nation, v. p. 418.

poribus non aliam ob causam incisa sunt, quam semper factum est, atque etiam Pindari hymnus lapidi insculptus videbatur in Ammonis" (Paus. ix. 16). How plausibly on such grounds it might be shown that we have even now no such thing as paper! In the times of the Maccabees, not a bit of parchment was to be met with, for, according to 1 Maccabees viii. 22; xiv. 18-27, they wrote on tables of brass! The book of Job must certainly have been of primeval antiquity; for its author wished that his confession of faith might be written on lead, or cut out in stone. In his age, *therefore*, no more suitable writing materials were to be found. There was a necessity for writing the Decalogue on tables of stone, even if there had been the choice of ever so many more suitable materials. This circumstance had a symbolic meaning. The stone pointed to the unchangeableness, which the law possessed, as an expression of the Divine will emanating from the Divine nature; it was an image of our Lord's declaration, ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, ἕως ἂν παρέλθῃ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ, ἰῶτα ἐν ἡμίᾳ κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἕως ἂν πάντα γένηται. That the law was to be deeply engraven in stone, symbolised, that it ought to be deeply engraven in the heart. That this meaning was understood under the Old Covenant, is shown by such passages as Prov. iii. 3; vii. 3, "Write them upon the table of thine heart," and particularly Jeremiah xvii. 1, "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, and with the point of a diamond; it is graven on the table of their hearts." The prophet here points to the striking contrast between the reality and the idea. The engraving of the law on the tables of stone denotes that it ought to be deeply engraven in the heart. But, as deeply as, according to the idea, the will of God ought to be seated in the heart, are seated there in reality self-will and sin.

Besides these more general grounds, special objections have been urged against the antiquity of those materials for writing, which would first of all occur to our thoughts. We must, therefore, notice these individually.

The preparation of paper from the leaves of the papyrus plant is extremely simple. It required no more art than that application of the same materials, though for a different purpose, which is mentioned in Exod. ii. 3. For placing this invention in a later age than the Mosaic, there is not the shadow of a reason.

VARRO's assertion in PLINY (*Hist. Nat.* xiii. 21), that it belonged to the age of Alexander, arose from confounding its invention with its later perfectionating, or perhaps a mere inexact designation of the latter, and is now universally acknowledged to be erroneous. HERODOTUS is sufficient for its contradiction, v. 58. CASSIUS HEMINA mentions a far older use of it in PLINY xxvii. The judicious ZOEGA remarks (p. 550), *Quo temporis intervallo cœperint Ægyptii scribere in plagulis ex papyri cortice compactis prorsus ignoratur, et operam perdere reor, qui conjectura id assequi tentantur.* "That the use of plants, for the preparation of papyrus in Egypt, was very ancient," Heeren remarks (p. 361), "although it is perhaps impossible to fix the exact date of the invention, can no longer be doubted, since the catacombs of Thebes have been found so full of papyrus rolls. They do not allow a doubt to remain, that Egyptian literature must have been much richer than would otherwise have been believed." SCHLOSSER says, "The invention of writing materials from a three-sided rush, which now is not frequently found, is very ancient" (i. p. 194). NITZSCH (p. 81, 82) regards the opinion of BÖTTIGER (*N. T. Merkur.* 1796), to whom our opponents appeal so confidently as a well-informed man (compare HARTMANN, p. 630), that the use of Egyptian paper first began in the second half of the seventh century, as now completely obsolete. It has been ascertained, that not the first preparation of it, but only the more extensive use of paper, belonged to the reign of Psammeticus.

The *byssus* (on the preparation of which, compare ROSSELLINI, ii. 1 p. 341) is expressly mentioned in Genesis; the then existing custom of embalming presupposes its existence: the garments of the priests, the covering of the tabernacle, were made of it. But now it is evident that the existence of a material such as byssus and its use for writing, in case, namely, there was no other more convenient material at hand, must fall together. This is shown, by the independent use of *libri lintei*, by different nations. HARTMANN alleges that VATER has not brought forward sufficient proof of the non-application of this material in the time of Moses. But how, in the world, could he bring sufficient proof for what has not the shadow of historical evidence in its favour? VATER was really too prudent (p. 529) to wish to prove that there was

no distinct ground *for* the use of byssus as a writing material in the Mosaic age. Certainly, express historical testimonies there are not for it, but as little are there any for the contrary. For our object, it is perfectly sufficient to point out the possibility and probability of the use, and that these exist, cannot be denied without absolute arbitrariness.

We come now to *the skins of beasts*. We would first set aside a false ground for the high antiquity of this material for writing, which has been adduced with great confidence (last of all, by HÄVERNICK, p. 281), and then bring forward the correct grounds. It is maintained that the Hebrew name of a book, כְּתוּבָה, originally denoted something scraped, and indeed the root in Aramaic is constantly used for rubbing off, or scraping off, the hair. Hence it is inferred, that with the use of writing the use of skins came into vogue as a writing material. We must here enter somewhat more deeply into the matter, since others have made use of the supposed primary meaning, *radere, scalpere*, to establish false results. Thus, for instance, WINER remarks—*notia primaria in radendo, scalpendo. Hinc sign, scripsit, quod antiqui homines in primaria scribendi simplicitate scalpebant literas in lapidibus, lateribus, plumbo, cortic. arborum*. This assertion must be proved in order to complete the deductions given in p. 446. HUG (p. 38) would also prove from כְּתוּבָה, that the oldest writing materials among the Hebrews were tablets, which were carefully smoothed by shaving and rubbing, and then covered with a kind of dough or putty. But if we examine the matter more accurately, it will appear that the term כְּתוּבָה relates, not to the writing material, but to the contents; and that illustrious scholar BUXTORF (*Lex. Chald.* p. 534) is correct in his remark, *liber ab enarrandis et recensendis rebus dictus*. The true fundamental meaning of כְּתוּבָה can only be that from which the manifold meanings of the word in all the Semetic dialects can be deduced in an easy, unforced manner. This will certainly be in vain attempted with the meaning *to scrape, to shear*, or specially, *to scrape off the hair*. On the other hand, let us take, as the fundamental meaning, *to make pure, bright, clear, ready, to arrange*, we obtain a unity, which includes in it the various derived meanings. Thus in Arabic, the meanings, *everrit domum, pulverem, abrasit, composuit rem dissidiumve inter duos, capistravit ca-*

melum; intrans. *illuxit emicuit aurora, retexit vultum mulier, aperto vultu conspicua, abiit ad iter* (properly, *to be ready*)

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 سفر *a file*, سفور *albedo, nitor, dies*; ستيير *decidua arboris folia; legatus, intermuntius, sequester, arbiter, qui dissidia inter homines componit, who sets things in order.* In Chaldee, *radere, tondere*; כפירא *ramentum abrasum, veluti pili ex collo et cauda equi.* In Hebrew, first, there is the word כפר, the name of a precious stone, *the pure, clear.* Then the verb in the sense to number, to count, which can only be derived from the meaning *raset, abraset*, by a very forced transition. Hence כפר, *numbering, then writing*; כפר not a writer, but one who has to do with writing, γραμματεύς. In Zabean, כפר means both *book and morning*, both having been taken from the common idea of *illumination.*

But we cannot regret the loss of this proof. We have at command a sufficient number of sound ones. The customariness of the artificial preparation of the skins of beasts in the Mosaic age is evident from the description of the tabernacle, where several kinds are mentioned, among others also the Morocco leather. The application of such skins to writing is shown in Num. v. 23. The priest was to write the curse against the adulteress in a book, and “wash it with the bitter water.” Here is a material implied, so firm, that it would not dissolve when dipped in water—a description that will not suit paper, from which the ink might be easily washed by water, which excludes the byssus; which might be termed כפר, whereby wood and such like materials are excluded, as they would be by the use of ink, since, in such materials, all traces of its application are wanting. The *modus scribendi*, as it is here implied, is that which is fully described in Jerem. xxxvi. 4–23. This is acknowledged by the Talmudists. In the Mishnah (v. WAGENSEIL’S *Sota*, p. 360), it is said “*non scripsit eam in tabula,* nec in papyro, nec in dephthera; sed in volumine q. s. e. in libro. Neque ad scribendum usus gummi, aut chalcantho, aut liquore quoquam vestigium aliquod relinquente, sed atramento q. s. e. et delebit; ergo innuitur scriptura delebilis.*” The expression *in volumine* is explained by a Jewish

* WAGENSEIL, “In tabula, lignea scil. Nam lignum lumores sorbet, et ita servat literarum ductus, ut penitus deleri nequeant.”

author, quoted by Wagenseil, *in convoluta membranula, facta ex animali puro, plane uti Pentateuchus describitur*. The correctness of the conclusion that is drawn from the passage itself is confirmed by later usage, which, in such things, is of great weight where the sacredness of the ceremony admits of no change. JOSEPHUS (Antiq. iii. 11 § 6) says, in describing the holy act, ἐπιγράφει μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν διφθέρα; and afterwards, τῆς διφθέρας ἀπαλείψας τὸ ὄνομα εἰς φιάλην ἐκπιέζει. The *non in dipthera* of the Mishnah, and the *in dipthera* of Josephus, offer only an apparent contradiction. In Rabbinical phraseology, *dipthera* denotes a skin only imperfectly prepared, not wholly converted into parchment. But if it be settled that there were, in the Mosaic age, skins artificially prepared, and that they were used for writing, their application for the Pentateuch is probable, because no other material is mentioned for writing down compositions of any considerable length. But if this was also the case, then we cannot but think that for a book designed for all periods of the nation, among all suitable materials the most durable would be chosen. The analogy of engraving the Ten Commandments on the tables of stone, favours this opinion.

If we look to other nations, the use of the skins of animals for writing is found to be extremely ancient. According to Diodorus ii. 32, the Persian annals were written on skins, from which Chæsius obtained his information. Their high antiquity among the Greeks is evident from the circumstance that a book of skins is attributed to Zeus, as in the verse of an unknown poet—ὁ Ζεὺς κατέειδε χρόνιος εἰς τὰς διφθέρας; and in the proverb ἀρχαιότερα τῆς διφθέρας λέγει. Compare the collections by WESSELING, on DIODORUS; HEMSTERHUS on POLLUX x. 57. SCHWEIGHAEUSER and BÄHR on HERODOTUS, ver. 58, a passage peculiarly important for our object. See above, p. 408, where it is given at length. The meaning is correctly determined by NITZSCH (p. 79) *apparet hoc illum dicere; sicut literæ etiam posteaquam a Phœniciis in formam Græcam abiissent, nomen tamen Φοινικῆια tenuerint, item byblos a Ionibus pelles vocari, utroque nomine e pristina rei conditione retento*. Herodotus says, that the Ionians, along with the alphabet, received also from the Phœnicians the writing material, skins, and by long use, the name of a book taken from the substance on which it was written, was so

firmly established, that it was employed afterwards when different materials were substituted. Since then, as we have already seen, the introduction of writing among the Greeks is traced as far back as the age of Moses, so also at that time the skins of animals must have been a common writing material among the Phœnicians.

It has been held by the Jews as an inviolable law, that the Pentateuch is only to be written on polished skins (WAGENSEIL, *Sota*, p. 369). This prohibition of every other substance must be accounted for, from the original use of this material, as long as no proof can be brought of the earlier use of any other. And especially since the original use of skins, for this purpose, is expressly maintained by Jewish tradition (see the passage in Wagenseil, p. 371); skins, and only skins, we find to be used for copies of the law, as far as we can go back in history. JOSEPHUS (*Antiq.* xii. 2 § 11) says of the manuscripts, made use of by the LXX., *καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν, αἷς ἐγγεγραμμένους εἶχον τοὺς νόμους χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν*. When Zecharia, in ch. v. 1-4 (see *Christologie* ii. p. 59), beheld a flying roll, as a symbol of the Divine judgments on the people of the covenant, evidently the form in which the Pentateuch at that time was written formed the basis of the vision. In the roll of the book, curses were contained. In Ezekiel ii. 9, 10, it is said, "And when I looked, behold a hand was sent unto me, and, lo, a roll of a book was therein. And he spread it before me, and it was written within and without (*i. e.* on both sides), and there was written therein (thereon) lamentations, and mourning, and woe." In ch. iii. 1-3, the prophet is required to eat this כְּתוּבָה, which he did. It was the heavenly original of the predictions of the prophets, written, like the Decalogue, with the finger of God. We venture also here to assume, with tolerable certainty, that the form of the Book of the Law, as then extant, served as the ground-work of this vision. But Ps. xl. 8, is of special importance. "In the roll (or volume) of the book, כְּתוּבָה כְּתוּבָה, it stands written of me." Hence it follows, not merely that there were at that time manuscripts of the Pentateuch on skins, but that there were no other; so that, in thinking of the Pentateuch, one naturally thought of a roll of a book.

Let us now turn to the reasons which have been alleged against this ancient use of skins. We shall very easily dispose of HART-

MANN'S objections, who remarks (p. 637), that we must not expect to find the preparation of skins practised in Egypt, since the Egyptians, who had such an extreme reverence for animals, would have reckoned it a crime to treat their hides as a tanner would; that merely touching them would have been a defilement to the priests, who attached the highest importance to cleanliness.

This objection is founded on the notion of the worship of animals in Egypt, which is totally unsupported by history. Of the larger domestic animals, the cow was the only one which was regarded as sacred; the worship of the bull Apis applied only to a single individual; oxen were used generally both for food and sacrifices. Of other domestic animals, it was only in certain districts (*νομοι*) that the sheep, in others the goat, was sacred (HEEREN, p. 150, 363). The accounts of the great cleanliness of the Egyptian priests (HEEREN p. 133) would only be relevant to the present subject, if the preparation of the skins were attributed to them. But the priests were no mechanics—these formed a peculiar caste, HEEREN (p. 140). Yet why need we enter into these details? In the original records which have been lately discovered in Upper Egypt, and made known to the public, the guild of tanners or carriers appears as one division of mechanics (BOECKH, *Erklärung einer Ägypt. Urkunde*. Berl. 1825, p. 25. HEEREN, p. 141). Now add to this, that all this *a priori* argumentation is contradicted by the use of skins, artificially prepared for the tabernacle, and equally by the results of the latest discoveries in Egyptian antiquities, which are thus summed up by SCHLOSSER (p. 195). "They dressed their leather as we do, and made shoes in a similar way. They pressed the leather into various forms, and ornamented their articles of leather with embossed figures; they made also a kind of Morocco. For this leather, and for articles in wood, stone, and copper, they invented a peculiar kind of varnish."

Nor will it give us more trouble to settle an objection started by VON BOHLEN (*Einleitung*, p. 43), that the name for *ink* that first occurs in Jeremiah is Persian, יָבֵן. Were it so, the thing itself might be much older, and the native name might be changed at a later period for a foreign one. But what reason is there for tracing the name to a Persian origin? The Persian *دویت*, *ink-stand*, is, like innumerable other words, taken from the Arabic

(GESENIUS, *Thes.* p. 335). Also the Arabic *دواة*, *inkstand*, is probably not original, but taken from the Aramaic. How, besides, comes it to pass, that, both in Arabic and Persian, only *inkstand*, and not *ink* (which must be the earlier word), bears a name akin to the Hebrew *יָדָה*? The Arabic name for *ink* is *حبر* (See SCHULTENS on *Hariri*, p. 156. On the Semetic etymology of *יָדָה*, see SCHULTENS, p. 148. WINER, *Lex. s. v.* *ידה*).

The statements of HUG (p. 34), that are opposed to our view, require a more careful examination, especially since they have been received as correct, without examination, by later writers—as by HITZIG, *Jes.* ch. xxxiv. p. 395; MOVERS, *Zeitschrift f. Philos. u. kath. Theol.* Hft. xiii. p. 88; and by VON BOHLEN.

According to HUG, wooden tablets, covered with wax, were the only writing material, which was used by the Hebrews to the time of the Babylonish captivity. Jeremiah first brought into use, among his nation, ink and rolls of skin, that had been hitherto unknown.

The proof for such a statement must be very stringent, if we can bring ourselves to receive it. A people that has had a literature, and that a sacred one, will not be satisfied for centuries with so poor and easily destructible a material. From all history, HUG can bring only one example of the application of this material for the preparation of a whole book, namely, the account of DIOGENES LAERTIUS, that, according to the assertion of several persons, Philip the Opuntian had transcribed Plato's work on the laws from the wax tablets on which they were originally written. But this very passage shows that the strictly literary use of wax tablets was quite uncommon. At that time they served only to receive an author's thoughts, as he produced them; and that at an earlier period they had a more extensive use, has indeed been asserted, but not proved.

HUG's method of proof is twofold. He attempts, *first*, to prove that not skins, but, *secondly*, that wax tablets were in use. In reference to the first, his chief argument is the following. The method of writing on the *megille* with ink, was, in the days of Jeremiah, so novel, that the courtiers asked Baruch (Jerem. xxxvi. 17, 18), how he had done it, although it was among people who were acquainted with reading, and had not then seen a book for the

first time. But Jeremiah had something else to do than to invent new writing materials, and the princes were certainly not in the humour to be curious about a fresh contrivance for writing. They were deeply affected by what they had heard, "Now it came to pass when they heard all the words, they were afraid, both one and other," ver. 16. But had they put so absurd a question, (not less absurd than if a malefactor condemned to death, on the arrival of the order for his execution, should be very eager to know on what sort of paper it was written), the reader would have evaded a reply as not belonging to the subject. That the question could not have had the meaning attributed to it by HUG, is plain from ver. 23, according to which the king (not as several understood it, *Jehudi*; compare, on the other hand, VENEMA, p. 885) cut the book in pieces with *the pen-knife*, בַּחֲזֵר הַכֶּסֶף. Pen-knife, reed-pen, ink, and skin, appertain to one another. The king, therefore, was in possession of the same contrivance for writing which Jeremiah had, and this could not be unknown to his nobles. The question manifestly, as especially the connection with ver. 16 shows, does not turn upon something of which those who put it were quite ignorant, but is the expression of awe-struck and alarmed astonishment; the sum and substance of what was written appeared to them so appalling that they hardly knew where they were—they could not trust their own eyes. "Tell us now, how didst thou write all these words at his mouth?" as if they had said, "How is it possible that thou couldst write, how couldst thou accomplish such a gigantic task?"

The positive grounds already adduced for the early use of skins in writing, HUG has altogether passed over in silence. The only difficulty which he thinks it needful to obviate is the passage in Is. xxxiv. 4, "And the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll," וְנִגְלִי בַסֶּפֶר הַשָּׁמַיִם. Here he knows not how to help himself except by an alteration in the text; and proposes to read נִגְלִי, from נָגַל which must mean, *to rub off*, (in the way mentioned). Thus the beautiful image is totally destroyed, the meaning of which VITRINGA has admirably developed; *ut autem libri h. e. volumina (qualia erant veterum Hebræorum) in longum expansa, circa teres aliquod lignum convoluta, videntur veluti disparere; sic coelum, ubi coorta tempestate contrahitur in nubes et atrorem. Quidquid in eo pulchrum distinctumque*

nitet, ejusmodi in casu totum disparet. HITZIG leaves this conjecture to its author, and infers from the mention of the rolling up of a book, that this chapter was not written by Isaiah! Here is criticism with a vengeance!

As to the second point in Hug's method of proof, we meet it confidently with the two-fold assertion—1. That not the least trace can be found that the Hebrews made use in writing of wax tablets; and, 2. That tablets serve where they are used, not as materials for larger written documents, for the preparation of books, but are only a material for *monumenta publica*; they do not exclude the use of other materials, but rather imply it.

The only passage on which HUG grounds the use of wax tablets, is Is. viii. 1, "Take thee a great tablet (יָזֵבֶה) and write in it with a man's style." The mention of the style implies the covering of the tablet with a whitish substance, in which the characters were engraved with a pencil or style. But nothing can be inferred here from the mention of the style, since טָרָף here, as the word annexed טָרָף shows, stands for *kind of writing, characters*. And then, how can it be shown that טָרָף means exclusively an instrument for engraving in soft materials, and not also in hard ones? But if so, the employment of wax tablets is inadmissible. The subject here is the preparation of a public memorial. For the same reason that the characters were required to be large they were also to be enduring. Both were demanded by the symbolical character of the act.

For the employment of tablets generally, for writing of greater length of the passages where it has been thought they were intended, only two or three can be adduced with any plausibility. First of all, Psalm xlv. 2, (1) "My tongue is the pen of a ready writer." According to this, it seems the style, and, therefore, tablets were used in common life for writing. But we have no ground for admitting that טָרָף originally meant a style: the LXX. render it in several passages by *γραφίς, γραφείον, κάλαμος, σχοῖνος*; in Job xix. 24, its meaning is determined more exactly by the addition of יָזֵבֶה. But allowing that it had originally this special meaning, yet it might, at a later period, be used in a more general sense as we now-a-days speak of steel-pens. By these remarks also, the second passage is settled. Jerem. viii. 8, "How do ye say, We are wise and the law of the Lord is with us; lo,

certainly, the false pen of the scribes worketh for falsehood,"* from which HUG would infer that, specially, the Pentateuch was written on tablets. The third passage is Is. xxx. 8. Isaiah, HUG remarks, here receives the command, "Write it on a tablet, and engrave it in a book," as if both were equivalent. But is it so? VITRINGA maintains the contrary. *Tabularum usus erat et adhucdum esse solet in his, quae plebi ad legendum publice exponebantur; cujus exemplum ab ipso deo petitum, qui legem decem verborum lapideis tabulis insculpserat, habes apud Habacucum. Estque id ipsum, quod deus hic in mandatis dat prophetae, ut convictoriam suam orationem scriberit super tabulam quae esset ante oculos Judaeorum publice exponenda. Verum simul mandat vati, ut eundem elenchum accurate exararet, sive stylo perfecte efformaret et clare exprimeret (פָּתַח) in libro, sive volumine membranaceo, in usum posteritatis.* Yet certainly the verb פָּתַח, *to engrave*, is against the distinction, the meaning of which adopted by VITRINGA is one not proved. But yet nothing can be inferred from the passage, for the writing of whole books on tablets. We have already shown that the word סֵפֶר may denote any, the smallest written composition; that it does not mean a book simply as such (p. 488). It is used for a mere inscription on a public monument in a parallel passage that bears a remarkable similarity to this, Job xix. 23. Moreover, the passage before us shows very plainly that tablets were by no means the common writing material, that only that was written upon them for which the lapidary style was suitable. The object of writing or engraving on a tablet is expressly stated in the words, "that it may be for the time to come, for ever and ever." The main point of the command, therefore, is the durability and unchangeableness of the Divine words communicated to the prophet; an external performance is not here intended, the drapery is taken from the tables of the law; (*Praestat Jesaias hic rursus alterum Mosen, &c. VITRINGA*), in which the outward performance had indeed taken place; the image had been embodied in a symbolical act.

* Here is an instance of the *decurtata comparatio*, which is of such frequent occurrence, outwardly right and inwardly false, which is tantamount to being outwardly false. The law, in the hands of such persons lost its genuine character, and became quite another thing. This puts an end to Vatke's strange misrepresentation (p. 512.)

In the remaining passages, when tablets are mentioned as writing materials, the applicability of our view is quite obvious. Thus in Jerem. xvii. 1, "The sin of Judah is written with a pen of iron, it is graven with a steel point on the table of their hearts." The writing of the law of God on the tables of stone signified that it was to be written deeply in the heart. The fact mentioned by the prophet stood in sharp contradiction to the idea. As deeply as the law ought to have been seated in their hearts, was sin actually seated. The special reference to the Decalogue will be more distinctly seen if we compare the expression with Prov. iii. 3 ; vii. 3, "Write them (God's commandments) on the table of thine heart ;" Hab. ii. 2, "Write the vision, and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it." The command to commit the vision to writing, must be only intended to signify the high importance of the prophecy, and the necessity, arising from that importance, of its being made accessible to the whole nation. The command is no more to be interpreted literally, than the injunction to Daniel in ch. xii. 4, to close his prophecies and seal them up. The form is borrowed from Deut. xxvii. 8, "And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law very plainly."

Thus it has been proved, that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch stands in beautiful harmony with the history of the art of writing. We have only a few remarks to add.

1. The taste for historical truth stands in so close a connection with the knowledge and spread of the art of writing, that it is not found at all among even those nations who have a talent for it, where the latter is wanting. The Arabians before Mohammed are an example quite in point, in reference to whom DE SACY observes, *Tout ce, que nous connoissons de leur histoire, doit etre rangé parmi les traditions orales, et présente par-tout ce défaut d'ensemble, d'ordre de chronologie, ce melange de fables et de merveilleux, qui caractérisent l'époque, où les nations n'ont pour historiens, que des poètes, et pour archives, que la mémoire des generations, qui se succèdent* (p. 349). But now the Pentateuch, according to the unanimous judgment of men versed in this department of literature—the historians—has a genuine historical character, and, to a certain extent, this has been

allowed by even prejudiced theologians, far more in praxis than in principle, which plainly shows how strongly this character is impressed upon it. It has been attempted to account for this historical character by assuming that the use of writing was unknown in the Mosaic age, and that it was not introduced among the Israelites till some centuries later.

2. The very extensive use of writing, considered in relation to the progress of cultivation among the Hebrews, in the age succeeding that of Moses, implies the existence of a written law. Other assignable causes do not suffice to explain the fact, which receives a strong corroboration from Judges viii. 14, "And Gideon caught a young man of the men of Succoth, and enquired of him, and he wrote unto him (וַיִּכְתֹּב אֵלָיו) the princes of Succoth, and the elders thereof, even threescore and seventeen men." Only observe that a youth in the country beyond Jordan, the grazing district of Palestine, where all mental culture was in a state of decay, without difficulty could write down so long a catalogue.* Compare also Isaiah x. 19, "And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, so that a child may write them." 2 Sam. xi. has been quoted as evidence against the spread of the art of writing, because Joab sends a verbal answer to David's letter. But we cannot impute this act of Joab to his total want of literary culture, since at all events he could read what was written. That he could not write without difficulty, though we are told so, we might naturally expect would be the case. He was not a man of the pen,—a hero of the middle ages would have done just the same. That all public and judicial proceedings were written, appears from Isaiah x. 1.

3. The inclination for authorship on religious subjects, which

* After reading this passage, HOFFMANN's assertion (Hebr. Alterth. p. 571) "Common people hardly knew how to write; a shepherd or a ploughman never thought of it," appears manifestly false. Properly speaking it is only an *a priori* attempt to support the notion of the spuriousness of the law, which, since this assumption has no support from history, must be given up. Only a written revelation can insure reading and writing among the common people. Even the modern compulsory education shows itself to be insufficient. With compulsion the thing ceases, since it is pursued with no free interest. It is a fact that, notwithstanding the accumulation and strictness of the latest school arrangements, the expertness in reading and writing among the lower classes is diminished in an equal degree with the neglect of the written Revelation. The preacher GLOEL gives proofs drawn from experience, in a publication that appeared during the controversy at Halle, which I have not just now at hand.

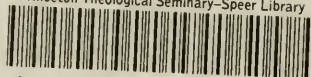
we find among the Hebrews in the times subsequent to Moses—the fact that every prophet who was conscious that he had received a revelation, of which the importance extended beyond the immediate present, forthwith committed it to writing; and that there was an earnest endeavour to record the Sacred History, as soon as any part of it came to conclusion, implies the existence of a sacred model.

4. The hypothesis, that the law was first committed to writing about the time of the captivity, appears perfectly absurd, if we bear in mind the employment of the art of writing in civil life, and the high importance which was attached to the laws. Especially, if we further consider, that the mistrust in the competency of oral tradition, is sufficiently evinced by the diligence with which the prophets immediately proceeded to record their revelations, and by the not unfrequent instances in which they mention their having received a special injunction to do so, in order that the Divine communications might be handed down to posterity unadulterated.



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