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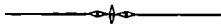
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those upon whom its most sacred obligations lie. Those who treated this and cognate themes at the Norwich Church Congress knew what they were saying. Men like Mr. San-croft Holmes, Mr. Clare Sewell Reade, the Hon. E. Thesiger, Chancellor Blofield, and Mr. Gurdon, brought to the treatment of the subject knowledge, experience, legal learning, and sympathy. All that is needed now is initiation.

The curtain has fallen on the Church Congress of 1895. Nearly all of those who took part in it "have gone away unto their own homes." There has been diversity of opinion, un-reserved utterance in debate, and solidity of treatment by those to whom papers were committed. Various estimates will be made of the practical outcome of the gathering. It does not lie, happily, with the writer of this article to appraise the great symposium of the Church. This, however, he can and he will dare to say. Never in the history of the Anglican Church was there a nobler sphere before her. Never was it so important that all schools should address their highest and their holiest energies to work, studious, pastoral, homiletical. Never were men readier to hear, if the speaker has aught intelligent and reasonable to enounce. We are passing through a silent revolution, and whatever school of thought in the Church has wisdom to know the times and to take occasion by the hand, will win to God and His Christ the thousands who are now estranged from the Anglican society, now unwon by either Roman Catholicism or Nonconformity, but who can be brought in by that primitive Christianity, ante-Nicene, and yet Nicene; anti-Roman, and yet Scripturally Roman; and which was formulated by hands, some of which were reddened in fire, after they had given to England the matchless liturgy we dearly love and the Articles of Faith, as a Churchman's soundest body of divinity.

W. LEFROY, D.D.



ART. II.—THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE PENTATEUCH.

NO. I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE quiet, believing student of Scripture has been much exercised by the so-called "Higher Criticism," which professes to be able to separate the Pentateuch into three or four distinct portions, written at periods extending over some four centuries and a half.¹ Fragments of various narratives, it

¹ It may perhaps be advisable to define the expression "Higher Criticism." It does not mean, as some may have supposed, that de-

is supposed, were pieced together in a somewhat peculiar way by an editor, or, as he is called, a "redactor," so as to form the so-called Five Books of Moses, as we now have them. This theory of the origin of the Pentateuch would be a matter of comparatively little consequence in itself; but when it involves the conclusion that the history as it stands is seriously incorrect in its statements, and has been deliberately falsified in order to support those statements, it becomes a vital question how far we can attribute inspiration to it in any shape, however elevated may be its sentiments and admirable its religious teaching. The history of Israel in its present form declares repeatedly that Moses gave the religious and political institutions contained in the books which bear his name to the Israelites in the wilderness, before they had set foot in the promised land, and that the reverses of Israel, and the ultimate destruction of the Israelitish polity, were due to their disobedience to "statutes and judgments" given them by Moses from God before their national existence could be said to have commenced. But if the "Higher Criticism" be correct, those statements are false—and not only are they false, but they are *deliberately* false. It matters not under what phrases we conceal this statement. We may say that the history was "worked over" by the Deuteronomist or the priestly writer if we please; but however excellent the purpose of the persons who thus perverted the truth may have been, they certainly, if the modern critical school be correct, have strangely and even wilfully misstated facts. For the institutions in question were not delivered, we are now given to understand, to the Israelites at all. The Book of Deuteronomy was given, not to the Israelites, but to the Jews, about the reign of Josiah. During the captivity Ezekiel did his best to give shape to Jewish institutions, and his efforts resulted in the establishment of a religious and secular polity among the Jews for the first time after the Babylonish captivity. And if it be shown, as it can be shown and has been shown, that some of these institutions were demonstrably in existence before the periods assigned for their origin, we are met by the statement that, although the Jewish institutions owe their origin to Ezekiel, yet, nevertheless, many of them were no doubt of considerable antiquity, and were embodied in their religious and political code by the authors of the Pentateuch as it has come down to us.

The confidence with which these conclusions, vague and

structive criticism is essentially superior to conservative criticism. The lower criticism has generally been supposed to be that of the *text*; the higher that of the *subject-matter*.

indefinite as they unquestionably are, have been presented to the world, and their acceptance by a considerable number of experts, have not a little staggered those who have been accustomed to regard their Bible as containing a true history. But to say nothing of the shock given to faith, sufficient attention has hardly been given to the fact that, on the hypothesis we have mentioned, it is impossible any longer to teach Jewish history at all. For the present, at least, it has been reduced to chaos. It is probable, we are told, though not apparently quite certain, that Moses gave Israel the Ten Commandments. The "Book of Covenants," composing Exod. xx. to xxiii., may also be of Mosaic origin, but the rest is centuries later. Therefore, when we further proceed to ask under what institutions, religious and political, Israel actually lived down to the reign of Josiah, we have, on these principles, absolutely no trustworthy information whatever. All we know is that we cannot believe the statements of our authorities. If an allusion is made to an institution, or a custom, or to an historical fact (such, for instance, as the existence of the Tabernacle or the Ark), we cannot be sure whether it is a genuine allusion, or whether it is an instance of the "working over," or the "setting," or whatever it may be called, of some later writer, who is anxious to make us believe that the regulations he desires to enforce were much older than they really are. Thus, on modern critical principles, we have no history whatever of Israelite, and no definite account even of Jewish institutions till the reign of Josiah. All the information we have is negative. We know that neither the tabernacle nor Solomon's temple was ever the centre of worship for a united people. We know that all the allusions to Israelite institutions in the Psalms are mistakes or misstatements. We know that "Jeroboam, the son of Nebat," did not make, and could not have "made, Israel to sin"; and that all the accounts of the law and worship of the Jews down to the reign of Josiah which have come down to us are an undistinguishable *mélange* of fact and fable. The study of the Old Testament, and the use in our public devotions of the Psalms, may still, under these circumstances, be very edifying occupations. But few will be found to deny that they have become a little indefinite and perplexing.

It may, therefore, be useful if we invite the believing inquirer to go over the grounds on which this theory is offered to our acceptance, and then endeavour to find out how far the critical examination of the contents of the Pentateuch tends to bear out, and how far to controvert it. It is needless to enter minutely into the history of Old Testament criticism. It is sufficient to say that at a date very soon after the Reformation

men began to see that there were traces of a later editing of, or at least of additions of a later date to, the Pentateuch. Astruc, a French critic, who wrote nearly a century and a half ago, imagined he had found the key to the authorship of Genesis in the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim by two writers whose compositions, with those of other authors, were embodied in the present Book of Genesis. This hypothesis was extended by other critics to the other books of the Pentateuch, though the use of the names Jehovah and Elohim was no longer considered, in the latter four books, to be a sign of distinct authorship, a point which was supposed to be determined by other *criteria*. By degrees, however, it was found that the Jehovistic and Elohist narratives were so dovetailed into one another, and presented so many similarities of style, that there must have been *two* Elohist—the one approximating very closely to the Jehovist, and the other a writer of mere bald details, who must be supposed to have been an early chronicler, whose narrative was ultimately expanded into the story as we now have it in the five books attributed to Moses. This theory was built on the well-known truth that the earlier history of most countries was written in the form of brief chronicles, consisting of nothing beyond the recital of the barest facts. When historical criticism came to be added to literary, however, to use Wellhausen's language, it was found that this explanation of the phenomena would not hold good. The bald details of one of the two Elohist must be held to have come last, not first. And the Law of Moses, as it has been handed down, was mainly drawn up by the "Elohist" author of the bald narrative to which reference has been made; while English Higher Criticism at least admits that the matter of the other Elohist is so closely connected in style and matter with that of the Jehovist, that they cannot be considered as separate writings, but must have been fused together at no great distance of time after their composition. The documents, therefore, of the Pentateuch are mainly these: (1) A Jehovistic and (2) an Elohist writing of about the ninth century B.C., and fused together about a century later, (3) a Deuteronomistic writing of the reign of Hezekiah or Manasseh, about B.C. 700, which it is contended is the writing which was discovered in the temple by Hilkiah in the reign of Josiah, and which is to a great extent based on the two works just mentioned (B.C. 624). To these (4) must be added a document drawn up by the disciples of Ezekiel after the return from the captivity, being the work of the other Elohist already referred to. These four writings were used as the basis of the work of the final editor or redactor, who took bodily out of the narra-

tives lying before him such portions as he pleased, frequently interrupting the course of his excerpts from one by excerpts from the other, sometimes even in the middle of a sentence. The reasons for this strange proceeding on his part of embodying in the course of a coherent narrative extracts from another narrative which is said to be not in entire agreement with it, and which sometimes is asserted to be in direct conflict with it, appear somewhat difficult to comprehend. At all events, no satisfactory explanation of so singular a phenomenon has yet been given. It seems, therefore, extremely doubtful whether such a peculiarly unskilful and unsatisfactory mode of compilation was ever resorted to at all.¹

One or two remarks may be made on the brief history of Old Testament criticism which has just been given. First of all it is to be remarked that the Jehovist and Elohist theory has broken down. In other words, we cannot look upon the use of the words Jehovah and Elohim as indicating an extract from two different authors. For (1) the Jehovistic narrative cannot, it is confessed by the critics themselves, be altogether disentangled from that of one of the Elohist; and (2) the other Elohist becomes a Jehovist after the narrative in Exod. iii. to vi. Next, the bare compilation theory has been given up, for it is now admitted that the Elohist and the Jehovistic document were not copied as they stand, but were to a considerable extent rewritten. Next, we are told that

¹ Professor Sanday, in his "Bampton Lectures," declines to commit himself to the theory of the higher critics, but thinks that on the whole they have the "stronger case." He does not enter into the consideration of the very serious difficulties involved in that case, and even regards with no disfavour the idea that the very definite and coherent political, moral, and religious system of the Jews was compiled, as Professor Cornill has supposed, from a number of detached documents of various periods, and by various writers, and presented to the world as the institutions of the Israelitish people from the commencement. The case of the critics would certainly be a good deal stronger if they could point to the institutions of any other nation which have been handed down in this most extraordinary fashion, or if they would explain how institutions which came into existence after the destruction of a national polity could possibly have moulded the history of the nation—and *such* a nation—before they had come into being; for either the laws in the Pentateuch *were* the ancient institutions of the Israelites—in which case they were in existence long before the exile, a position which the critics deny—or else they were not the institutions of the Israelites, in which case the unique phenomena of the Jewish national character and history are absolutely without a rational explanation. To avoid misconception, it may be necessary to add that it is not denied, that, in fact, it would be absurd to deny, that laws have been reduced into codes. What is denied is that any such code—the *Code Napoléon*, for instance—has ever been represented or believed to have been in existence some eight or ten centuries before it was drawn up.

the narrative of the Deuteronomist or Deuteronomists (for it is generally supposed that there are more than one) is based on that of the Jehovist and Elohist after they were fused together. But it is interesting to notice how this is supposed to be proved. It is sufficiently extraordinary on all rational principles of investigation. *Every passage to which reference is made in Deuteronomy is first of all carefully separated from the rest of the narrative in Exodus and Numbers, and attributed to the fused Elohist and Jehovist (generally known as JE), and then it is supposed to have been "conclusively proved," to use a favourite expression with the critics, that Deuteronomy is based on JE alone, while P (the work of the other Elohist, attributed to a priestly author after the exile)¹ is altogether unknown to the author of Deuteronomy.* It is necessary to lay great stress on this point, for the structure with which criticism presents us is so intricate and involved, so like a Chinese puzzle, that most people, it is to be feared, take no sufficient pains to penetrate its intricacies, and are content to be captivated by its ingenuity, and the boldness, not to say audacity, with which it is promulgated. It is, therefore, most important to note that in this theory of the dependence of Deuteronomy on JE to the exclusion of P, the critics have first of all assumed what they wanted to prove, and then on this assumption have triumphantly proved it. They have attributed to a different author all that part of the narrative which is inconsistent with their theory, and then have proceeded to represent their theory as established. I once saw, a good many years ago, a Euclid paper written by a small boy, in which the following imposing demonstration appeared: "Because the parallelogram ABCD is equal to the parallelogram EFGH, therefore they are on equal bases, BC and FG. And they are between the same parallels. And therefore the parallelogram ABCD is equal to the parallelogram EFGH." This magnificent piece of reasoning on the part of the youthful logician will be found upon examination to present an exact parallel to the demonstration by which the contents of Deuteronomy are shown to be based on the narrative of JE. "Because the contents of Deuteronomy are based on JE, therefore those portions, and those portions only, of the narrative of Exodus and Numbers which are referred to in Deuteronomy can be contained in JE. And therefore the narrative of Deuteronomy is based on that of JE." This, as may easily be seen, is no caricature of the reasoning of the critics. Take, for instance, the history of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in Numb. xvi. 1. In Deut. xi. 6

¹ One or more priestly authors, according to some critics.

Dathan and Abiram only are mentioned, as was natural in a book addressed, not to the priestly caste, but to the nation at large. Therefore every single passage in Numb. xvi. relating to Korah is separated from the rest of the narrative by the modern critic and assigned to P. The rest is stated to be the original narrative of JE. In order to understand what assumptions are required to establish this conclusion, it is necessary to subjoin the analysis of the chapter. Half of the first verse, we are told, forms part of P; the other half and half of the second verse belongs to JE. From the words, "with certain of the children of Israel," to the end of verse 11 is from P. Verses 12-16 are from JE. Verses 17-24 are from P; but here, as in the former passage taken from P, there appear, it is said, to be "more than one *stratum* in the narrative." Verses 25-34 are from JE, save that the first half of v. 27 and the second half of v. 32 are cut out and assigned to P. The rest of the chapter is from P; but again there is "more than one *stratum*" in the narrative. Of all this there is *absolutely no demonstration* whatever. It is simply assertion, except so far as Professor Driver has endeavoured to contend, that a narrative of a political combination such as that of the ecclesiastical faction of Korah with the secular faction of Dathan and Abiram is antecedently incredible. But in this case we must disbelieve all the political intelligence which reaches us in our daily newspapers. Professor Robertson Smith has, therefore, the wisdom to see and the candour to admit that this assumption will not do. So he falls back on what on the whole is safer, the policy of simple assertion.¹ But when all these large assumptions are granted, the course of demonstration proceeds merrily enough. Professor Driver, when he has struck out three-fourths of Numb. xvi. from the narrative, proceeds with not a little *naïveté* to observe ("Introduction," p. 76) that there is "a constant absence of any reference to P in Deuteronomy." "*Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*" And so we naturally enough come to the conclusion (the italics are his) that "when Deuteronomy was composed *JE*

¹ See "Old Testament in the Jewish Church," p. 403, last Ed. "This, of course, proves nothing by itself, for modern as well as ancient history is full of examples of the union of distinct political parties against a common antagonist." He considers it, however, "curious," why, he does not say, that Korah and his people are "separate from Dathan and Abiram, not only in their aims, but in their action and in their doom." The circumstance, however, that it is "curious" does not prevent it from being authentic history. We read of a good many "curious" facts, which are facts nevertheless. The joint action of the Anti-Parnellites and Parnellites, for instance, in the present Parliament presents us with a striking parallel to that of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and it is in many ways far more "curious" than the facts related in the Pentateuch.

and P were not yet united into a single work, and JE alone formed the basis of P." It must be observed that whether these critical guesses be true or false, they have no more claim whatever to be regarded as such than that of my young friend, which I have mentioned above. The higher critics are evidently no mathematicians, for otherwise they would have learned that assuming the propositions which you are bound to prove will enable you to prove anything you wish, and that this is just the sort of blunder which the tyro in mathematics is especially cautioned to avoid.

Another point should not be allowed to escape us. It is frequently supposed that the question is one for Hebrew experts alone, and that all who are not Hebraists must bow to their decision. And if the theories of the critics depended upon their capacity for distinguishing pre-exilic from post-exilic Hebrew—if, that is, the pre-exilic Hebrew of JE had been embodied by the redactor in the same book as the post-exilic Hebrew of the author of P, it would unquestionably be a question for experts alone. But it is frankly admitted that the *style of the Pentateuch contains no traces of post-exilic diction*. In other words, not only are the critics compelled to admit that the author of the supposed "priestly code" is more of a compiler of laws than of a legislator—that is to say, that the majority of the laws he hands down to us are *not* post-exilic after all; *but in the very language he uses* he has projected himself some centuries back, and writes the pure Hebrew of the days anterior to the captivity. This must be admitted to be a singular fact, and one which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. That it *is* a fact will appear from the following considerations. Up to the time of Graf, whose labours have been popularized among ourselves by Wellhausen and Kuenen, the so-called "priestly code" was regarded as the earliest, not the latest, of the various portions into which the Pentateuch is divided. Even Dillmann, a recent critic, whose pretensions to be a scholar are admitted by the critics themselves, thinks the "priestly code" to have been written, though not published, *before* the rest of the Pentateuch. No question of a linguistic character has, in fact, been raised in regard to the style of the Pentateuch, save an attempt, which will be more fully discussed in subsequent papers, to assign to him certain phrases and terms of expression found in the books of Moses. There is *absolutely no* "stylistic" (to use an awkward, but almost necessary, word) difference between the parts of the Pentateuch assigned to the supposed writer of the days, possibly, of Jehoshaphat,¹ and the

¹ The date of J and E, and that of their subsequent compilation, has been left extremely indefinite by the critics.

supposed writer of the days subsequent—how long subsequent no one appears at present prepared to say—to the return from captivity. Under these circumstances it might have been supposed that the critics would have been inclined to state their conclusions with a certain amount of reserve. When they are obliged to confess that they do not exactly know when J and E were written, or whether they were originally separate compositions at all; when they are unable to tell us from what sources J and E were derived, or whether they had any source beyond unwritten Israelite tradition; when they cannot tell us under what institutions Israel lived in the days of the Judges, Saul, or David; when they are ignorant how much of the “priestly code” is a codification of pre-exilic laws, and how much is the creation of the post-exilic period to which they assign it; when they are compelled to confess that the “priestly code,” though written by post-exilic hands, was written in a pre-exilic style; when, as I have proved in the pages of this magazine, there is scarcely one of the laws contained in the Pentateuch, however minute, which does not find some mention in the history of Israel—one would think they might be willing to admit that their theory was still at least *sub judice*. But no. The oracle has spoken, and in no dubious tone. “Scholars are agreed.” If anyone does not agree, he is not a scholar. And from this sentence there can be no appeal.

It will be my attempt, nevertheless, as one who is not a “scholar” in this sense of the word, and does not even profess to be one, to examine these theories critically, and see what claims they have on our acceptance. For we are told that to such a pitch of perfection has the science of criticism been brought—in spite of its absolute failure, as I have just shown, to interpret the history with which it deals—that it can infallibly tell, not only to a sentence or two, but to a verse or part of a verse, to which of the various authors from whom the compilation is made up any particular passage is to be assigned; and this though the compiler does not take bodily any particular passage from any one author, but dovetails their narratives into one another in the strangest and most complicated fashion. Thus, for instance, in the narrative of the flood in Gen. vii., verses 1-5 were written by J (the Jehovist), 6-9 by P (the author of the “priestly code”), 10 by J, 11 by P, 12 by J, 13 to the first part of 16 by P, the last part of 16 and 17 by J, 18-21 by P, 22 and 23 by J, and 24 by P. Unsophisticated persons might imagine that these propositions involved some very disputable points. Not in the least. It is all settled. No “scholar” doubts it, and therefore the faithful have no option but to accept it. And

the analysis of Gen. vi., which is established upon critical canons which admit of no dispute, is a very fair example of the way in which the rest of the Pentateuch is treated.

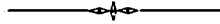
It is somewhat singular that scholars of repute, such as Mr. Rendel Harris, in an article of a conservative tone on New Testament criticism in the *Contemporary Review* for August, should appear to throw their *ægis* over some modern critical theories on points of this kind. It is perfectly true, no doubt, as Mr. Harris says, that the Oriental was in no way nice about what we call plagiarism, but was accustomed to embody in his work any documents which suited him. And he instances the embodiment of the "Apology of Aristides" in the dialogue between Barlaham and Josaphat. But then it was the Oriental custom to embody these documents *as a whole*. No instance has as yet been produced of a mosaic such as that which, on the critical theory, confronts us in the Pentateuch. The author of Chronicles embodies large portions of Kings in his later work. But, as I may claim to have shown in "Lex Mosaica," on no occasion is he found to piece together two different, and at times inconsistent, narratives into one incoherent and ill-fitting whole. No one has ever attempted to explain for what reasons the redactor of Israelite early literature oscillated backwards and forwards between one narrative and the other, when it would have been far easier for him, far less bewildering for his readers, and far more rational altogether, to follow one or other of the narratives to the end of each particular section of his story. We have no right, it would seem, to ask *why* the redactor took such a strange mode of compiling his history. It is sufficient for us to be told that it *is* so. And yet English critics have hitherto been unable to separate with certainty the work of Beaumont from that of Fletcher, or that of Dickens from that of Wilkie Collins,¹ even in their own language. It should surely be harder to perform the task in a language which is not our own, especially when we have no other extant works of the supposed authors to guide us in our task. Dean Milman, no mean judge, and no conventionally "orthodox" divine, has declared that the task the critics have set themselves is one impossible of accomplishment; and as for the particular phrases which have been separated from the rest, and arbitrarily assigned to the author of the "priestly code," they may just as easily be characteristic of the writer of the Pentateuch as a whole. We shall see later on that the latter is far the more probable theory of the two.

¹ Or, as Professor Sayce has said in the *Contemporary Review*, Besant from Rice.

The object of these papers is, as has been said, to subject the whole critical theory to somewhat minute examination. And if it should appear that, however carefully it has been elaborated to escape objection, it has left a large number of gaps yet open through which objectors may enter; if it shall be shown that, while laying stress on asserted differences of style, it has entirely ignored a large number of indications of common authorship; if we can prove that, in spite of the extraordinary industry and ingenuity with which the theory has been constructed, yet P presupposes JE, and even JE presupposes P in too many places to allow of their being independent narratives—we shall at least have furnished the ordinary reader of the Old Testament who reverences the Word of God, and does not readily part with his belief in its fidelity to fact, with an additional reason or two for doubting whether the critics are as infallible as they would have us believe.¹

J. J. LIAS.

(*To be continued.*)



ART. III.—THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

THE advent to power of a strong Unionist Government, with a majority of 152, has led to a very general expectation on the part of the friends of Voluntary Schools that some earnest effort will be made in the coming or some early session, to relieve the financial difficulties under which in many parts of England those schools are suffering. In considering what forms of relief are probable, or even possible, several considerations should be borne in mind. To mention three:

I. With the income-tax already standing at 8d. in the £—a figure suggestive of a time of war rather than of a time of peace—with the land already overburdened with imperial taxation, and local rates thrown upon it, landowners and farmers crying out for relief, and not unreasonably expecting it, it is difficult to see from what sources aid, which would necessitate considerable increased taxation, or a large addition to local rates, will be forthcoming. If strikes and lock-outs do not check the revival of trade, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have a fairly good surplus; but the agricultural interest and the friends of secondary education will claim to share

¹ It is perhaps necessary to remark that when this paper and the next were written the writer had not seen Professor Sayce's paper in the *Contemporary Review* for October last.