

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

Les Livres de Samuel. By Father PAUL DHORME. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1910.)

DR DHORME'S book belongs to the valuable series of 'Biblical Studies' by the various professors of the École Biblique de S. Étienne, at Jerusalem. It provides a translation with notes on the text and subject-matter, and short discussions of the literary and historical questions. Owing to the imperfect condition of the Hebrew, the textual notes naturally take up the greater amount of the space, and in these and elsewhere the author shews himself thoroughly acquainted with the leading Roman Catholic commentators and with modern critical research. The use which he often makes of the results of Assyriology—a field in which he has done good work—and his independence of judgement make the commentary a very welcome one. Perhaps the most instructive feature is the treatment of the literary analysis. Dr Dhorme recognizes a compilation of J and E (not necessarily the sources of the Hexateuch) made by a Deut. redactor (not earlier than 621) with later insertions (P, e.g. 1 Sam. ii 27–36 and 2 Sam. vii). In his estimate of the extent of E he goes beyond Cornill and Budde, and if his theory seems valid in certain cases (e.g. 1 Sam. v sq.), Budde has adversely criticized my own efforts a decade ago to point out E in 2 Samuel, and his own less extensive recognition of J and E has not commended itself to Stade, Steuernagel, Riedel, and Guth. Dhorme finds a greater literary complexity in Samuel than is usually allowed. For example, in 2 Sam. ix–xx he ascribes to E, x 1–14, xii 1–15 a, xv 1–6, 10, 24–26, 29, xvi 5–14, xvii 27–29, xix 17–24, 32–40, and xx 1–22. Whatever one may think of Dhorme's literary theory it is evident that this group of chapters is more complex than most scholars have admitted. Dhorme, however, does not appear to allow earlier and later portions of his J and E, and without handling the historical problems of the Book, he simply commits himself to the view that these sources are much older than 621, and may be little later than the events themselves (p. 8). The inadequacy of this appears when, in ascribing 2 Sam. iii 17–19 to R^s, he approves of my own view that v. 18 represents another tradition, whereas my suggestion recognizes a certain historical standpoint under the influence of which the book tended to reach its present shape. And again, although he (*Rev. Bib.* 1908, p. 436), like A. H. Godbey (*Amer. Journ. Theol.* 1909, p. 610), looks with some favour upon my suggestion of an

intimate connexion between Judges x 6-18 and the older account of Saul's rise, this, if it has any value at all, is fundamental for the criticism of the literary growth of all the intervening chapters. As it is, Prof. Dhorme naturally recognizes the close relation between the last chapters of Judges and 1 Sam. i-iv, and the former were admittedly inserted by a post-Deut. hand. The consequence is that, although it is held that the book of Samuel was redacted by D and is now in post-exilic form, the complexities of 'J E' are handled regardless of (a) the literary vicissitudes suggested by Judges and Kings; (b) the editorial treatment of the (assumed) old sources in Deuteronomic and later periods; and (c) the historical data which presuppose sources organically different. It naturally falls quite outside the province of a commentary to probe all the questions which arise in a single book, and as a commentary, especially upon the text of Samuel, Prof. Dhorme's volume is a welcome contribution. But owing to the recognized literary character of the Old Testament the reader must remember that the study of the peculiar literary and historical problems of the present post-exilic form of Samuel can scarcely be severed either from those of the composite (and also post-exilic) books in which it is now imbedded, or from those of the later composite series (Chron.-Ezra-Neh.) which admittedly uses older material. There is agreement that Samuel is now in a post-exilic dress; the more precise formulation of the pre-Deut. and earlier post-Deut. vicissitudes involves theories which are still under discussion. In like manner, the historical problems are those of the traditions of the rise of the monarchy, and these cannot be isolated from *all* the traditions encircling the ages which immediately precede and follow.

The Historic Exodus. By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, Ph.D., Western Theological Seminary. (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1909.)

THIS work belongs to a series of 'Researches in Biblical Archaeology', the first volume of which was noticed in *J. T. S.* 1908, p. 636. It is built around the attempt to prove that there are two 'Exodi' in the Pentateuch. One, from the land of Goshen, is contained in the sources J, E, and D. To it belong the descent into Egypt of Joseph and Jacob (who are associated with the Hyksos) and an entrance into Palestine in 1407, the biblical account of which is connected in the most remarkable manner with the Amarna Letters, and with Winckler's Tablets from Boghazkeui. The other Exodus, from the land of Raamses, is found in P. It is dated about 1144 and coincides with the leadership of Samson who, as a Nazirite, is the first to betray the influence of the Priestly Code. Thus, the discrepant and conflicting data in the narratives are cleverly used to urge that there are two distinct

histories—two separate emigrations from Egypt, each under leaders with virtually identical names, viz. Moses (but LXX Mōūses), Aaron and Joshua (or Hoshea). Prof. Toffteen puts forward with all modesty this theory, and his book, which (he tells us) is the fruit of many years of thought and labour, must on this account alone command a sympathetic reading. His evidence, as he proceeds to formulate his views, is undoubtedly ingenious, but his methods are too often extremely arbitrary, and any survey of his conception of the true history of the age makes his theory practically incredible. Most critics would probably admit that distinct historical views are embodied in the O.T. compilations, but this book at almost every point diverges too much from the position which biblical criticism has reached to enlist serious attention; and, although the theory extravagantly claims to support the historical verity of the narratives (p. 279), the conservative reader will hardly gain any satisfaction from Prof. Toffteen's conception of what the Pentateuchal history really was. We have a lengthy bibliography of relevant and irrelevant literature, and the author claims to be 'thoroughly cognizant of the views of all the more prominent writers bearing upon [his] work'. Nevertheless, he appears to be unaware of the principles of criticism by which 'the more prominent writers' have reached essentially identical results. The book has many interesting features, and is conspicuous for the attention devoted to external evidence; but it is marred from beginning to end by thoroughly fundamental faults. The author has most remarkable ideas of modern critical work and aims, and even goes so far as to date P about the time of Saul and David—support being found, of course, in the book of Chronicles! His philological equations, by the help of which he finds ingenious and often staggering parallels to the biblical narrative in external sources, are too frequently rash and sometimes very absurd.¹ The book may attract by its apparently conservative conclusions and by the wealth of external illustrative matter, but it is to be feared that it is too pre-Copernican and too unmethodical to achieve the purpose which the author had in view.

The Political and the Social Leaders of the Jewish Community of Sepphoris in the Second and Third Centuries. By A. BÜCHLER, Ph.D. (Published at the Jews' College, London, 1909.)

THE contents of Dr Büchler's pamphlet are sufficiently summarized by the title. He deals with Sepphoris and the whole of Galilee, describing the classes of population, the leaders, their wealth, juridical

¹ As a specimen of concentrated audacity I may refer to pp. 268 sqq., where Cushan-Rishathaim is Cus-Arsathaim, i.e. the city Ku-us-sar of Mitāni (elsewhere connected with the name Midian!) and Artatama.

powers, and the position of the Rabbis in everyday life and in popular estimation. His object is to present a picture of life and conditions as based upon the early Rabbinical evidence, and he points out that in modern descriptions of Galilean Jews and their Judaism 'combination and imagination have played far too great a part'. While suggesting that the general conditions which the sources represent were—*mutatis mutandis*—'almost if not wholly the same in the second and first centuries' (p. 3), he does not appear to lay enough emphasis upon the fact that the important city of Sepphoris had only a few Rabbis before A.D. 136, and that only between that date and 200 did it become a prominent centre of Rabbinism (p. 4 sq.). Consequently our conceptions of Galilee in the time of Jesus obviously cannot be indiscriminately based upon the evidence which belongs to the age when the Rabbinical communities flourished. On the other hand, apart from the specific changes (religious and social) which have definite historical causes (the fall of Jerusalem), there is still that noteworthy similarity of internal and external movements in all ages of Palestinian history, and that more or less unchanging background of custom and thought which make Dr Büchler's comprehensive investigation of the conditions extremely suggestive for the student of Palestine. He brings out clearly the different strata of the inhabitants, the haughtiness and wealth of the ruling and land-owning class, the difficult position of the Rabbis between a people which did not conceal its contempt and an aristocracy which hated them for their intrusion. Readers may compare the working of the Roman government in Galilean life with the Turkish régime, and with the relatively more tolerable conditions upon which the Jews could look back (an instructive quotation from Simon ben Gamaliel, p. 41, n. 2). The imperfect ethical standard of the age, the endeavours of the Rabbis to raise it, and to remove the existing oppression and immorality, will recall the denunciations of the prophets; and the Rabbis' outbursts against the proud will suggest comparison with some of the Psalms. Dr Büchler shews in a very interesting manner how the effort was made to improve the principles of justice and conduct on the basis of O.T. law and doctrine, and incidentally elucidates the insistence of the Rabbis upon the identity of righteousness and (legal and social) right. Finally, by drawing attention to the lowly origin of the Rabbis and the infirmities of the various classes of society, he enables the reader to realize that Rabbinical literature in Midrash and Talmud is not to be judged from a standpoint which demands a perfection not found in human nature, or ignores the necessity of adapting religious teaching to the intelligence of its hearers. This interesting monograph, if read in combination with the more or less contemporary inscriptions and the

archaeological remains of Galilee and its environs, brings up a very vivid series of pictures, giving us some idea of one phase of reforming activity in an area saturated with the dregs of the older Oriental religions.

Two new *Beihefte* of the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* have appeared. No. xvi, *Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik*, by ARNO KROPAT, is a useful monograph on the syntactical peculiarities of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, and will prove distinctly valuable to those who are interested in the linguistic problems of late Hebrew. The book is carefully arranged, the subject is well thought out, and a full index of biblical passages is appended. Kropat points out, and very justly, that many passages in Chronicles which have parallels in Samuel-Kings are not borrowed, but are linguistically and stylistically independent. This conclusion can be supported by a comparison of the material elements (with which this monograph is not concerned) and must surely bring the conviction that although Chronicles is relatively untrustworthy as a historical source, its value as a specimen of compilation, of the fertility of Hebrew literature, of the abundance of fluctuating traditions and of their plasticity, is still too much neglected. Kropat also notes the extent to which the influence of Aramaic reveals itself (p. 74), and observes that this is much less marked in Neh. i-vii 4 and xvi. Into the relationship between Chronicles and Mishnic Hebrew the book does not enter; this, however, does not prevent the monograph from being a positive contribution to Hebrew studies. *Beiheft* no. xvii, *Der Messias oder Ta'eb der Samaritaner*, is by the late ADALBERT MERX of Heidelberg, whose sudden and lamentable death so soon after the death of his friend Adolf Hausrath will be remembered. A short appreciation is contributed by Prof. Marti, the editor, to which readers may be referred for some account of Merx's scholarly versatility. Recent descriptions of the Samaritan teaching of the Messiah have been given by J. A. Montgomery (*The Samaritans*) and in *The Open Court* (May and September, 1907), and these may now be supplemented by the fuller material which Merx has collected and investigated. The evidence is contained in Samaritan liturgical and other works, and to a careful study of their contents Merx has appended texts and translations. Although the book appeals in the first instance to those who are interested in late Samaritanism, it contains much that is extremely suggestive for Old Testament students, since, as he takes occasion to observe, there must be much Old Palestinian material preserved in Samaritan literature (p. 49). Provided the sources be read with due regard to the proper principles of comparison, they will be found to contain many interesting examples of interpretation and speculation

which can be paralleled in early Christian or Rabbinical literature, and these are obviously quite as important for the study of the unchanging Oriental psychology as the thought and custom of fellahin and bedouin.

HERE may be noticed an article by Prof. HUGO GRESSMANN in the *Zeit. f. Alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1910, pp. 1-34, which, although no bigger than a pamphlet is more instructive and suggestive than many a portly volume. It is a contribution to the study of the patriarchal narratives, inspired partly by the work of Gunkel and Meyer, and partly by Wundt's encyclopaedic *Völkerpsychologie*. It should attract attention to the necessity of combining a study of the principles and forms of thought with the results which lie before us in the O.T.; it will no doubt also receive notice because Prof. Gressmann concludes that by the time of Saul 'die Sagen der Genesis im grossen und ganzen fertig waren, wenn auch Einzelheiten später hinzugefügt sind' (p. 31). While his article illustrates how valuable 'comparative research' may be, it unfortunately pays insufficient heed to the principles involved in applying the results from one branch of knowledge to those of another. He has no difficulty in shewing that floating elements of myth have been localized and attached to the patriarchal figures, and that we have the Hebrew form and often the local shape or local version of varied elements of traditional history, legend, and myth. It is, therefore, quite à propos to illustrate these features by Hans and Gretel (pp. 9, 14); but had he compared the modern Palestinian stories of the sheikhs and welis, the St Georges and Elijahs, the venerated godlings (one might almost say Baals) of the untutored native, he would surely have seen that his conclusion that the patriarchs bear *personal* names does not overthrow other evidence which suggests that they actually enjoyed in popular thought the semi-divine honours paid to local heroes (pp. 1-8). Moreover, the enquiry how far back Israel's recollection of past history ascended (pp. 31 sq.) works upon the assumption that the statement of a historical fact is evidence for the antiquity of the source in which it is found, whereas other aspects of 'comparative research' would shew that this method has no validity. Finally, Prof. Gressmann recognizes that there is a distinct South Palestinian background to the traditions, and he traces a connexion between this and Judah's independent position until the time of Saul, 'da erst reichte es dem nördlichen Bruder Israel die Hand' (p. 29). This 'brotherly' relation is not merely poetical if we consider the relations between Judah and Israel, but the whole framework of the narratives rests upon the common ancestry of all the tribes of Israel of whom Judah was one, and not until Judah had become a recognized portion of 'all Israel' could this scheme arise. The real difficulty in dating sources is to find criteria

which are valid, and here comparative research (e.g. the various traditions of the patriarchal figures in Genesis, Jubilees, Midrashic works) clearly shews that in investigating composite and undated documents containing older elements one must start from the form and organic connexion of the material in its present shape.

Old Testament History and Literature. By the Rev. B. H. ALFORD.
(Longmans & Co., London, 1910.)

THIS is a sketch of biblical history and literature including the post-biblical period down to 135 B.C. It is cognizant of modern criticism, and in fact, after a preliminary chapter on the earlier traditions, commences in chapter ii with 'The Beginnings of History' in the Books of Samuel. The standpoint as a whole is rather moderate. The book is fresh and interesting; it strives to arouse an appreciation of the O. T. as religious literature apart from the technical questions of criticism, and it contains useful remarks upon the nature of the sources. A commendable feature is the endeavour to sketch the various phases of the literature, including the earlier post-biblical pseudepigraphical writings. It should form a helpful introductory book for younger readers. The author dedicates it to his grandchildren, and to judge the book by its aims the general positions of the writer are quite adequate.

Israel's Ideal. By the Rev. JOHN ADAMS. (Clark, Edinburgh, 1909.)

THIS book, by the author of *Sermons in Syntax* (noticed in *J. T. S.* 1908, p. 635 sq.), consists of a small series of studies in Old Testament theology in the light of our knowledge of Semitic heathenism, in order to demonstrate the essential superiority of the biblical ideas over allied conceptions and their relation to further developments in the New Testament. After a couple of introductory chapters the author deals with Yahweh as the God of Israel, the Doctrine of the Spirit, Sacrifice, Covenant, Prophecy, Messianism, Sin, Salvation, Creation, and the O. T. contribution to Christology (angel of the Lord, the Divine Wisdom, the Messiah). The book is interesting and suggestive, although often too brief in its treatment of controversial and problematical points, and is expository rather than analytical. The author confesses himself inspired by Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, and aims at impelling other students to furnish a contribution, however humble, to a more systematic treatment of the development of pre-Christian doctrine.

Modern Study of the Old Testament and Inspiration. By the Rev. T. H. SPROTT, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1909.)

MR SPROTT'S book is based upon a series of lectures delivered by

him on the bearing of Old Testament criticism upon modern doctrines of God's relation to man. It deals with the aims and results of criticism, incorrect and correct conceptions of the meaning of revelation and inspiration, the O. T. as a true interpretation of the self-manifestation of God in nature, in man's conscience, and in history. The book lays no claim to originality, its object being to single out the imperishable features of the O. T., and to shew what they mean for modern thoughtful life; to sever the teaching of the O. T. from the technical criticism of literary form, historical framework, and the like; and to view it in the light of modern research in religion, sociology, &c. The book is written with distinct literary taste and is fertile in suggestion; among the many sections which will probably impress themselves upon readers may be mentioned the illuminating paragraphs on the essential features of the prophets' conceptions of the Divine (pp. 66 sqq.), the principle of solidarity (pp. 178 sqq.; perhaps the most fundamental principle for understanding the development of O. T. theology), and the remarks scattered here and there on the 'rationality of history'. Altogether it strikes me as being quite one of the best books of its kind.

THE eighth edition of Prof. DRIVER'S *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1909), contains numerous alterations and additions which have been made on the plates of the re-set edition (1897). The pages in question are specified on p. xiv sq., and the changes consist mainly of supplements to the bibliography and the incorporation of new data or new views. As examples may be cited the summary of the more recent studies of Jeremiah (p. 273 sq.), and especially the material bearing upon Biblical Aramaic culled from the Egyptian-Aramaic papyri. Prof. Driver's book is too well known to call for any extended remarks, and it is enough to draw attention to the fact that the amount of new matter makes this edition as indispensable as the former editions. The same applies to his *Book of Genesis* ('Westminster Series'; Methuen, London) which has now reached a seventh edition. The 'additions and corrections', which may be had separately, form a little pamphlet of forty-six pages. They comprise mainly the results of newer light upon chronology and archaeology, some notice of Dr Orr's conjectures and criticisms, and also of other new literature. The very careful exposition of the problems of old Oriental chronology (with tables), and the full discussion of their bearing upon Genesis, form one of the clearest and most helpful aids a student could wish for.

THE second edition of Prof. H. L. STRACK'S '*Aboda Zara: der Mishnatraktat 'Götzendienst'*' (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1909) contains several

new features. The grammatical notes which had appeared scattered in the edition of 1888 are now collected and summarized in the introduction. The notes on the text and subject-matter have been revised, amplified, and rearranged, so that the explanatory remarks now accompany the German translation of the tractate. The introduction itself has been brought up to date and the paragraph on the polemical use of the tractate in anti-Jewish controversy has been made more concise. The translation, which is the most valuable feature of the new edition, is well annotated, although the interesting *halākōth* stand in need of a much more comprehensive commentary than the narrow compass of Prof. Strack's booklet naturally allowed. More attention might well have been paid in these notes to Semitic heathenism and folk-lore.

DR DANIEL VÖLTER'S *Aegypten und die Bibel* (Brill, Leyden, 1909) appears in a fourth edition with sundry changes and improvements. Most readers will agree that it exaggerates the resemblances between the Old Testament and Egyptian thought and tradition, but the author can at least claim that Palestinian excavation shews that the direct influence of Egypt is quite as important as, and sometimes more recognizable than, that of Babylon and Assyria. If the reader will take into account the fact that the Egyptians are not Semites—and consequently allow for the inevitable resemblances between Hebrew and Assyrian phraseology—and if he reads the book with the same discrimination as the rival 'Babel and Bible' literature, he will realize that the same phases of thought extended from the Tigris to the Nile, and that the resemblances which the Old Testament finds in the neighbouring lands are not necessarily due to external influence. Herein lies the value of Dr Völter's monograph, and it may help to modify that attitude which seems almost inclined to treat Palestinian thought as something which would never have existed had it not been for Babylonia. This criticism, of course, does not mean to deny influence or borrowing in the domain of thought, but suggests that the results of painstaking comparison must be checked by some regard to psychological laws.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Isaias diligenter revisus, &c., by C. D. GINSBURG, LL.D. (British and Foreign Bible Society, 1909), is an instalment of a very handsome critical edition of the Hebrew Bible which the British and Foreign Bible Society is bringing out in celebration of its centenary (March, 1904). It goes far beyond any previous work of the same kind.

To take a single example, for the passage Isa. xlv 3-xlvi 10 the