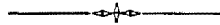


He was, above all things, a diplomatist, and a diplomatist who failed in his chief object. Nevertheless, in spite of his failure, the Vatican is a dangerous power, not so much on account of its ostensible theology as of its political methods, and the financial weapons which it is still able to employ. It is a good omen, perhaps, that Leo's successor is a clergyman and not a diplomatist; that he has never held any of the higher and more intimate offices in the bureaucracy of the Vatican, though he may only be more easily manipulated in consequence by those who really direct the Roman Church. That Church will never reform unless it be un-Jesuitized. A Clement XV. would have been more welcome, as a sign that this necessity was recognised. We hope that Pius X. has not chosen his title from any devotion to the policy and methods of Pius IX. We hardly know which Pius is a desirable model, certainly not the Fifth. Pius I. is a legendary name, and Pius II., attractive as he may be to wits and scholars, will hardly commend himself as an ecclesiastic to this age of exterior decorum. A study of the Popes, however, shows that the individual matters very little, as the system moves on its way inflexibly to the appointed goal, in spite of the mutability and titles of its figure-head.

ARTHUR GALTON.



### ART. III.—RECENT GERMAN CRITICISM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

**T**HERE are many persons who are far more impressed by the citation of a string of German names, when it is a question of Old Testament criticism, than with the clearest evidences of familiarity with the subject-matter of the Old Testament itself. Such persons should be asked to note the signs of reaction against the Graf-Wellhausen theory which is growing in Germany itself. We may cite as opposed to that theory the names of Von Orelli, Strack, Kleinert, Klostermann, Bredenkamp, Hommel, König, Kittel, and many others, including even the learned Dillmann, whose Lectures on Old Testament theology are positively indignant in their repudiation of Wellhausen's views. And now we have a work by Möller, a young German critic, who was once an enthusiastic disciple of Wellhausen, but who, having undertaken an independent investigation of the question, finds that it is impossible to maintain his theories. "Scholars," then, in Germany, at least, are no longer "agreed" on the subject. At Oxford, however, these theories are still represented as

the irrefragable conclusions of modern science, thereby recalling once more the saying of Mrs. Humphry Ward in "Robert Elsmere" that "Oxford is the paradise to which German theories go when they are dead."

The treatise written by Möller<sup>1</sup> has been translated by the Religious Tract Society. It has an introduction by Professor Von Orelli of Basel, who expresses his astonishment at the way in which "the most rash hypotheses" are "repeated as if they were part of an unquestioned creed." The author commences with Deuteronomy, because it was on that point that he first became doubtful of the results of the criticism of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen. His method is the only possible one. He does not attempt to make a frontal attack on the positions of these critics. That would, indeed, be a difficult task, for they are established chiefly by bold assertions. He takes the only possible way of demolishing the structure which has been erected. He substitutes the conclusions of the critics for the Hebrew history as it stands, and proves that, where that history suggests one difficulty, the history it is proposed to substitute for it suggests twenty. He shows that the reformation of Josiah, recorded in 2 Kings xxii. *et seq.*, aims not so much at the establishment of a central sanctuary, where all public worship shall hereafter be offered, as at the abolition of idolatry. But idolatry was prohibited by the "Book of the Covenant" (*i.e.*, Exod. xx.-xxiii.), the Mosaic origin of which is admitted by the adherents of the school in question. Therefore, if their premiss is sound, that if a supposed ancient law is unhesitatingly violated at any given time, the law could not have been in existence at that time, it follows that the "Book of the Covenant" must itself have originated at the earliest in the reign of Josiah. "J" and "E," moreover, which this school of critics declares to have originated in "the eighth or ninth century B.C.," must likewise have had their origin in or after the seventh century B.C. Herr Möller makes much of the admission of Kautzsch that Hilkiah, by his use of the definite article before the words "Book of the Law," shows that he had not sprung a deceit upon King Josiah, but was himself "surprised" at its "discovery." But as our author justly remarks, the use of the definite article implies more than this—it implies a knowledge on the part of Hilkiah, not indeed of the provisions of that "Book of the Law," but of the fact that such

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<sup>1</sup> "Are the Critics Right? Historical and Critical Considerations against the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis." By Wilhelm Möller. With an Introduction by Professor C. von Orelli, D.D. Translated from the German by C. H. Irwin, M.A. London: Religious Tract Society, 1903.

a book had previously been known to be in existence. But if so, we find at once the futility of the presumption on which the whole argument is based. He then points out how Kuenen insisted that Deuteronomy was a production of the priests, an assertion which his follower Kautzsch feels himself compelled to deny, and to assign it to a prophetic source. We have here again an illustration of the way in which these theories, so confidently asserted, are crumbling away of themselves. The props on which they rested are being one by one removed by their defenders, and the theories themselves are thus left unsupported in mid air. Once again, Deuteronomy is asserted by Cornill to have been written of necessity after the reign of Manasseh. But the Bishop of Winchester, if we are not mistaken, has found it necessary to fix its date in the days of Hezekiah or even of Ahaz; while Professor Driver no longer regards it as a composition, but as a *compilation* (a very different thing, by the way) of the period antecedent to Josiah. It is, according to Cornill, a "pseudepigraph," attributed to Moses in order to obtain acceptance for statutes which were not his. Professor Driver, on the contrary, appears to regard it as a "compilation," because it contains a good deal of matter which may not improbably be his. Herr Möller points out how extremely improbable it would be that a writer should obtain currency for legislation as Mosaic which *ex hypothesi* is "in sharp contradiction to that which was hitherto regarded as" such. According to the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, he goes on to point out, the people were deceived into accepting the alleged "Book of the Law." The priests of the high places were also deceived, and so was the central priesthood. And yet they had every reason to protest against the new code. A marvellous thing, truly, this foisting of a forgery, or even what was partially a forgery, or, at the very least, an entirely new religious system, with such unqualified success, on persons who were in every way opposed to the regulations it desired to introduce. The Jews certainly were not "a critical people"; but they must have been amazingly—nay, even miraculously—the reverse if they allowed themselves to be so easily deceived against their will. Our author next goes on to remark how peculiarly ill-adapted Deuteronomy was to bring about the reformation under Josiah. The prohibition of idolatry, the one thing needful in Josiah's mind, the one object actually attained, occupies a subordinate position in that book. In the next place, we are reminded of the antiquated character of many regulations found in Deuteronomy—regulations quite unsuited to the date at which the book is supposed to have been written. Above all, the absurdity is pointed out of the recom-

mentation that the law should be inscribed on stones and placed on Mount Ebal at a time when the Israelites had already been carried away from their land, and when Ebal and Gerizim were inhabited by a foreign race. Some of Herr Möller's arguments may fail to convince; but even when those which fail to satisfy are removed, many formidable objections to the date assigned by the Graf-Wellhausen school still remain.

We turn now to the so-called Priestly Code, with the alleged late date of which Herr Möller deals in much the same way as with that of Deuteronomy. The critical school he opposes once regarded it as the production of the Exile. Their followers have been compelled to date it later still. Their reason we will briefly state. Ezra, we are told in Neh. viii.-x., assembles the people together and reads to them the "Book of the Law" (viii. 1-3). This, Wellhausen tells us (and he is supported by Robertson Smith), was the "whole Pentateuch." He adds in his usual infallible way that this is "quite certain." But Herr Möller proceeds to point out that Reuss, Kayser, and Kautzsch—the latter a follower of Wellhausen—find "this" very far from "certain," for the "Book" or "Books of the Covenant" are *ex hypothesi* strongly opposed to the Priestly Code, and it is impossible that Ezra could have persuaded the people to accept two codes so widely divergent. Wherefore it follows that the "Book of the Law" which Ezra read before the people was not the whole Pentateuch, but only the part of it known to critics as the "Priestly Code." Therefore the fusion of the Priestly Code with the "Books of the Covenant" and Deuteronomy must have taken place at a later date. How the Jews of a later date could be persuaded to accept the codes which those of Ezra's day would be sure to reject has not been made very plain. But Herr Möller shows without much difficulty that, whether we conceive that the "Books of the Covenant" and Deuteronomy were then recognised as the Jewish law, or whether we suppose them to have been entirely forgotten, it is equally inconceivable that the Jews of that or any later period would be induced to receive two codes of law so contradictory as the modern theory requires us to conceive the Priestly Code and those which preceded it to be. On the supposition that Exod. xx.-xxiii. contains the provisions called into existence temporarily by Moses until his legislation was completed, or even, as others—Dr. Hayman in particular—have maintained, the old patriarchal code which was in force among the Israelites in Egypt, and which contains provisions reminding us of the recently discovered code of Khammurabi (possibly the Amraphel of Gen. xiv.), no such difficulty presents itself.

Herr Möller proceeds to show that the contents of the Priestly Code itself do not fit in with the modern theory as to its date; that it is not adapted to the purposes for which the critics suppose it to be intended; that even if its framers were at once "so clever and so foolish," as, according to modern criticism, they must have been, they would never have directed the people of Ezra's day to set up a tabernacle instead of a temple, and given directions for making an *Ark of the Covenant*; that the persons by whom this new discovery (as the critics allege it to have been) was made, were not in the least likely, under the circumstances in which they were placed, to have drawn up such a set of regulations as are contained in the so-called Priestly Code, of which many enactments are quite unintelligible, if supposed to date from the period of the Captivity. For the arguments we must refer the reader to the book itself. But Herr Möller's conclusions, for which every impartial reader must admit that he brings forward arguments of considerable weight, may be briefly summarized in his own words: "The modern view, we can no longer have any doubt, is a chimera, a monstrosity. The Priestly Code can no more have originated in the sixth or the fifth century than Deuteronomy in the seventh." "At least the kernel of the ritual legislation goes back in reality to Moses," though Herr Möller refuses either to assert or to deny that further laws "may not" have been "added on to this kernel."

He next discusses the "auxiliary hypotheses" which have been added, in order to justify the supposition that Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code belong to the period of the decline and fall of the Israelite polity. By this he means the citations from the prophets which have been employed in defence of the theory, and the amazing use which has been made of Ezek. xl.-xlviii. in reference to it. His reasoning, like that of Mr. Spencer in "Lex Mosaica," is conclusive on the latter point. "Nothing," he shows, "is gained by the assumption that the Priestly Code is later than Ezekiel, but a new puzzle is simply put in place of the old." And he concludes that "the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis . . . makes unprecedented demands on its adherents, and creates difficulties in comparison with which those urged by Wellhausen are mere child's play." He very justly scoffs at the assumption mentioned above that regulations which appear not to have been observed must therefore never have been promulgated, and describes those who persist in it as likely in any other department of investigation to be regarded as "fit for an asylum." He shows once more that modern criticism, from its own point of view, cannot put the "Books of the Covenant" so early as it does, and proceeds to indicate

reasons which make it "impossible to place them so late as the principles of the critics, here so strangely at variance with their practice, require it to be placed." In a second and supplementary chapter he discusses isolated passages which he conceives make against the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis. He does not fail to notice, though he does not dwell on the subject, the grave moral considerations involved in the acceptance of that hypothesis, and he concludes with some wise cautions, which will have occurred to our too self-sufficient critics, in favour of a saner and soberer method of investigation. He thinks it possible that in the Pentateuch may be found "laws and enactments which necessarily point to a later time, and appear as further improvements of the original, and were therefore incorporated according to practical needs." There may have been, he thinks, a "codification of the laws in later times." The Priestly Code, he remarks, "nowhere claims to have been written by Moses," though it certainly represents him as having ordained the greater part of it. But all later additions, he contends, "would be confined to subordinate points." And, as he most wisely remarks, "it will never be possible to attain sure results" from such investigation. Those results, in other words, can never be more than hypothetical and tentative. They may be obtained in conformity with the rational criticism of ancient records, which is usual among the historians of other nations. The methods employed will not, like the methods of Wellhausen and his followers, be invented *pro re natâ*, and be followed up by a wholesale proscription of all investigators who are unable to accept either methods or conclusions. And they will touch only the fringe of the history instead of destroying its general credibility.

The appearance of this volume will unquestionably hasten the disappearance of such methods and theories as those which have been described. Herr Möller's book, though its style is by no means clear, is able and well reasoned, and is, moreover, in size and price within the reach of many clergymen in whose case more elaborate and expensive publications are quite out of reach. But though by no means bulky, it is quite sufficient for its purpose. I may venture personally to express my high satisfaction with it, because it follows the same line of argument as I have done in the articles which for some years I contributed to the *CHURCHMAN*. If, as I may claim to have shown, the theories of the Graf-Wellhausen school introduce into the Book of Genesis difficulties tenfold greater than those it professes to find there, *a fortiori* the same fact will manifest itself if the same method be applied to the whole Pentateuch. This Herr

Möller has proved, and until he is answered—the attempt, we may be sure, will never be made—the believer in Holy Writ may “thank God and take courage.” It must become ultimately impossible to maintain modern theories by the cuckoo cry, “All scholars are agreed.” They must ultimately rest on the basis of strict demonstration, and full answers to all objectors. When time has been given for a full investigation all round of the opinions on Hebrew history so unaccountably and hastily embraced among ourselves by men of character, ability, and learning, their full absurdity and inconsistency will at last be perceived, and men will wonder how they could possibly have achieved even a temporary triumph.

J. J. LIAS.



#### ART. IV.—THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

IS there a “social problem” or a “social question”? Or are these terms employed because they conveniently, if somewhat vaguely, cover a multitude of “problems” and “questions” supposed to be more or less closely connected with each other?

Are the various difficulties to which the words refer independent? Or are they simply different factors in one and the same problem? I might adduce the convenient analogy of a man “thoroughly out of health.” Such a one often exhibits the traces of more than one disease in his system. The case is said to be “a complicated one,” and the doctor declares that there are “many unfavourable symptoms.”

Let us consider a few of the factors in what is termed the social problem. We cannot take up a daily paper, a weekly journal, or a monthly review, but we find, at least, something bearing upon one or more of the following questions or problems: That of the relations of capital and labour; that of the unemployed; of the housing of the poor; of temperance and the licensing system; of the administration of the Poor Law, and the uses and abuses of “charity”; of education and school attendance; of social purity and rescue work; of the increase of betting and gambling; etc. That there are very evil conditions and very grave difficulties, of whose existence and growth these various problems are the result, no one doubts. With regard to this further assertion—viz., that all these are not merely connected factors in, but actually different symptoms of, one great underlying problem—I think most social workers of experience are now agreed. If this is so,