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THE PENTATEUCH

Dr. Allan A. MacRae
January, 1952

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THE PENTATEUCH

Dr. Allan A. MacRae
January, 1952

[This course was recorded by Soundscriber, transcribed, and roughly edited. Therefore, the reader will see the unavoidable imperfections of the text. Naturally the character of the lectures was conversational, and little was done to modify that in the editing process, and thus the spirit and personality of the lecturer is evident.]

Our course this semester is, in a sense, a continuation of the course Introduction to the Old Testament [wherein] we examine what the Old [in which] Testament is, what revelation is, and what inspiration is. I presume that you have an idea of what we deal with in that course in regard to this vital matter of God's revelation to us. Although our emphasis was on the Old Testament, most of what we have in that course would apply equally well to either testament. The same is also true in respect to questions concerning the canon; the principles we dealt with there would apply equally well to the New Testament, though they are more difficult to apply in that connection, and this makes it especially important that we get an understanding of their application to that part of God's Word. In the latter part of the course we discussed the four important ancient and immediate versions of the Old Testament, by examining the evidence and seeing how we can determine that we have the correct text.

All the material in the first part of that course is very important to our understanding of the entire Bible. The middle part dealt with matters that have become tremendously important as Barthianism has continued its attack upon the canon, although that importance is not always apparent to all. The latter part of that course is very important when you are doing a study of the specialized application of individual OT verses, but it may not affect your particular work for many years.

The present course is very different. It is much more focused on a particular area. We will be dealing with a small section of scripture, but it is a section has been very fiercely attacked. We will deal with an area that can be called the watershed of division between believers in supernatural Christianity and those who reject it. It has been at this point (of Introduction to the Pentateuch) that many great leaders in Christian thought have been gradually diverted from their allegiance to orthodox Christianity and have then become instrumental in shifting entire seminaries and even whole denominations onto altogether different tracks, leading them in an entirely different direction.

The question of the Pentateuch -- what it is, who wrote it, and when it was written -- has been a focal point of the attack upon supernatural Christianity and has had visible results in every portion of the professing Christian world. The controversy which was raised sixty years ago about the Pentateuch, which was heard throughout Christendom, and was especially prominent in all theological institutions, is no longer as visibly prominent as it was then. The reason for this, from the viewpoint of the liberals, is their belief that their battle has been won. At this point, since it is their opinion that it was won sixty years ago, today you will rarely find a seminary with a class which takes up the question as fully we will in this course, even though it will be from a negative viewpoint. Today you will rarely find it discussed, but sixty years ago you would have found it presented in connection with practically every subject.

THE PENTATEUCH

Dr. Allan A. MacRae

January, 1952

PENTATEUCH LECTURES 1952

Dr. Allan Alexander MacRae
Faith Theological Seminary

Outline:

Introduction

I. Penateuch in general
II Place of Penatateuch in the Bible
Survey of contents of Pentateuch
Esatablishment of Covenant
Establishment of system of worship
Authorship of the Pentateuch
Early doubts of Mosaic authorship
DeWette
Supplement Hypothesis
Crystalization or Modified Document Hypothesis
Rise of Developmental Hypothesis
Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis
Discussion of Theories
Religious Institution Sacrifice
Levitical Priesthood and Laws
Governing Sacrificial Practices

Why study it ? p 1–
~~The Modern attacks~~ + the Period.
Apologetics: traditional vs. presupp-
on The Pentateuch
~~The reasons~~ some believe & U.C.
Why do –
Objectives for course 4–5

I. A. Terms
B. Books
C.

PENTATEUCH LECTURES 1952

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Survey of contents of Pentateuch
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THE PENTATEUCH

Dr. MacRae
January 1952

Lecture 1

Our course this semester is in a sense a continuation of the course Introduction to the Old Testament wherein we examine what the Old Testament is, what revelation is, and what inspiration is. I presume that you have an idea of what we deal with in that course in regard to this vital matter of God's revelation to us. Most of what we have in that course would apply equally well to either testament, although our emphasis was on the Old Testament. The same is also true in respect to questions concerning the canon; the principles dealt with there would apply equally well to the New Testament, but they are more difficult to apply there than to the Old Testament, and therefore it is especially important that we get an understanding of their application in that relationship. In the latter part of that course we discussed the four important ancient and immediate versions by examining the evidence regarding them and the Hebrew text and how we can determine that we have the correct text.

All of the material in the first part of that course is very important in our understanding of the entire Bible. The middle part dealt with matters that have become tremendously important as Barthianism has continued its attack upon the canon, although that importance is not always apparent to all. The latter part of that course is very important if you are doing a study of the specialized application of individual OT verses, but it may not enter into your particular work for many years.

The present course is very different. It is much more focused on a particular area. Yet, although we will be dealing with a small section of scripture, we will deal with a section upon which the fire of attack has been very fierce. We will deal with a point which can be called the watershed of division between believers in supernatural Christianity and those who have rejected it. It has been at this point of introduction to the Pentateuch that many great leaders in Christian thought have been gradually diverted from their allegience to orthodox Christianity and became instrumental in shifting entire seminaries and denominations onto altogether different tracks, leading them in an entirely different direction.

The question of the Pentateuch, what it is, who wrote it, and when it was written has been a focal point of the attack upon supernatural Christianity which has had visible results upon every portion of the professing Christian world. The controversy which was raised sixty years ago about the Pentateuch, which was heard throughout Christendom, and was especially prominent in all theological institutions, is no longer as visibly prominent as it was then. The reason for this from the point of view of the liberals is that the battle has been won on this point. It is their opinion that it was won sixty years ago, and so today you will rarely find a seminary with a class which takes up the question at all as we will take it up in this course, even though it will be from a negative viewpoint. Today you will rarely find it discussed, although sixty years ago you would have found it used in practically every subject.

The vital question was, did Moses write the Pentateuch? And is the Pentateuch something God revealed, is it his work, is it dependable, or is

the new theory concerning its origin the correct one? Arguments raged back and forth over this question. Today the Christian world (that portion which studies these matters) is divided into two sections. Most of the older institutions of Christian learning are now in the possession of those who hold the viewpoint that the Wellhausian Theory has been proven and established. It is just as absurd a suggestion to question that theory as it would be, in their opinion, to question the theory of evolution. That is, of course, among us the theory of evolution seems highly questionable as we know it, but in the scholarly world as a whole evolution is simply taken as established fact and there is not much debate any more as to whether or not it is true. One is considered obscurantist and unintelligent who fails to believe: one's force of reason is accused of lacking faith in the discoveries of science.

It is exactly the same with regards to the Wellhausian Theory where among scholars, teachers, and the majority of those in all levels of education this theory has been embraced. In practically every one of the schools at least thirty years old teachers and students maintain that anyone with any intelligence knows that the Pentateuch is made up of many different sources which were woven together. They might say, it used to be that most people believed that God revealed it and Moses wrote it down, just as there used to be people who believed that the earth was flat, but now everybody knows the earth is round and every intelligent person knows that the Pentateuch is a body of intertwined sources. This is the attitude which is taken today, and is contrary to the evidence against it which we are going to examine in this course. The result is that the professing Christian world is divided with one side thinking this theoretical division of the Pentateuch to be an absurd approach that no sane person could ever believe in. And the other side, which has most of our seminaries and virtually every academic university chair obliging, has exactly the opposite attitude considering anyone who questions the theory is beneath intellectual respectability.

Another important factor in our discussion of the Pentateuch is an attitude, being vehemently and forcefully taught in Apologetics in certain circles today, which seeks to assert to the believer in apologetics that one does not and can not know anything unless he recognizes God first. You have to recognize God first, and accept our presuppositions, before we can discuss matters of fact or spiritual reality. But this is simply taking an attitude of absolute opposition in which you cannot talk together intelligently; it denies the intelligibility of its opponents ideas through the logical fallacy of circular reasoning which asserts that you are simply wrong unless you blindly accept their correct presuppositions on "faith." This not only makes faith appear to be an intellectual "leap," lacking any reasonable foundation, it also does not treat one's opponents as quite fully human in its denial of man's innate propensity to think in a linear fashion. I also think it is an attitude contrary to the attitude of all the writers of the scriptures and to the attitudes of the makers of the creeds of our churches. I do not think it is an attitude which advances the Christian faith, although many who hold it are undoubtedly very sincere Christians. I think that holding such an attitude in regarding the Pentateuch is very harmful in its results, and thus this course is based upon a diametrically opposite viewpoint. The foundation principle of this course, as of any apologetic work which I have ever done, is this: there are certain facts that are brute facts, if you want to call them that. That is, they exist whether

we like them or not, whether we presuppose them or not, or whether we believe them or not, they exist. They are undeniably there, and to examine them completely and impartially is the duty of all those who are going to serve the Lord in an intelligent fashion (i.e. in a way that does not "piously" deny reason or the evidence it is faced with).

It would properly follow to assert that all people do actually "presuppose" the evidence correctly, it is only their subsequent misconstruing of the evidence that leads them to wrongly assert falsehoods such as the Wellhausen theory. This is why it is my conviction that when we examine the facts which God has made, and the Book which he has inspired, we will find they fit together. Therefore, I think it is worthwhile for us to examine them and to see how they fit together. We will see that where people go off track it is not simply because they adopted a false presupposition at the first point, but it is because they failed to look the facts in the face at many points along the way and instead misinterpreted them and drew wrong conclusions from them.

My desire for this course is twofold. On the one hand I want to remove from you any attitude which you may have of thinking that it is completely senseless to believe in this documentary business, and that it is absurd to even pay any attention to it. The reason for this is that there are many people of great intellect, who have done a great deal of very careful study, have believed in it and still believe in it today. I want you to see the great strength it has, of how it came into existence and widespread acceptance when many men, against their will and their own presuppositions, were dragged into it because they could not answer the facts presented to them in faith. Therefore, it is my desire for you to have something of a sympathetic understanding of its development and of the situation of some of those who have had such doubts. My second desire is that you should see something of the actual situation as regards the argument and the basis upon which it rests, and thus help you to see its weaknesses and the facts which I believe make it clear that it does not rest upon a true conclusion from fact. I think that in a group with your background it is vital that both of these purposes be realized. Of course it is possible for someone to ignore the existence of Higher Criticism altogether and simply go on and do evangelistic, pastoral, or missionary work and never pay any attention to the questions it raises or its effects upon those around them. You may completely ignore the Higher Criticism, but if your work is at all successful you will find students from families affected by your ministry, who are bright young people anxious to make their lives count for the Lord, who have gone to universities, and of whom many in a very short time will become affected directly or indirectly by the Higher Criticism and its results and implications. You will then find that if you know nothing about it, except that it is perfectly absurd to believe and that no sensible person could believe it, then very soon your young people will be put into a position of having to decide who is intelligent, who is right -- this godly minister who has been a nice spiritual influence or this professor. Many of them will decide from what they will see as the viewpoint of intellectual honesty. If they think that they must hold their faith completely when regarding the Pentateuch, then they are going to consider the facts presented to them by their professors and interpret them according to the conclusions of the Higher Critical Theories.

The vital question was, did Moses write the Pentateuch? And is the Pentateuch something God revealed? Is it dependable, or is the new theory about its origin the correct one? At that time arguments raged back and forth over this question. Today that portion of the Christian world which studies these matters is divided into two sections. Most of the older institutions of Christian learning are now in the possession of those who hold the viewpoint that the Wellhausen Theory has been proved and established. In their opinion, it is just as absurd to question that theory as it would be, in their opinion, to question the theory of evolution. Among us the theory of evolution seems highly questionable, but in much of the scholarly world evolution is simply taken as established fact and there is not much debate as to whether or not it is true. Whoever does believe in it is considered obscurantist and unintelligent, and is accused of lacking faith in the discoveries of science.

It is exactly the same with regard to the Wellhausen Theory which has been embraced by the majority of teachers at all levels of education. In practically every seminary that is at least thirty years old, teachers and students think that everyone with any intelligence believes that the Pentateuch is made up of many different sources which were woven together. They might say, "It used to be that most people believed that God revealed it and Moses wrote it down, just as there used to be people who believed that the earth was flat, but now everybody knows the earth is round and every intelligent person knows that the Pentateuch is a body of intertwined sources." This is the attitude which is taken today, but it is contrary to the evidence we are going to examine in this course. The professing Christian world is now divided, with one side thinking this theoretical division of the Pentateuch to be an absurd approach that no sane person could ever accept, while the other side -- which includes most of the seminaries and the departments of religion in virtually every university, that has such a department -- takes exactly the opposite attitude and considers anyone who questions the theory as beneath intellectual respectability.

Another important factor in our discussion of the Pentateuch is an attitude that is vehemently and forcefully taught in some Apologetics departments today, which asserts that one does not and can not know anything unless he recognizes God first. They say we must accept their presuppositions before we can discuss matters of fact or spiritual reality. This amounts to adopting an attitude of opposition so complete that it makes real discussion impossible. It is the logical fallacy of circular reasoning when one asserts that you are simply wrong unless you blindly accept correct presuppositions "on faith." This makes faith appear to be an intellectual "leap," lacking any reasonable foundation. Such an attitude denies man's innate propensity to think in a linear fashion, and is contrary to the attitude of all the writers of the scriptures as well as to the attitudes of the makers of the creeds of most churches. Many who hold this attitude are very sincere Christians, but I do not think such an attitude can really advance the Christian faith. I believe that holding such an attitude in regard to the Pentateuch produces very harmful results. The present course is based upon a diametrically opposite viewpoint. Its foundation principle, like that of every apologetic work I have ever done, is this: that there are

certain facts that are "brute facts," if you want to call them that, that exist whether we like them or not, whether we presuppose them or not, whether we believe them or not, and that it is the duty of all who seek to serve the Lord in an intelligent fashion to examine them completely and impartially, in a way that does not "piously" deny reason or the evidence it faces.

It is my conviction that when we examine the facts which God has made, and the Book which he has inspired, we will find that they fit together. I believe it is worthwhile for us to examine all available facts and see how they fit together. Errors are not always the result of adopting a false presupposition at the first point; they are often the result of failure to examine all the relevant facts, or of drawing wrong conclusions from the evidence that is available.

My desire for this course is twofold. On the one hand I want to remove from you any attitude which you may have of thinking that it is completely senseless to believe in this documentary business, and that it is absurd to even pay any attention to it. We need to realize that many people of great intellect, who have done a great deal of very careful study, have believed in it and still believe in it today. We need to see the great strength it has. We need to know how it came into existence and won such widespread acceptance that many men -- some of them against their will and in spite of their presuppositions -- were dragged into it, feeling themselves unable to answer the facts presented to them in its favor. It is my desire for you to have something of a sympathetic understanding of its development.

My second desire is that you should see something of the actual situation as regards the facts and arguments involved. I would like you to understand the basis upon which it rests, to see its weaknesses, and to see the reasons it does not rest upon true conclusions from actual facts. In my opinion it is vital, in training a group with your background, that both of these purposes be realized.

It is possible to ignore the existence of Higher Criticism and simply do evangelistic, pastoral, or missionary work, and never pay any attention to the questions it raises. For a time you may completely ignore the Higher Criticism, but if your work is at all successful you will find that students from families affected by your ministry -- who are bright young people anxious to make their lives count for the Lord -- will be attending universities, and in a very short time many of them will be affected directly or indirectly by the Higher Criticism and its results and implications. You will then find that if you know nothing about it (except to say that it is perfectly absurd and that no sensible person can believe it) your young people will soon be put into the position of having to decide who is right -- this godly minister who has been a spiritual influence, or this professor. Many of them will decide that intellectual honesty compels them to follow the professor and accept the unbiblical conclusions of the so-called Higher Critics.

Our attitude toward the Pentateuch is the key point in our attitude toward the whole Bible. It is a point at which it is very vital that we be clear as to what the truth is and what the facts are. But it is my opinion that we need to try to understand the strength as well as the weakness of the higher criticism intelligently and sympathetically, and to see how it came into existence, and be able to deal with it on a basis of

intelligent thought and not merely of emotional antagonism or ridicule toward those who are affected by it. I do not say you are apt to win many who are convinced of the higher criticism, but I do say that you should have an interest in keeping people from going in this direction or perhaps reclaiming those who have gone a certain distance into it. You might even be able to win some who have thoroughly adopted it if you can use the new facts that have come to light in these days. But it does not prove anything just to say you do not believe in it. We could easily spend a whole semester simply taking up facts against the theory, but I do not believe that it would do you half as much good for me to do that as it does for us first to try to really understand what the theory is.

When I was a little boy a woman who was a very ardent Roman Catholic sometimes came to babysit. Once she decided she should try to have a good influence on the little boy at the home where she was working. She told me how Christ had given Paul the keys of the Church and Paul had established the Church and we should go to the Church that Paul had established. Even at that age I knew that in the Roman Catholic view it was Peter rather than Paul. Consequently all the effect which her great enthusiasm and zeal for her faith might have exerted was completely wrecked because I knew that intellectually she was wrong right at the start of her argument. Many fundamentalists who try to deal with the higher criticism are in a very similar position. They present an argument which is true and can be effective, but they present it in such a way that they show they have a misunderstanding of some basic point of what the higher criticism really is, and immediately someone who is familiar with the higher criticism knows that they are simply parroting something they have heard from someone else and have no real understanding of the subject. After that they may go on and give a very excellent argument, including some excellent material, but it will have no effect at all.

In this course there is one thing that I insist upon: that you get a definite and exact understanding of what the higher criticism is. You may understand some of the arguments I will give you against it, and not others. You may forget some details and remember others. If you have the basic material you can review the rest or study it through on your own. Your success in the course does not depend on your having an absolutely perfect understanding of the arguments against the higher criticism that I shall give, but I will insist that you have an absolutely perfect knowledge and understanding of the principal details of what the theory is and how it has developed. If you do not have that, you will not be in a position to discuss it, or to understand the arguments against it. For this reason, I am going to insist, in the early portion of the course, upon a meticulously accurate recollection of the principal facts about the history of the higher criticism and an exact knowledge of the positions that various scholars have held. I remember one time a few years ago that a man failed in this course and then he studied up very hard on it and took a make-up examination. In one of the questions in the make-up examination I asked him to describe the P document and he gave me an absolutely perfect description of the J document, calling it the P document. It was as good a description of the J document as I have ever seen. But what I asked for was the P document! When you finish this course it should seem just as absurd to you to say that the P document is considered by critics to be the oldest document as it would

be to say that California is the state in which the capital of the United States is located. If it is not just as absurd to you as that would be, why there is no point in anything else you might have learned from the course. (I am glad to be able to report that the student repeated the entire course and turned in an excellent examination at the end of it.)

At this point, you see, I am stressing the fact that it is far more important to master the main features of the higher criticism than to try to remember the incidental details, of which there are thousands. I would like you to know the main points accurately. Otherwise we would have no basis on which to go on and present the answers.

Now, before we take up the higher criticism, I want to say a little bit about what the Pentateuch is. We could easily take a month or two on this, for it is very vital. But it is something which you can easily get for yourselves now or later. I want to have as much time as possible in the course for the higher criticism so we will have to run very rapidly through this. Yet, even if you are familiar with it already, it is vital that we give a little attention to it at the beginning, for it is the basis - and it shows the importance of the whole subject.

I. The Pentateuch in General

What does the term Pentateuch mean? Any of you who know Greek recognize immediately of course that it is made up of two Greek words, of which the first, Penta, means five--the document of five parts.

The word "Pentateuch" is no longer used by the higher critics. Almost any book written recently by them speaks of "the Hexateuch." Now they use this word in their titles and in their dictionaries. They speak of the Hexateuch, rather than the Pentateuch. Sometimes they speak of the Octateuch. The Hexateuch would be the six-fold and the Octateuch would be the eight-fold book. The Pentateuch is the five-fold division of the books which we call the books of Moses. In their theory Joshua comes from the same origin as the rest; they all belong together. The Octateuch adds Judges and a portion of Samuel. This, however, is purely modern theory. The fact is, that until within the last 200 years it was universally recognized that the first five books of the Bible were a group of five books by themselves. So when we speak of Pentateuch we are using a term which represents the fact that this group of books was considered as one group, and was considered as belonging together for at least 2,000 years. Whether they were originally thought of as one book which was later divided into five, or whether Moses originally wrote them as separate units, might be a proper question for the higher criticism to consider. But the term "Pentateuch" is the proper place for us to begin. The evidences for the higher criticism do not come from Joshua or from Judges. The evidences must be sought in these five books; then, if proven, it could be extended into the others. It could not be derived from them. So Pentateuch is a proper term for us to use, even though it has been out of style for the last twenty years or more among the liberals.

The Pentateuch is a group of books which for at least 2000 years have been considered as one collection. Actually, they might be considered as one book. Something can be said for the idea that Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy is one book; that it is the book which Moses wrote. That is a view which has been held by the Jews as far back as we

can trace, and which was held by almost all the Christian Church until comparatively recently. It was thought of as a whole book which was written by Moses but is now divided into five sections. Well, did Moses write one book originally? And then, because it was too much to get on one roll or even on two rolls, was it found convenient to write it on five scrolls and so they called it five different books? Is that the true explanation of it? Or is it that he wrote it as five different books? We do not know. There is no proof anywhere. The New Testament refers to it quite commonly as the law of Moses or the Book of Moses and that would fit with the idea that it might have originally been one book. On the other hand, some of these books have a definite enough division between them to make it seem quite probable that they were written as separate units even though closely related. In either case, however, the five books as they occur in the Bible give us a unified picture. As we have it today, it is a picture which moves forward in an orderly progression in which all the different sections are fit together in an orderly fashion and which comes to a reasonable end with the death of Moses at the end of the last book. The Pentateuch is a logical, unified structure, and it is quite reasonable for us to consider it as a unit.

The term Pentateuch is not found in the Bible. You never find the five books referred to as the Pentateuch in the rest of the Old Testament or in the New Testament. Nor do you find any place in the Old Testament or in the New Testament where any of these five books is referred to by the names which we call them today. The New Testament never says, "it is written in the book of Deuteronomy," "in the book of Numbers," "in the book of Leviticus", or "of Genesis." None of the five are referred to by the names which we give them today. But they are very definitely referred to, and the usual term applied to them is simply the Hebrew word which we translate as "the law."

In the beginning of the book of Joshua, which the critics would consider as the last book of the Hexateuch, references are made to "the book of the law," and it is quite evident that the author of Joshua wished us to understand that Joshua had in his hands a book, and the most reasonable understanding of it is that the book to which he referred is what we now call the five books of Moses or the Pentateuch. Joshua is told that "this book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth." There is no reason to suggest that the author of Joshua meant in particular the book of Deuteronomy or the book of Genesis or any one of these, but it was the five together. It is undoubtedly the Pentateuch which he meant when he spoke of it as "this book of the law." We find it referred to in this unified way as one book in Joshua 1:7, 8:31, 8:34 and 24:26.

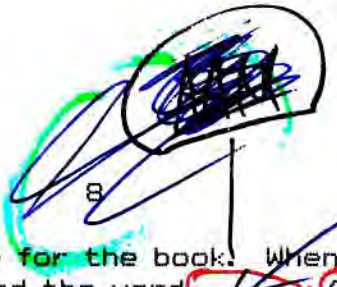
In II Chronicles 17:9 we read about the reign of King Jehoshaphat that "they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the LORD with them and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people." And the author of Chronicles undoubtedly included the whole Pentateuch in what he meant by the book of the law of the LORD at the time of Jehoshaphat. In I Kings 2:3 we have similarly a reference which is considered by interpreters to refer to the Pentateuch. David said to Solomon, "Keep the charge of the LORD thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, and his commandments, and his judgments, and his testimonies, as it is written in the law of Moses." This was not a

reference to the individual books of the law of Moses; the five books were considered there, according to the writer of Kings, or according to David, as true and as one book, the book of the law, composed of these five sections. A Jewish tradition, that has been referred to sometimes, has the five fifths, a term which you see implies the unity of it. They called them five fifths and yet recognized the division into five parts. There are numerous instances in the New Testament where we have references to the book of Moses or to the law of Moses, which also recognize this as a unit. We could spend much more time on the importance of the Pentateuch, with its vital place at the beginning of the Scripture, as the foundation of it all. But let us go on to look at the names of the five books. (A. was the term Pentateuch)

B. ***The Names of the Five Books***

We notice that none of these names occur in our Old Testament, ~~or in~~ our New Testament, or anywhere else. Where then do these names Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy come from? Not one of them occurs in your Hebrew Bible. But the names were used, it would seem, first by the Greeks. They are titles which have been given to these books in the Septuagint and we have simply taken the Greek titles over into English. In the Hebrew Bible they have different names, but there is no reason to think of the Hebrew names of the books as being in any sense titles which were attached to them from the very beginning. There is no reference to them under those titles elsewhere in the Old Testament or in the New Testament, and the nature of the Hebrew names suggests very definitely that they are not titles. That is to say, the Hebrew practice in most of these books is simply to quote the first word of the book, and, of course, that is not a title when you just quote the first word. It rather shows the fact that when they quoted the first word they were recognizing that there was no given title, and were simply referring to the book in order to make it clear what they were referring to. This was a rather common custom among the Babylonians, the Greeks, and the Romans to refer to a book by quoting a few words from it, and that is true of the title you will find in your Hebrew Bible over the book of Genesis: (Hebrew) In the beginning--in the head. It is simply the first word of the book of Genesis. The Greek title means beginning (Genesis). If we only had this one book we might not be so sure that the Greek title was not just a translation of the Hebrew or that the Hebrew was not simply a title instead of a first word. When we come to the second book we find the distinction very clear. Of course, in the beginning exactly describes what Genesis is.

When you come to the second book, you find that the Greeks have given it a title that is an apt description of what is contained in the book--"the coming out." But the Hebrew title is simply the first word of the book, "and these are the names." Now what has that got to do with the book of Exodus? Well, of course, it is simply quoting from the beginning. And these are the names of the children of Israel who came down into Egypt, every man with his household came with Jacob, Reuben, Simon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, etc. It tells nothing about the book, but it is the Hebrew title, and the fact of having such a title as that again suggests the idea of one unified book that has been divided into scrolls, and you simply name the scroll by the way it starts. The Greeks logically desired a title that would describe what was in the book,



and Exodus is a very good title for the book. When we come to the third book, in the Hebrew, you will find the word ____. And that of course means that he called. Well, that is the first word, but the rest, "And called the LORD unto Moses, and spoke unto him out of the tabernacle of the congregation, saying..." does not tell you any more about the book of Leviticus than "These are the names" tells you about the book of Exodus. It simply is the beginning. It was quite a natural way to do it, if one long book of Moses was put on different scrolls making a division at a fairly logical place. And so we call this third one by the first two Hebrew words of the book. Nevertheless, the Greek name for the book is a name which describes pretty much what is in this book, Leviticus: the book of the Levitical legislation which was a book of the laws relating to the priests and the Levites. The title immediately tells us the nature of the great bulk of material in this book. When you come to the fourth book, the situation is almost exactly reversed. The Hebrew does not take the first word of the fourth book. It does not say, "Spake the LORD unto Moses in the wilderness?" Well, I suppose the reason they did not call it that was because the one before was "and called." And it would be quite confusing to call the third book "And called," and the fourth book "And spoke." Therefore, the Hebrews skipped over the first two or three words until they came to the word "in the wilderness," and they called this book "In the Wilderness." The Greeks looked at the books and they said, "We are not interested in just taking the first word or words out of the first verse, let's give it a title." Now what is the title to the book? Unfortunately, whoever made the Greek title to this book did not bother to read the book. It is not a very good idea to make a title for a book unless you have read it. You will still find such things done today. I had a very embarrassing experience when I was a senior in college. I had been elected editor of the college paper, and quite a number of the members of its staff were carry-overs from the previous year. I had no experience in journalism before, but I learned a great deal by the end of the year in which I was editor. In the early part of the year there were occasional slip-ups which might have been prevented if I had been able to watch every aspect of the paper more carefully. I remember one in particular in which the Freshman class had an election and one of the reporters wrote up the election. One of the members of the staff, who was in the print shop arranging the material in the paper, looked at the article and arranged the heading for it. As you may know, the principal requirement of a newspaper head is to have the right number of letters on each line. This man was very adept at getting words with just the right number of letters to fill the available space. There is also a second requirement which is of some importance, that it has some relation to what is in the article. But even in our big city newspapers there is very frequently little attention paid to this second requirement. In this case, he evidently glanced at the article, saw the name below was MacNair, president, and proceeded to put the head, "Class Elections feature MacNair," and when it came out the next day, the members of one of the fraternities all gathered around me in great anger and told me that by an underhand political trick I had worked things in such a way that their man was not the elected president of the class. It seemed that in the election two fellows had received the tie vote and, consequently, they were to have a run-off the next week, and one of these

fellows was MacNair, who belonged to one of the other fraternities, and one was the fellow who belonged to their fraternity, and the headline mentioned only the other fellow and the other fellow was elected. Whether that was a result of the headline in the newspaper or not, they blamed me all year for having hurt their fraternity. And the man who could have blamed me even more was their candidate because they had not yet pledged him to their fraternity, and they did not do so when he was not elected president of the class. So now I think that whoever gave the name of Numbers to this book looked at the book just about as hastily and sketchily as that fellow who looked at that article about the freshman election. When you open the book of Numbers you find that its first chapter tells you of the census taken of the people. As you look at the second chapter you see a census of the Levites. At the end of the book you will find another census of the people. So you have found a few numbers in the book, but you take out the beginning and the end and there is practically none left anywhere in the book. There are two censuses taken in the book. And that may be four chapters out of thirty six. The other thirty two have absolutely nothing about taking a census, and yet they called the whole book Numbers. It is much more misleading than to call Exodus "And these are the names." It is a title which gives you a description of the first chapter rather than a quotation of the first word, and therefore, it is more misleading because you can get the idea that it is a description and that it describes the book which it does not really do at all. The numbers are almost incidental, whereas the rest of the book gives a most interesting account of the wilderness wanderings of the Children of Israel.

The Hebrews probably did better than they realized when they named the fourth book, "In the Wilderness." This is as perfect a description of the book as we have for any book in the Bible. The title tells us what the book of Numbers is about. It is the account of the **Israelites in their wilderness journey. It is the story of their experiences as they journeyed from Sinai to the Promised Land. That is what the book is** really about. I am afraid that even today many a Christian is led by this unfortunate and misleading title "Numbers" to pass by the book with little attention, thinking that it is merely a lot of statistics, and thus they miss the rich blessings that the book should give them.

There is a special blessing for the Christian as he studies the book of Numbers. If he has received Christ as his Savior, he has passed through the experiences typified by the book of Exodus, with its account of the Passover sacrifice, and the escape from what Egypt symbolized--the power of sin. He has now begun his wilderness journey. He may easily imagine that he has reached the promised land, but he will soon discover that he is wrong. Sin still has power in his life and in that of the people around him. He still has the long journey of sanctification to go through. When new Christians find that they are not fully sanctified, and that the people around them are not perfect, they tend to become dissatisfied and are sometimes tempted to go back into Egypt. They need to realize that in this life we are like the Israelites dwelling in tents in the wilderness. We are in the wilderness journey, redeemed out of Egypt, but not yet entered into the Promised Land. God has a purpose in keeping us here. It is His will that we pass through the wilderness journey in this life, and we find many analogies, and many lessons, and

much that is precisely relevant to us in this book of the account of the wilderness journey of the Israelites. The title, Numbers, gives an utterly false impression of what the book means. In this case the Hebrew title is much better. It is unfortunate that in this case the translators of the King James Version translated a Greek title. When we have a Greek title which fits perfectly, we do not translate it and make it "Beginning." Instead we take the Greek word Genesis. Many a person has no idea of what "Genesis" really means. It is just a name. And when we have a Greek word which fits the title of a book perfectly--Exodus, "coming out", we do not translate it. We keep the word Exodus which so many people think is just a title, being an exact transliteration of the Greek word. But when we come to the fourth book, the Greeks have as poor a title as there is for any book in the Bible. Yet, instead of keeping their title, Arithmoi, in its Greek form and having it be just a title, we translate it into English and get the exact meaning of the misleading Greek title. We translate it into "Numbers," and thus make the unfortunate and misleading title that the Greeks gave it have much more a reality to us than is true of Genesis or Exodus or Deuteronomy.

The fifth one is Deuteronomy. Here again the Hebrew name is the first word of the book, which in this case is not so bad as a Scripture title, as far as it goes. But of course that is not on account of the meaning of the words, because they just took the first word. The first words here fit very well as a title, as they do in the case of Genesis. "These are the words" is the title of this book, and it fits very well. Now the Greek word also fits very excellently. We should discuss the meaning of these two names, because they are both excellent for this fifth book of Deuteronomy. It would be better if we translated it as we do Numbers. A very perverse thing isn't it, that one of the Greek names does not fit at all in the case of Numbers. We translate it into English and where it does fit perfectly, as in the case of Deuteronomy, we keep it in Greek so that the average reader has no idea of what it means. All of you who have taken any Greek know that nomos means law. And you know that deutero means second. So we have here a very briefly given "second law." Of course, that is too brief. That is telegraphic language, but it gives an idea of the contents and what it means if you throw it out as the second presentation of the law or the second giving, but I think presentation is better than giving: the second presentation of the law. The repetition of the law, you might say. That is an excellent name for this book, Deuteronomy. The Hebrew name for the book is "These are the words." That also is a good name because in Hebrew "words" often means "commands." "These are the commands." The verse goes on, "These are the words which Moses spoke unto the people in the plains of Moab over across the Jordan." In other words, it is the farewell address of Moses. "The Farewell Addresses of Moses" would be an excellent title for the book. For people who are fairly familiar with Greek, Deuteronomy is a good title, but it is very silly to simply copy the Greek letters into English letters and quote it. There is probably not one person in a thousand in our churches who even has any idea of what this word means. It is very foolish to keep a name in a foreign tongue this way. Paul speaks against it in the New Testament. He says that there is no point in speaking in a foreign tongue that can not be understood, and that is exactly what we do when we use Greek words in the names Deuteronomy and

Genesis instead of using English, particularly when we translate the name of Numbers into English in the one case where it does not fit at all. I think it is equally wrong to try to speak King James (Elizabethan) English in our prayers to God, as if He could understand the language of three hundred years ago better than He can understand the language of today. In addressing God we use the terms that the Bible uses to address Satan and to address all kinds of wicked people thinking that in some way it is a bit more reverent simply because it is the way people talked three hundred years ago. But this Greek word, Deuteronomy, is a good title, if it is either spoken by a Greek or translated as the language of the person who is referring to it. The Hebrew word in this case, also is a good title, but the Greeks gave it a title describing the book, so we must give them credit for giving it a good title. While the Hebrew simply called it by the first two words, you might say it is pure happenstance, nevertheless those two words do fit the contents of the book very well.

The contents of Deuteronomy, as we mentioned, are the farewell addresses of Moses. We will look a little more fully at the contents of the book a little later. We will not be able to look at it a great deal in this course because our subject this year is the critical approach. The subject in this particular course is the very important matter of the higher criticism of the Pentateuch, rather than our understanding of what the true situation is in regard to it. But you cannot understand the higher criticism of the Pentateuch if you do not know what the Pentateuch is and what its main contents are, and one of the most important things to know and understand is the principal nature of the subject matter of each book. There are some parts of the Pentateuch, for instance, which were very important for the Jews which are not extremely important for us today. We preach on them rarely. We should not neglect them, however, but when it comes to an understanding of the higher criticism we have to be familiar with their general purpose, otherwise we just can not understand at all what the higher criticism is about and know whether it is right or whether it is wrong. So I wish for this course I could presuppose on your side a knowledge of the contents, but I do not presuppose anything without proof. From your papers I will know what attitude to take on it as we go forward.

In regards to Deuteronomy, I am going to read you a few words from a book called, "The Modern Readers Bible" which was published by Prof. Richard D. Moulton a good many years ago. It came out originally in 1895. This is a publication of it from 1923. They kept producing it up to that time. I do not know whether it is being produced now or not, but that is sufficient enough to show it has had considerable use. It is not a new translation. It used the King James Version, occasionally taking the reading of the Revised Version instead, but not as a rule. It is a study by this professor of literary interpretation in the University of Chicago, a man who was not primarily interested in the meaning, and who was not greatly interested in the higher criticism: the question of dates, authorship, or anything like that. He was interested in literary value, and he studied all sorts of literature from a viewpoint of literary value. In his book he presents the Bible without chapter divisions disturbing the contents. That is, he had them on the side so you could tell what chapter it is, and occasionally he put verse divisions at the side of the page. He put it in paragraph form with no chapters or verse notes in the

middle, which makes it quite easy to read, and tried to arrange it in paragraph or in poetic form according to the context, and then he discusses the poetic nature of it. In the early part of his first edition he seems to have practically taken the Bible as absurd, dealing with it purely as literature. In his later edition he came under the influence of the higher criticism to the extent that he occasionally refers to the theory of higher criticism in a commendatory way, sometimes in a skeptical way, but all of it with this attitude. It is not my purpose here to consider who wrote Deuteronomy, whether Deuteronomy was written by Moses or whether a number of men wrote sections of it many years afterwards which were put together into something expanded that pretends to be a book.

From the viewpoint of a book it means that he does not go much into questions which we can get our answers for from other sources. But he does go into literary matters in a very interesting and helpful way. I have found the book to be a very useful, but I would like to read you what he says about Deuteronomy as a literary work, and what he says will fit with the idea that it is written by Moses. He does not bother himself with whether it was written by Moses or by somebody else later who pretended to be Moses, but he says this about the literary value of Deuteronomy, that as a literary work it is a collection of the orations and songs of Moses constituting his farewell to the people of Israel. This much is obvious. Although it may not yet appear obvious, I think it to become obvious to you as we go on. This much is obvious, he says: it is a literary work of the collections of the orations and songs of Moses. He says it is true that the prefatory matters, to mention the various parts presents, even from the literary point of view, obscure instances which are not easy to understand. I have endeavored to deal with these in the notes. Here I will speak only of two points: the splendor of the oratory itself and further factors separating this from every other collection of species connected with the mode in which the parts are united into a succession. Moulton says that in dealing with oratory it is natural to speak first with the correlation of sentences; what in other departments of literature is subordinate here comes to the front. As drama presents a scene in the medium of dialogue so the medium for recording is a compact of sentences. The rush of speech which belongs to oratory, is in this book seen in perfection, yet is always held in perfect command. The speaker begins in the simple style of historic survey, entirely apart from the straining actor of effect which makes the speech comprehensible. But when the feeling rises, when Moses tells of all the ways the Lord has met the people in the wilderness or depicts the bright prosperity of life in the good land, or shows contrasts with their recurrent rebellion, the simple requirements of servants and love, the musical poise of his sentences takes hold of the reader as emotional affection and a long voyage continues itself in the proper vein after he has landed. No one can read Deuteronomy through without the swing of its sentences being felt even when there are no words there to fill them out. And when the orator's passion rises to a climax we have a breathless torrent of woes sustained to a length that is without precedence in the literature of denunciation.

When I was a beginner in literary study, I recollect a resolution I made for myself in the form of an exercise, which was to read through on

three successive days, each at a single setting, an oration of Demosthenes, one of Burke, and the book of Deuteronomy. I would not be understood as recommending such comparison, but I well recollect the feeling I had at times that neither of the others rose to the oratorical level of the speeches of Moses but all story does not consist merely in sentences. It is the soul as well as the body.

In the thought of Deuteronomy, the thought which is most impressive is the strange contrasts which is like a clash of opposing tides. On the one hand, Deuteronomy has been well described as the most spiritual book in the Old Testament. In league with a few of the Psalms and loftier parts of prophecy, it breathes of an ardent love of an invisible God. A spiritual awe of the unseen I AM, a heart religion penetrating through the surface of doom to the springs of the holy. The speaker may well have been in the mountains forty days and forty nights. His feet shone as well as his face. All this is true, but on the other hand it is true that nowhere else in Scripture does the practical side of religion appear so vividly stated or so urgently pressed. When a proverb declares the way of wickedness stung him or that the way of righteousness is the way of light in which all good things can be enjoyed we come to a general principle. But Moses boldly points out direct consequences in all their details when he threatens, he almost catalogs the plagues and diseases, that will follow disobedience. And when he promises, he speaks in the imagery of vineyards and fig trees and increase of cattle and sheep.

I will not read further here in his description of Deuteronomy but I think this will show the impression that Moulton had of the great literary value, the lofty tone, and also the great spiritual significance of this book of Deuteronomy. It is unfortunate that the great bulk of our Christian people learn most of what they learn about the Bible simply from sermons which deal with great passages of the Scripture as a rule or from Sunday School lessons in which a narrative or an historical account is usually presented. Very few of our Christian people today get the tremendous impression that Moulton got by sitting down and reading Deuteronomy through as a whole at one time, from simply reading the book. It is important to study little details, this is necessary, but there is also great value in reading through these great passages and getting an impression of them as a whole, and seeing the messages that God has for us.

Moulton stresses the unity of the impression which the book of Deuteronomy can give. Its wonderful oratory rises to great climaxes and makes a tremendous impression in its arrangement of words so that, as he says, when you stop reading after you have read a lot of it, you feel as if you have been traveling on a boat and when you come back to land you feel the motion of the boat afterwards for days. You still feel the flow of the waters through your mind. You do not have that impression after reading Genesis or Joshua. Deuteronomy is significantly different from other books of the Scriptures. The critics talk about it a great deal and call it the Deuteronomic style. The style of Deuteronomy is indeed a different style; it is the style of great oratory and impassioned discourse. It is the book which gives the farewell addresses that Moses gave to his people shortly before he died.

C. ***The Place of the Pentateuch in the Bible***

The Pentateuch is the beginning; it is the foundation. You might

say it is the constitution. It is what the Israelites had as they began their life as a nation, and upon it everything else depends. The Pentateuch was placed in the temple, in the holy of holies. It was the foundation of their national life. This was their primary law. This was their presentation of God in His character, His attitude, and His relation to them. It presented the manner of life they should live. It presented the law they should fulfill. It presented the details for the conduct of their lives in Canaan. It is, then, primarily a book of law. The Pentateuch is a book showing God's relation to His people, showing its great principles and showing many details of the relationship which they were to have with Him in Canaan. The history in the Pentateuch may be said to be subordinate in purpose to his law. That means the history is introductory to the law. The history is there to show the people why God is, how they know that God is such as He is, and how they know what He wants them to do. But the purpose of it is not simply to know the things that happened in the past. The book of Genesis and the first half of Exodus are an integral part of the Pentateuch. Though the rest is mostly law, and they are mostly history, they are giving the introduction to the law, showing how the law came to be given, showing what kind of a God it was who gave the law and what His purposes were. If you divide the Pentateuch into two main types of material, they will be law and history, and the two fit together for one great purpose. Of course, in Deuteronomy you find both law and history. You find Moses giving a summary of a good part of the history of the foundation and background to the law which he has given to them. The Pentateuch has a primary place in the Old Testament, and it is recognized in the New Testament as having a primary position. The law of Moses is the foundation. The whole Old Testament is God's Word. Christ rebuked them for not believing all that the prophets had spoken, and the Pentateuch has a place of priority in that. It is the foundation, the beginning. When Christ discussed it with the Sadducees, He deliberately passed over many clear passages in the other portions and pointed to relatively obscure passages in the law, not that they did not accept the other passages as God's Word, but that the law was recognized by everyone. The Pentateuch is so primary a foundation that to give any evidence directly from it would seem to be the answer to any problem.

II. *A Survey of the Contents of the Pentateuch*

Before we go into this discussion of Deuteronomy or of the contents of the Pentateuch, I am going to give you an outline of the contents of the Pentateuch. We could take a semester on this outline, but I want to rush over it hastily because it is simply introductory to our discussion of the higher Criticism.

A. ***The World before Abram*** (Genesis 1:1 to 11:26). ~~Of course it is~~ the account of the creation and of God's dealing with the world as a whole and of the nations as a whole up to the time when He selected one individual to be the beginning of a new group to keep alive the memory of ~~God~~ when mankind as a whole had cast Him out of their attention and preferred to follow their own wicked desires and follow Satan the prince of this world. You will never fully understand everything in this section from Genesis 1:1 to 11:26. It is infinite in its teaching and meaning. One can spend the rest of his life always getting new truth from it. Much of

it is surely familiar to everyone here, whether you know anything else about the Pentateuch or not. We merely mention it here and go on to B.

B. ***The Patriarchal History*** The Pentateuch tells about the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: i.e. God's dealing with the fathers of the Israelite people found in Genesis 11:26 to the end of Genesis.

Four-fifths of the book of Genesis is the story of four generations of one family. It revolves around four names. Abraham's history runs from chapter 11:27 to 25:8. The death of Abraham is described in Genesis. His son Isaac is first described in chapter 21 and his death in 35, but there are not fifteen chapters about him. His life overlaps with Abraham by five chapters and then the story of Jacob's life runs from chapter 25 to chapter 50. The account of Abraham and Jacob runs from chapter 11:27 to the end of Genesis. Isaac overlaps with both of them.

Joseph's life runs from Genesis 37 to 50. We do not have a single chapter which deals only with the life of Joseph, but there is a great deal about Joseph in the course of these fourteen chapters, and he is one of the outstanding characters of the book.

These four men from four successive generations are the ones around which the history can be clustered for character study. For understanding God's dealings with humanity and for useful lessons for practical life there is no more interesting part of the Bible than this. There are also many interesting problems connected with it. In a course on Old Testament history one is always tempted to spend a whole year on this section, but we should restrict ourselves so as to cover other sections also.

C. ***The Deliverance from Egypt***

I suggest dividing this section into three parts: 1) Preparation for Deliverance, chapters 1-4. This tells of the condition of the Israelites needing deliverance and of the preparation of Moses to be the deliverer. 2) The Contest with Pharaoh, chapters 5-12:36. This is the account of Moses' call to deliver the Israelites out of Egypt and the contest with Pharaoh. It includes nearly eight chapters, finally reaching its climax in the Passover, where God kills Pharaoh's first-born son and Pharaoh orders the people to get out of his sight and leave Egypt, as they had been urging him to permit them to do. Now the contest with Pharaoh, though it ends here, has an aftermath in chapter 14 where Pharaoh pursues them into the wilderness, but we will include that in section 3. 3) The Journey to Sinai, chapters 12:37-19:2. This is part of the deliverance from Egypt. They were not entirely delivered from Egypt until they had gone a sizable distance from it. They were in its shadow until they reached Sinai, where they were at last out of the area of Egyptian influence. The account of the journey from Egypt to Sinai is proof, of course, of the deliverance from Pharaoh when he pursued them, including the deliverance at the Red Sea.

Section D is one of the important sections of the Pentateuch. It is outstanding in its importance in the structure of the Pentateuch. It is so vital that logically it could have an entire book to itself, though it is actually only five chapters. God delivered the Israelites from Egypt and they marched rapidly across the desert until they came to Sinai and there they settled down and there they were free from Egypt. Now that they have escaped Egypt what is going to happen? Are they simply to be led up to the Promised Land and brought in there to go about their

business as they feel like doing? No. God did not bring them out of Egypt simply to set them free to do what they might feel like. God brought them out of Egypt because they were His people whom he had set apart, not simply to be His pets, but to be His pattern. He set them apart not simply because He liked them better than any others, but because He had a purpose to work through them. There was a plan of God in which the Israelite nation had a very important part to play. Just as important as the deliverance from Egypt is the establishment of a covenant between God and His people. This covenant is established in chapters 19 to 24 (*Establishment of the Covenant*). This is in many ways the most important section of the whole Pentateuch: everything previous leads up to this covenant and everything afterwards is for its explanation. To understand the structure of the Pentateuch, it is absolutely necessary to understand this fully. But I am also stressing it in this course because it is extremely important if we are to understand the higher criticism at all, we must see what the real purpose and nature of chapters 19 to 24. It belongs where it stands. It is the account of how God made a covenant with His people whom He had delivered and shows why He had delivered them. He had brought them out of Egypt for a purpose.

In view of its importance I am going to divide this section into four parts: 1) *Preparation for the Covenant* in 19:3 to 25. God says, I have brought you out of Egypt, I have delivered you from the mighty hand of Pharaoh; now I want you to keep my covenant and to be my people. The people answer and say, Yes, truly we will keep your covenant and we will obey your Word. You are our deliverer and our great God. Chapter 19 has a clear presentation of this. The people were already God's people. He had already redeemed them. The Law was not the basis of their becoming God's people, but it was the way they were to act as God's people, the way they were to show forth His righteousness. There is a very excellent note on chapter 19 in the Scofield Bible. Unfortunately, the author of the Scofield notes on Galatians was different from the one who wrote those on Exodus. It says that Israel rashly accepted the law here at Sinai. Of course, it was not rash to do what God asked them to do. It was what anyone with any gratitude would have to do, after the wonderful things that God had done in delivering them from Egypt. That note in the Scofield Bible in Galatians was unfortunate, but I am very glad that it was not put at this point in Exodus where we are considering what really happened. At that place there is a very excellent note. This covenant was a part of God's plan. It is the reason that He delivered them from Egypt and is a vital part of His economy.

If Israel had turned and said, "We will not accept your covenant, refuse to obey your commandments or to accept your law it would have been just the same as what happened a little later when they refused to enter Palestine at His order and He made them wander forty years in the wilderness until all of them were dead and a new generation had grown up. It would have been that, only much worse, and now they turn and face God and say, No, we won't be so rash as to try to do what you want us to do. We will reject your law and your covenant. So in #1 we do not have a case of God giving the people a chance to say whether they will follow Him or not. He has already redeemed His people, and in chapter nineteen He is giving them a chance to show their gratitude for His redemption by

declaring their desire to do what He wants and to enter into the covenant with Him. They must do this if they have any gratitude at all for what He has done!

I shall call 2) *The Ten Words*, because this is the phrase the Hebrew uses. In English it is often translated the Ten Commandments, but the Hebrew is simply "the ten words" (Ex. 20:1-17). These ten words give in brief form a summary of the law of God and His relationship to the people. They are a brief summary of His relationship to the people and His will for them. They are the ten words.

[Section A of the contents of the Pentateuch was The World Before Abraham. Section B was The Patriarchal History, Section C, Deliverance from Egypt, and Section D is The Establishment of the Covenant, Exodus 19-24].

The Establishment of the Covenant is often called the Book of the Covenant. I mentioned at the end of the last hour what an extremely important section this is. It is the place where God made His covenant with Israel after He had brought them out of Egypt. We noticed the meaning of it, that it was not a means of salvation, for He had already brought them out of Egypt. They had already had the experience of the Passover. He asked whether they would do His will and undertake His covenant and they agreed to do it.

D. ***The Establishment of the Covenant***: Exodus 19-24. This Book of the Covenant can be divided into four sections, of which the first is the first chapter in it and the forth is the last chapter. Section 1) is The *Preparation for the Covenant* (19:3-25). The first two verses are just finishing the account of the journey in the previous chapter so it is 19:3 to 25. All of chapter 19 except the first two verses is the preparation for the covenant. Section 4) is *The Ratification of the Covenant*, chapter 24. Thus you might say that the first and last chapters are the envelope which contains the Covenant itself. Section one is preparation for it, and section four is ratification of it. Now I am going to give what is in between, which would be the actual Covenant itself. As you see it has two sides like an envelope, the preparation is chapter 19, the ratification is chapter 24. In between these two is the main body of it. It is like the constitution or the fundamental law of almost any organization: it has two parts. We call them nowadays the Constitution and the by-laws. They did not use those terms. Section two they called the ten words. We usually call it the ten commandments, which is a free rendering. Literally it is the ten words.

3) *The Ordinances*. These are, you might say, the working of details in relation to this fundamental constitution. The ordinances here are divided into five sections. The ordinances are more temporary in nature. To quite an extent they deal with their immediate situation. I will just read rapidly the subheads under the ordinances: A. Regarding Idolatry, B. The Law of the Altar, C. Civil Laws, D. Sabbaths and Feasts, and E. Covenant Promises. We can divide the ordinances rather roughly into those five sections. They are not arranged strictly logically. They are the working details for their immediate situation. The ten words are the constitution.

Thousands of Christians know the Ten Words but very few know these five sub-divisions. Individual verses from these may be known to many Christians, but the section as a whole is not nearly as well known as the

previous section of the ten words. And that is quite natural because the ten words are the fundamental constitution and apply to God's people at all times. To quite an extent these are the outworking in relation to the immediate situation. Stressing the vital things that they should know in their immediate situation, while the further details await later provision. I will give you the references for the five divisions:

The Ten Words, chapter 20:1-17.
Regarding Idolatry: 20:18-23.
The Law of the Altar: 20:24-26.

There is quite a heterogeneous section of civil laws mostly applying to their immediate circumstances which runs through two chapters, 21:1-23:9.

Sabbath and Feasts: 23:10-19.
Covenant Promises: 23:20-33.

I am extremely anxious that you know the chapters included in the book of the Covenant, and that you shall know exactly what is in the first division and the fourth division. I do not care whether you remember that the Ten Commandments are verses 1-17, but you should know that they are in the first part of chapter 20. We will refer to the ordinances to some extent later, but the only one which we are apt to lay a good deal of stress is the Law of the Altar. It would be good to know exactly where that is, for it is of tremendous importance in the development of higher criticism.

I do not ask you all necessarily to remember the contents of every verse in these particular chapters, but I would like you to know where the Ten Commandments are and to know the extent of the Book of the Covenant as a whole.

E. **The establishment of a system of worship**

This establishment of a system of worship is a section which continues through the later part of the book of Exodus and through a large portion of the book of Leviticus. In fact, all of Leviticus might possibly be considered under this head, but I have given a different head for the last part of Leviticus. I divide E into six parts.

1) Moses is directed to build a sanctuary and consecrate priests. The Covenant has been established and the immediate laws necessary for careful observance have already given before He lays down the lasting system, the establishment of the system of worship to go with the covenant which He has given. This establishment of a system of worship begins with Moses being directed to build a sanctuary and consecrate priests. I should say that the sections, however, include chapters 25-31. Thus you see seven chapters are included in this. Moses is up in the mount during this time receiving directions.

A. The Directions for Building a Sanctuary (three chapters). The Covenant is established, it has been ratified in chapter 24 with an appropriate ceremony, with God and the elders of Israel participating. Now Moses goes up on the mountain to learn how they shall establish this system of worship and chapters 25 to 27 are directions for building a sanctuary. The first necessity for worship is a place to worship, and next are the people to conduct the worship.

B. Directions for the consecration of the priests (two chapters, 28, 29). After they have been directed to consecrate priests, certain further details of the worship are stressed in the next chapter.

C. Further Details of Worship (chapter 30). These details include

such matters as the incense altar and how the priests are to use it and instructions about the general cleanliness which the priests must observe. Further details of worship include such matters as the incense altar and of the general cleanliness which the priest must observe. You can read the chapters and note other details, but I am not stressing them at this point.

D. The designation of men to direct the construction (32:12-17). We might say that D goes back to A, because it gives them some details of what the priests are to do.

E. The Sabbath Law (31:12-17). This aspect of the worship does not require a building or special priests, but it is a way in which all the people can show their loyalty to God. Therefore it is stressed here and throughout the Pentateuch. In these five sections Moses was directed to build a sanctuary and to consecrate priests.

2) The covenant broken and renewed -- an interruption. We are now in a section of the Pentateuch which is largely made up of laws and principles for the direction of God's people, orders for the details of their worship. But here that is interrupted. We have here not simply a book of laws, but the story of the giving of the laws. It was interrupted by the fact that when Moses came down from the mountain he found that the people had apostatized: the incident of the golden calf. This is an interruption in the establishment of the system of worship.

a. The incident of the golden calf (32:1-29).

b. Moses' intercession (32:30-33:22).

c. Renewal of the covenant (34:1-35) is the section of the main title, not yet covered in the subdivision. Now, of course, you would not ordinarily find it worded exactly like the main heading, but in this case it is and I thought I would see if you noticed the omission. Now I would ask this, what section of the Pentateuch, of what we have previously looked at, would be most apt to bear a similarity to this section? Of course we glanced at the Book of the Covenant, the Ten Commandments and the Covenant ratified. Between those two would be the principles of the constitution. Chapter 24 would be the ratification of those principles. There are those who say that chapter 34 represents an earlier story of the Covenant between God and the people. You compare the two and see the differences and know how to develop from the simple to the complex and note the development in the document. Suppose you find that there the Covenant is in a simpler form than chapter 34 and that it is somewhat fuller in chapter 20. It is a natural arrangement, i.e. they give the Covenant. They set it down so the people will know what God's relation to them is and what He wants them to do. But then, after they had prayed to the golden calf, it is not necessary to repeat it all but to stress certain aspects of it as they renew it and to summarize it, and consequently you might say that in this one chapter you have renewed all that you had from chapter 19 to 24. Here you have a renewal which does not need to be nearly as full but which can have many similarities to it. It was the great German poet who in studying the book of Exodus, advanced the suggestion that chapter 34 is the original and that chapter 34 had the original commandments in the simple primitive form which has such themes as "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk" and other terms like that which are the real original ten commandments. And also, that these have been somewhat enlarged and made more spiritual in

the form which we have in Exodus 20 as a later development. Many critics hold this view, although many others deny it. It is not basic to the higher criticism, but it is typical of much of the higher criticism. It is very valuable to know the contents of the Pentateuch since the Pentateuch has such an important place in the Scripture. It is certainly wrong for Christians to just know the story and nothing else--just to know the incidents and not to know anything about the law or about the real structure of it and how it fits together to make one production with vital meaning at the beginning of the Bible. It is vital for us to know something about these divisions. The divisions I am giving you are not inspired. You will find them given differently in other books, and you may like the arrangement given in some other book better, but the general structure of it is clear. It is just a question of how you are going to express it in the most logical way and that is not so vital, but it is very important to know the general structure, to know that the Covenant was given and then that the Covenant was broken and renewed. That is vital to the understanding of God's relationship to the people. I wish we could take a whole semester on simply studying the content of the Pentateuch from this viewpoint, but we can not. We have only three years and many things to cover, so I have to run through this very hastily now, but in connection with this particular course, our purpose in this is not that you only understand the structure of the Pentateuch, as vital as that is, but that you have in mind the structure of the Pentateuch in order to see what it is that the critics alter, how they come to altering it, and just how much strength and how much weakness there is in their approach. So someone says, "Well look here; here is the original in this chapter; here is the more developed in this chapter; here is the still more developed in this chapter." You can not look at the theory intelligently unless you have an idea of how the Pentateuch actually is organized, and what its arrangement is as it stands and its logical structure. You can find these in any outline of the Pentateuch, but their logical relationship is generally not brought into as clear relief as I would like in any outline I have seen. For that reason I have worked out this particular presentation in the hope that it will enable you to grasp it a little more readily than any other that I have come across. I am not asking necessarily that you accept my outline, but I am very insistent that you be aware of the important points of the structure of the Pentateuch and chapter 30:24 is certainly one such.

[Our main section E here is The Establishment of a System of Worship. Under No.1 Moses was directed to build a sanctuary and consecrate priests. Under section three it is quite natural that he should proceed to begin to do what he had been directed to do]

3) The tabernacle is built and its worship is established (Exodus 35-40). It is rather unfortunate that you have a division between Exodus and Leviticus right at this point, because it continues quite logically with the story of the establishment of a system of worship.

4) The Law of offerings (Leviticus 1-7). These detailed accounts of exactly how to perform different types of offering were not included in the original book of the Covenant. They had then no tabernacle in which to have these complicated offerings. They had then no priests set apart to perform them, but now we have these so we have the Law of offerings. With the Law of Offerings having been given, and having been told how to

consecrate priests, we proceed further as to how to carry out the directions (Leviticus 8-9)

5) The consecration of Aaron and his Sons (Leviticus 8-9).

6) Another interruption--sin in the priesthood itself (Leviticus 10). The structure of this is very important. God is not simply giving us a book of rules. He is not simply giving us a mathematical account the great things He wishes us to believe. He is showing our situation in this world in which Satan rules. He is showing us that even when He led the people out from Egypt and set them apart for Himself and made a Covenant with them and proceeded to give them these wonderful laws, that even then they turned aside and worshiped the golden calf and then that was remedied and the Covenant was renewed and He established the priesthood, you find that right in the priesthood itself, right in the leadership of the people you find sin coming in, showing that in this age when Satan rules in this world we need not expect complete sanctification anywhere. Among our closest associates, the ones you trust the most and find the most efficient in their services, you may find that some fall into serious sin. It happens in any group, and God gives us a warning that it may happen--a warning to be on our guard against this in others and in ourselves. It occurred among the children of Israel who had these special opportunities far beyond what any of us are apt to have. It can happen to us.

This section tells how Aaron's own two eldest sons who were his assistants as priests, and one of whom would have been high priest after Aaron's death, sinned against God and were killed by God as a result: the death of Nadab and Abihu.

F. **Laws for Holiness of People and Priests**

There is a difference between F here and No. 3 under the Establishment of the Covenant, in the Book of the Covenant. In Exodus 24 ordinances were given which were vital for the people to know immediately for the conduct of their lives in their relation to God. Things which the people should be familiar with are given now so that the priests and those that are in charge of the religious and moral rites of the people shall be prepared for particular contingencies and know what God's law is in relation to them. It is most likely that the ordinances contained in the Book of the Covenant were intended to be repeated over and over to the people so that they would always have it in mind and know just what they should do in relation to those things. Yet, perhaps nobody would have all these laws in mind and the priest could look in the book where they were written when such a contingency would arise. They could read the book and learn to understand their duty in relation to various aspects of their work and life.

This section F, which runs from Leviticus 11-27 is a set of detailed laws on quite a variety of subjects, arranged in such a way that they could find what they wanted and they could read it through and have an idea of the material which the priest should either know or be able to look up when necessary. I am anxious then that you should be familiar with the nature of this material, in contrast with the material in the Book of the Covenant. This is extremely important. I want you to get a general impression of the contents of this section, so I will just read you a statement of subheads or subjects discussed under F here just to get a general idea of its nature. This is the book of Leviticus, 11-27.

Just very brief heads: Food, 11 ; Childbirth, 12; Leprosy, 13-14; Other Purifications, 15; Day of Atonement 16; Rules for Purity, 17-20; Holiness of Priests and Offerings, 21-11; Convocations, 23; Oil and Shewbread, 24:1-9; Incident of the Blasphemer and His Punishment, 24:10-23. Sabbatical Year and Jubilee, 25; Exhortation to Obey God's Law, 26; The Law of Vows and Devoted Things, 27. This gives you an idea of the general nature of the material included in section F; Laws for Holiness of People and Priest. It is not like the Book of the Covenant, something that all the people should be familiar with and keep in mind so as not to transgress it. It is important in order that when especial matters come up or special contingencies arise the priests shall be able to look and see what exactly God's will is in relation to these particular matters.

G. **The journey of the Israelites from Sinai to the plains of Moab**

You remember that under C--The Deliverance from Egypt, our third section was The Journey to Sinai. Now we have a main section From Sinai to the Plains of Moab, which includes the entire book of Numbers. Our tendency from a historical viewpoint, if we were writing it, would probably have been to divide it differently, since there was a great crisis at Kadesh Barnea, and the order was given that all of them except Joshua and Caleb were to die in the wilderness, and the people would stay for forty years in the wilderness before they would enter the land of Palestine. If we were dividing it we would make a main division of the Pentateuch before Kadesh Barnea, but that is not the way it is presented in the Pentateuch. Important as the great change at Kadesh Barnea was historically, and as important as it was in the life of that generation, the purpose of the Pentateuch is not just to tell us the history, but to get the constitution to the people in their relation to God. And this constitution consists of the details leading up to it with all the lives of the patriarchs and the deliverance from Egypt up to where they are at Sinai. Then the law is given at Sinai and they are taken from Sinai to the plains of Moab, and there we have Moses' farewell address so that in a sense you might call the Pentateuch finished at the end of the book of Leviticus. That is to say, the law has been given and the law has been preceded by the history that shows how he came to give the law. You might say it is complete at the end of chapter three. But that leads them out of the wilderness. You then have the account of how they went from there to the plains of Moab with a large portion about the nature of the march, the nature of the conduct of the camp on the march, the number of the people, their arrangement in troops for the march, etc. And many laws are given as they go along in particular circumstances. Then there are the important and interesting historical crises that occurred during this wilderness journey from Sinai to the plains of Moab, and it is very important for us, as Christians, to relate the analogies to our own lives. Within the structure of the Pentateuch it is essentially an appendix after the biggest part of the law had been given, and you might almost think that the Pentateuch could have stopped at the end of Leviticus (being the continuing history of Israel after the giving of the law) were it not for the very important reason it was included in the Pentateuch discussed in section H.

H. **Moses' Farewell Address--The Book of Deuteronomy**

This book of Deuteronomy, which contains Moses' farewell addresses, has a very good title in the Greek, as we have seen. It is the second

law. The whole generation who received the original law had died in the wilderness. The Book of the Covenant had been given. The people had heard, they had tried to follow, but their courage had failed them at Kadesh Barnea. They had died in the wilderness and now a new generation was at the entrance to Palestine, and there Moses gives them three great addresses contained in the book of Deuteronomy. In these addresses Moses exhorts them to obey the law of God. He reviews the history and shows them how God has been with them and has blessed them and what God has done and how they should obey Him. He runs through the law. He does not give them the exact details of how to carry out the sacrifices or how to have the Jubilee year every fiftieth year or the precise manner of purification for a particular condition. Why doesn't he give the details? Because there was no point in giving them to the people as a whole. These were matters which the priests should know in order that when the contingency arose, they would know how to apply the law. Moses is here talking not to the priests but to the people as a whole. The priests had their laws which they are supposed to study, but Moses gives a review of the law intended for the people. It is nevertheless much longer than the Book of the Covenant. The Book of the Covenant is the first presentation, with the stress on the vital things to know now. They have been under the law forty years and now he reviews those vital things that they should know to carry out. There are some changes in view of going into the land, but in general it is the same law, given again to stress what they should have in mind and remembrance. So in Deuteronomy he begins with reminding them of God's goodness in the past--a resume of much forgiveness. Then he goes into the law stressing those things which are vital for them to remember permanently or which were vital for them to know as they enter into the Promised Land, which might not have been important to know in the wilderness. Then at the end he has a most wonderful passage of oratory as he urges them to obey God's law and points out the wonderful blessings that God will give if they obey and the terrible punishment which will come upon them if they disobey. So you see the nature of the book of Deuteronomy is utterly different from the nature of any other section of the book of the Pentateuch. But it is a logical capstone to the Pentateuch. It has a proper and reasonable place in the structure of the Pentateuch on account of its characteristics.

The book of Numbers is not the beginning of the life of the Israelites after the fundamental constitution but is still included in the Pentateuch because it is previous to this second great giving of the law and it leads up to it. It shows how the law was given, in order to show how the law was adopted by the people, as well as some details of its application during their wilderness journey. This then completes our rapid summary, quite hurriedly in some parts, a bit more detailed in other parts. It was given with the purposes. The most important, from the long range viewpoint, is to have you understand the structure of the Pentateuch, which is the very foundation of the Word of God; but then secondly so that you have an idea of those important features of the structure which you must have in mind in order to understand the second important phase of the higher criticism.

The first phase of the higher criticism will occupy us for a month, and during that time we will have little interest in the structure of the

Pentateuch, but it will enter into the second phase. Yet I hope that when we get to the second phase you will have well in mind what we have covered in this structure because it is very vital for an understanding of the second phase. I will, of course, assign special reviews at that time but I wish you would get it well in mind now and continue to review it, because then you will understand immediately the bearing and importance of the second phase, though less known among conservative Christians.

III. ***Authorship of the Pentateuch***

We are now going to look principally at the traditional positions regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch.

A. **Parts of the Pentateuch claim to be written by Moses**

In the legal sections we find references to Moses as the writer. For instance, in the Book of the Covenant, in chapter 24, the chapter which deals with the ratification of the Covenant (the last chapter of the Book of the Covenant). In chapter 24, verse 4, we find a statement made that Moses wrote all the words of the Lord. Here the statement is made that Moses wrote this Book of the Covenant, the Ten Commandments and the Ordinances. Then, over in the legal section, in Deuteronomy 31:9 we find the statement: "and Moses wrote this law and delivered it unto the priests, the sons of Levi, which bare the ark of the Covenant of the LORD and unto all the elders of Israel." Does that mean the law contained in the book of Deuteronomy or does it mean the whole Pentateuch? Well, it at least means Deuteronomy. Then in the same chapter, in verses 24-26, we find: "And it came to pass, when Moses had made an end of writing the words of this law in a book, until they were finished, that Moses commanded the Levites, which bare the ark of the Covenant of the LORD, saying, 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." So we have these three statements that laws were written by Moses.

There is no statement in Genesis that Moses wrote Genesis, but the narrative section of Exodus contains a statement about Moses Writing. In Exodus 17:14 we read: "And the LORD said unto Moses, 'Write this for a memorial in a book.'" Our English version says "a book." But here the Hebrew says, "in the book," "Write this for a memorial in the book and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven."

Numbers 33:2 says, "And Moses wrote their goings out according to their journeys by the commandment of the LORD. These are their journeys according to their goings out." There is no statement in any one of these books, except Deuteronomy, which seems to say that that particular book is Moses' book. Nor do we have a statement which says that about the whole Pentateuch, unless the statements at the end of Deuteronomy 31 are thus to be understood. But we do have these five passages which speak of Moses writing and not merely writing legal material, but also narrative. (Student: Why didn't Moses say, "I wrote it? If he wrote it, wouldn't you think he would use the first person?" AAM: "That is a matter of custom. It is our usual custom to speak in the first person, but there are many books in which the authors have written of themselves in the third person, even in modern times. Thus it is a

matter of custom."

Assignment: Now if you do the assignment from the English you may be able to run your eye over the page and pick out the words God and LORD quite quickly. Some people can note capitals quickly. If you can, that is the preferred way. But you might find that you would save a great deal of time by using Young's Concordance. Young's and Strong's are different. Strong's will have a number after the word "God." It will say "God" and then all the different words for God in the Bible will come right after the other, but after each it will have a number indicating the Hebrew name. In this case, you will look up in the back and see which number refers to Elohim and then you can take from Strong's those uses that have this number, and you can get your references quickly. In Young's all the references with the same Hebrew word will be put together. You can get your references from Strong's or Young's concordances if you want. That will save you some time. But the main thing is, I want them written on two sides so you can look down either column and see how often the word is used or you can look across, back and forth. This is not to be a minute study of the contents of any particular verse or section. It is to get an idea of this alternation and how it occurs. This is very important in connection with the higher criticism. We are not going to have time to study every section of the Pentateuch in minute detail, but to get a few samples, so as to understand the basic principles involved. If you have a name like God Almighty, that is not Elohim at all. That is a different word in Hebrew.

B. We have noticed that part of the Pentateuch claims to be written by Moses. The word "Moses" does not occur in the book of Genesis, nor does it say at the head of any of the other books, "This is a book written by Moses." We have noticed that there are statements in the Pentateuch that certain things were to be written down by Moses. There are some who will say, "Moses wrote a few laws and others added laws and then somebody wrote the whole book and it came to be thought of as Moses' book." Yet it does not merely say in connection with laws that Moses wrote them. It also says twice in other connections that "Moses wrote this down in a book." In Deuteronomy 31 there is a reference which might be taken to refer only to Deuteronomy, but I think it is more correctly taken to refer to the whole Pentateuch. Moses wrote it and it was to be kept beside the mercy seat in the Holy of Holies. The book then has some references to Moses as the writer of at least certain portions, and I think it is altogether possible to consider Deuteronomy 31 as saying that he wrote all of it.

In the rest of the Old Testament we find many references to "the law of God" and not so many to "the book of Moses" or "the law of Moses" but we do find some in the Old Testament. For instance: I Kings 2:3; II Chronicles 34:14 and Nehemiah 8:1-8 contain references to "the books of Moses" or to "the law of Moses." The Old Testament then refers frequently to the book of the law of God or to the law of God and a few times to it as the book of Moses.

C. The New Testament refers to the Pentateuch as the work of Moses. We do not need to take time on this. You have gone into it and are familiar with a good many passages in the New Testament that refer to the book of Moses or to the law of Moses or what Moses said. Of course, we are interested in particular with the statements which were

made by our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and we find that Jesus Christ refers specifically to the Pentateuch as from Moses. In Matthew 8:4 He says, "Offer the gift that Moses commands" In Matthew 19 and Mark 10 He says, "Moses, because of the hardness of your heart, suffered you to put away your wives." In Mark 7 He said, "Moses said, honour thy father and thy mother." He speaks of "the book of Moses" in Mark 12:26 and in Luke 20:37. In the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, Christ represents Abraham as saying, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets..." Luke 24 says, "All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses concerning me." There are many references by the Lord Jesus Christ to statements in the Pentateuch as "what Moses said," or to the whole Pentateuch as "the law of Moses." This was the common view that people held at the time. All the Jews considered that this was the law of Moses. Josephus referred to it as "the five books of Moses," and very clearly includes Genesis with the rest, as written by Moses. If Jesus knew that it was untrue and that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, it was not necessarily His duty to correct their ideas on the subject. If He had set out to correct all the false ideas in the world in our day, it would have taken all His time doing so and He would have had no time to give us any positive presentation of the great spiritual matters He wished to bring to our attention. Now in those days the knowledge of the world that the people had was far less than the knowledge we have today. Consequently their erroneous ideas of history and of science are far greater, and if Jesus had set out to correct all the false ideas people had then, it would have been necessary for Him to have spent five times as long as He did in taking all the time just to correct false ideas of history and science. So if Jesus did not say that Moses did not write the Pentateuch, that would not prove that the Jews were certainly right in considering that He did. But He did not have to refer to it in this way. He could have said, "it is written in the law." He could have said, "the law of God." He could have referred to the book in any number of many ways. He did not need to say, "If they believe not Moses." He did not need to say, "all things written in the law of Moses concerning.." Him. He refers to it a number of times in connection with Moses where there was no necessity of His doing so and consequently, we have to say either that Moses wrote it or that Jesus Christ did not know what He was talking about. Forty years ago Dr. Briggs of Union Seminary said that Jesus was not obliged to correct all the errors of His contemporaries. It was no part of His work to correct erroneous ideas on questions of authorship. We agree with that. It was not necessary that He correct all false ideas of authorship--not at all. What we do say is that He could easily have avoided these statements. We do not believe that Jesus ever made statements which conveyed a false impression. If He knew all things He could easily avoid such statements and if He had known that Moses was not the author of the Pentateuch He could easily have quoted from these books without mentioning Moses' name and still without offending the Jews. But Jesus Christ Himself said, "If I have told you earthly things and ye believed not, how shall ye believe when I tell you of heavenly things." He stressed His relationship to truth: "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth." When He refers to matters of science or matters of history, we can expect that whatever He says

will be true and so it is certainly impossible to believe that Jesus simply accommodated Himself to the views of the people of the time on matters that were nonessential. But I would say He certainly would not accommodate to their views on a matter of such importance as this.

This is the very foundation of the Old Testament. These five books are the beginning. They are its constitution. It is therefore a matter of vital importance not to have false ideas about them. God inspired the writers and kept them from error. He might very well have chosen, as in the case of some other books, to leave us in ignorance as to who wrote them.

There are three positions about the attitude of Christ that have been taken. The first is the position which I hold to be the only reasonable one: He knew the facts and the reference He made shows that He indeed considered it to the work of Moses. The second attitude is the attitude which Briggs expresses, that Jesus was not interested in matters of authorship and therefore did not enter into them. The answer to that idea is that it is simply not a fact. His phraseology shows that He did enter into it. He could have sidestepped it. (I do not believe He would have sidestepped in matters as important as this, but nevertheless He did not sidestep). If we were to believe that He accommodated Himself to their views, and used the phrases which would give the impression that He agreed with them when He actually did not, it would make it very difficult to know where the limits are as to what was important and where you can say that He was just saying things in order not to displease other people. It does not fit with the idea of a divine Son of God Who has come to teach us the truth and was indeed Himself the Truth.

The third view is one which was originally advanced by godly people who could not accept this second view and felt that the facts made it impossible for them to accept the first view. Sixty years ago there were many godly men in England who believed thoroughly in Christ's atoning sacrifice for our sins, who heard the arguments of the higher criticism as they were presented by men of great intellectual ability and felt themselves unable to answer them, and felt convinced that the Pentateuch did not come from Moses and that the Old Testament was full of errors. They could not continue to accept it as accurate and dependable, and yet they wished to hold to their belief in the deity of the Lord Jesus Christ. They said, "What can we do?" They did not want to give up the deity of Christ. They did not want to give up the central features of Christianity to which they were greatly attached, and they did not see how they could hold to the Old Testament any longer, and they found here a refuge in Philippians 2:6-7. This was used as a refuge by godly men who wished to hold to their belief in Christ while thinking themselves compelled, if they were to be reasonable at all, to give up the idea that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or that the Old Testament was in general dependable at all. And so they read in Philippians 2:6,7, "This mind which was also in Christ Jesus, Who, being in the form of God thought it not a thing to be grasped to be equal with God but made himself of no reputation and took upon himself the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men." And that word which was translated "and made himself of no reputation" is literally "emptied himself." Emptied himself from the Greek word there has been taken a name for it--"kenosis"--the emptying.

The Emptying Theory: According to this theory Christ is God, the Second Person of the Trinity. As God, He knows all things. But they said, Jesus Christ had emptied Himself of His divine attributes. He has come down here and become a man, taken the form of a servant, emptied Himself and consequently He did not know all things. He thought Moses had written the Pentateuch. He thought the Old Testament was true and dependable. This theory was a refuge which was seen by godly men who wanted to hold their intellectual integrity and at the same time wanted to hold to their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and there were a number of English and there are some today who go far past that point but who are similar in attitude, for whom you must have a great deal of respect even though I feel that it should be combined with a certain regret. You must feel respect for them for their desire to cling tenaciously to the deity of Christ and the great doctrines of Christianity even though they feel that intellectually it is impossible to hold to the Bible as true, (Then it was just the Old Testament, but now it is applied to the New.) But a refuge which is a false refuge is a dangerous thing. It is a great mistake to try to find refuge from a problem you can not answer through a weak argument based on a faulty premise.

Jesus Christ is God and when He says Moses wrote the Pentateuch, I believe Him. But there are problems that I cannot answer though I believe that God will sometime give us the answers. It is far better to say that than to take a refuge in a false idea which will lead eventually to great injury.

Student: [unclear] AAM: Yes, there is of course the problem that the Scripture says that He grew in stature and in knowledge and wisdom. We certainly have a little boy growing intellectually in some way even though while Jesus Christ was a baby in the manger He was also the God Who was controlling the stars in their orbits and directing the forces of the universe. We ca not understand it but the Scripture clearly teaches that both are true. Now while there might be some phase in His development, in His growing up, in which it can be said that it was the human nature that grew in knowledge, it is very, very clear in the Scripture that by the time He began His ministry, He claimed and availed Himself of the knowledge which was His as God. "He knew what was in man." He did not need that any man should teach Him. He already knew what was in man. He knew what was happening at the centurion's house when He was still miles away. He knew the innermost working of people's minds. He knew the future. He knew what was in Judas' mind. He was the omnipotent God Who knew all things.

AAM: That is the one thing for which it is stated that there was a deliberate limit, so He said that the time of His Second Coming was left in the Father's hands and no one else, not even the Son, knew it. That is the only thing for which that is stated, and the very fact that it is necessary to state it, "even the Son" does not know that. Certainly we can say that He had knowledge far beyond what any human being has.

Student: Well, still and all, as God He did know it.

AAM: Yes.

Student: I mean, but only as a man.

AAM: In some way He chose that He as the Son of God walking upon this earth should hold Himself in ignorance of that point, that He should take the attitude which He wished His disciples to have and which all

should have, that we do not know when He will come. And that He might suddenly come for us today or tomorrow or at any time as He wished them to believe after His going. We do not know when it will be. He chose death but that is the only place in Scripture where there is any suggestion there was anything He did not know. Of course, there has been great discussion over this matter of Moses. You could have a dozen theological lectures on it. We just do not have time for it at this point in our study of the Pentateuch. We just want to present what the situation is. Student--------AAM: Oh! everything He did was in the power of the Spirit. Student:-------AAM: I would say that it is true that the Spirit rests upon Him without measure and that He did everything He did in the power of the Spirit and at the same time as the Second Person of the Godhead had all things in His control. We cannot understand it all. Christ in us is the hope of glory today and yet it is the Holy Spirit in our lives that empowers us for service. We cannot understand it. We can merely take the scriptural statement and believe it. There is an Anglican group (I think the bishop was Lore) who wrote a book about thirty years ago presenting most of the great doctrines of salvation. He held firmly to the incarnation and to the deity of Christ, but gave up not merely the Pentateuch but all the Bible as any source of knowledge. It is an impossible position and it is a position which comparatively few in England have continued to hold. Kenosis was a means of refuge and we must feel respect for those who sought the refuge in order to hold to their intellectual integrity and also to their belief in the deity of Christ. We must have respect for them, but we must recognize that it is unsatisfactory and must recognize that it is an attitude which has not lasted as the view of any great number. Kenosis has come to be a means of casting aside the Bible altogether and leaving one with no source for authority in religious matters except the statements of other fallible men or our own human feeling and emotion--the most unstable source you can think of. Kenosis is a viewpoint which has come more and more to be recognized as not exegetically well-founded. It is certainly not clearly taught in Philippians. It is not the necessary teaching of the passage. There is nothing in the passage to suggest that it is even dealing with omnipotence at all and it contradicts the presentation of Christ's character and attitude which we find in the Scripture. It is very unsatisfactory.

Student: [unclear] AAM: Yes, His wisdom was certainly very great then, but I would not know whether it was apparent to them that it was super-human. I would not be sure we could draw that. (We can not say that He had displayed in the temple a wisdom which they would think of as clearly a superhuman wisdom. I do not think the passage necessarily means that.) Well, so much then for the three viewpoints on this. I think we should say, the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is clearly taught in the Bible as a whole and in the New Testament and seems to be quite definitely supported by Christ. But more than that, the dependability of the Pentateuch.

I do not think we should feel too much that it is just a matter of whether Moses wrote that is important. God could have given us the Pentateuch in a different way. Since we are told that Moses wrote it it is vital that we hold that he did. But it is even more vital that we recognize that it is true and dependable. It is the foundation of the

religion of the Bible. It is thus recognized by Christ and by the apostles. Student: [unclear] AAM: Yes, absolutely. I was interested to find in three books by three different theological professors on the five books of Moses dealing with the Pentateuchal criticism, all written in the last ten years that all three of them quote the same statement from Dr. Robert Dick Wilson as to what we mean by the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. I do not have it right in front of me at the moment, but it is substantially this, that when we speak of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, we mean that Moses wrote these books and that at least the great bulk of it is what he wrote. It does not mean that there might not be interpolation or additions made at a later time by inspired men, which are inspired and true just as much as the original. It does mean that the book as a whole, as it was in the days of Christ, is true and dependable regardless of which parts came from Moses and which came from other men, but it also means that the overwhelming bulk of it came from Moses. I would personally say this: I do not believe that there is any proof that anything in the Pentateuch as we have it today came from anyone other than Moses. I do not believe there is any proof that any section is not from Moses, but I do not think it is necessary to hold to the fact that every sentence of it came from Moses. I think it is not impossible that there might be additions or insertions of minor nature which were made at a later time by inspired men. I think that is entirely possible. I do not think it affects the major problem that it is a book of Moses. But I certainly reject any view that the great bulk of the laws of Moses were not written until a thousand years after his death and united together by different men. Many contradictory sections united together in such a way is utterly contrary of the teaching of the Bible. So I would say that the truth of our religion is at stake in the dependability of the Pentateuch and possibly in the Mosaic authorship, since Christ so explicitly spoke of it. It is not a matter of the same relative importance as the difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed on the nature of the communion. It is far more important than that. It is not of the type of importance of difference between Roman Catholic and Protestant as to whether seven additional books are part of the Old Testament. They consider these part of the Old Testament. We consider them Apocryphal writings. But they hold to the other thirty nine books and these seven books are on the whole good books. There certainly are teachings in them on minor matters which we think are false but in the main their teaching is in line with the teaching with the rest of the Scripture. It is a serious error but not a fraction as serious as the error of saying that the Pentateuch is not reliable and dependable and possibly not as serious an error as denying that Moses is the author of the overwhelming majority of the Pentateuch. The difference between some people as to the mode of Baptism or as to the time when baptism should be administered is certainly not a fraction as important as the difference between those who hold to the dependability of the Bible and those who deny it because that is a matter which affects the basic foundation of our religion. It is not like the matter of the difference between the high and low church, over which portions of the Anglican church become so terrifically excited, about wearing of particular gowns.

Certainly I do not think that is anywhere near as important as the question whether Jesus Christ knew what He was talking about when He

spoke of it as the book of Moses. It is vital to recognize Moses as the author, but it is far more important to recognize it as a true and dependable foundation. The higher criticism does not merely strike at the question, Did Moses write it? It strikes at the far more important question, Is it dependable? We are now getting into that which is very important in this course.

In our discussion of the Authorship of the Pentateuch we notice that the authorship of the Pentateuch is not itself the primary question. Who wrote the book of Hebrews? We do not know. Nobody on earth can know who wrote Hebrews, but we do know that it was a book which was inspired by the Holy Spirit. It is in the canon on which the Holy Spirit led the early church to reach a unanimity, not by the decision of any man or group of men but by the Spirit of God working in the hearts of His people in the church as a whole. The same is true of many books of the Old Testament. Did Samuel write II Samuel? We know that Samuel did not write it because he died well before the beginning of the events described in II Samuel. Who wrote the books of Kings? There are many sections of the Old and New Testaments of which we do not know who the authors were, but we know that these books are part of that group of books on which Christ put the seal of His approval as God's Word. We know that whoever wrote any of them was a man inspired of God. Therefore, each is true and the vital matter is God's inspiration, not the name of the one who wrote it. But in the case of the Pentateuch, the question of authorship is important because we have many statements in the Old Testament, and in the New, that seem to most of us to imply rather definitely that Moses was the writer.

There are a few very godly and orthodox men who say that they believe that the whole Bible is God's Word and that every word of the Pentateuch in the original is inspired of God, who suggest that it does not matter who was the author, but just that a part of God's Word is called "the book of Moses." Yet, I cannot follow their reasoning because I do not think that their reasoning is correct. I am not ready to say that those men are non-Christians or even unorthodox, but I will say that I think they are taking a dangerous and erroneous position. After all, the Lord Jesus Christ spoke of the book as a book written by Moses and spoke of statements in it as being what Moses had said. And if you interpret it that way, then you cannot possibly deny the Mosaic authorship without denying the deity of Christ. If you exegete the New Testament that way, which seems to me the only reasonable way, then you cannot deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch without making Christ a mere human being and denying His divinity. The Scriptural teaching that Jesus Christ is the Son of God Who knew man and did not need that anyone should tell him what was in man, because He knew what was in man, makes it impossible to take any view than that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch (though, as I said, there are a few who think they can interpret Christ's words in another way.) I am not ready to say they are dishonest, but that they have a method of exegesis that I do not understand and that makes me a little suspicious about their exegesis in other places. If they say they accept the Pentateuch as entirely inspired and God's Word as free from error, I am ready to take their word on that. (Mr. Ellis asks about Cartridge (?). AAM: I do not recall whether he says it or not, but he has very definitely accepted the

critical theory and this is pretty hard to reconcile with a claim to be evangelical.) The authorship is not the most vital thing about the Pentateuch. The extremely vital thing is whether it is true, is it God's Word, is it free from error? That is the vital thing. But the authorship seems to be recognized in the Old Testament a great deal and it certainly is recognized in the New Testament, it seems to me, and if you interpret the New Testament that way, then you must say that Moses is the author of it and most interpreters, liberal or conservative, consider that Jesus' words show that He considered that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, or show that His words mean that. Someone said Christ just was not interested in problems of criticism so He sidestepped them. But He does not sidestep them. He spoke directly about it, it seems to me. He could have sidestepped them if He chose and doubtless He sidestepped many things. He does not go into the theory of the electron anywhere or make statements on any one of many other scientific doctrines which He doubtless understood thoroughly. It was not His purpose to explain them, yet He never contradicted any fact of science or history. And of course, the idea that Jesus did not know what He was talking about contradicts the New Testament teaching that He was God and knew all things, with only one exception: that the Father had kept in His own power the date when the Son would return. However, He seemed to know what the Son would do when He returned. He seemed to know the details connected with it. The one exception was simply that He did not want His people to know when He would come in order that they might be ready at any time. As the God-man He simply kept that one thing out of His conscious mind.

C. ***The New Testament*** referred to the book of Moses (apparently unclear on recording). Mk 12:26; Lk 16:19; 24:44; Acts 3:22; 15:21; 2 Cor 3:15, Also Kenosis (Phil 2:6-7) is used as excuse in denying Christ's knowledge.

D. ***The Tradition View*** of Jews and of Christians has been that Moses wrote these five books.

It is not necessary to hold that Moses is the author of every verse in the Pentateuch, though personally I think he is. Personally I see no reason to think that there is any reason to say that Moses could not have written any section of the Pentateuch as we have it. I see no reason to deny Mosaic authorship of every part, allowing only for possible substitution of names that came into use at a later time. Supposing that somebody wrote a history of the Dutch coming to New York in 1660, and that we read in a copy of this history written in 1700 that the Dutch came to New York and established their city there and called it New Amsterdam. Would we immediately say this is not a genuine work because the city was called New Amsterdam in 1664 when the British conquered it and changed the name to New York. We would not have to say that. We could say the editor, knowing that most of us would not recognize the name New Amsterdam has substituted New York and thus is using a later title for the place. Such a thing might conceivably happen somewhere in the Pentateuch. It might have been that Abraham went to a certain place and Moses used the name of a place which was used at a later time. In such a case, it might be that the earlier name was there originally and that the name was changed in order to make it intelligible to people at a later date, it being the same spot on the earth's surface. Now I do not believe there is any place where it can be proven that that

was the case. But if it should be proven that some place in Genesis was not known by that name at the time of Moses, but the name was used at a later time, so long as you do not prove that there was no city there at the earlier time or that the event could not have happened there, I do not find it inconsistent with Mosaic authorship to think that a name was changed to one that people would recognize at a later date. I do not know of any case where there is proof that such a thing occurred, but if such proof should be forthcoming, it would not disprove Mosaic authorship. The same would be true of an occasional sentence in the Pentateuch. For instance, you read of something that "it remains there to this day." Moses might have spoken of something that happened 300 years before and then said it remains there to this day. He might speak of something that happened a year before and he might say it remains there to this day. Or some writer might insert a sentence, one hundred, two hundred, or three hundred years later. Speaking of the condition remaining as it became at that time. Such an insertion at a later time does not disprove the Mosaic authorship of the book as a whole. Dr. Robert Dick Wilson expressed this in his book on the scientific introduction to the Pentateuch. He explained what he considered Mosaic authorship to be. I find his definition quoted in other books, showing that most feel that he expressed it very well. Here is what he said, "The position is that the Pentateuch as it stands is historical and from the time of Moses; and that Moses was its real author though it may have been revised and edited by later redactors, the additions being just as much inspired and true as the rest." Student: I wonder just how far you can take that, if there is someone that can make a revision and that revision is inspired, why couldn't you carry that right along through the centuries? AAM: The Lord could carry that as far as He wanted to, but when Christ approved of it, He approved of the work as it was accepted by the Jews. And the whole Old Testament had been accepted by the Jews for at least four hundred years. Personally, I see no reason why Moses may not have written every word of it as it is in our Hebrew today. However, there is the possibility that our Hebrew may have been somewhat changed in transmission. I see no reason why Moses may not have written all of it as it was in the original Hebrew writing which has been passed on. Doubtless some few copies have had mistakes come in, but I see no reason to feel any certainty that there are later insertions or changes. If the Lord led some other inspired man--perhaps one who wrote another book of the Bible--to make some slight additions to the Pentateuch so as to make it clearer to people of his own day, or to insert a statement about something that was similar which was not available to Moses but which was true, or even to insert a list of kings or to say, "it remains to this day" or something like that, and this being inspired of God just as much as the original author. I see no way in which that interferes with the idea that Moses is the author and that it is wholly inspired and entirely true. That does not mean that I feel that any such things have happened. I simply feel that if it be necessary to admit certain things which would prove such a thing as that did happened, then it would not affect the major thing we are contending with and it would be foolish to waste our efforts and energies in contending against such a thing as that. Student: But is there any inference in any outside literature of the Jewish background of such a thing ever occurring? AAM:

Yes, many of the rabbis say that they do not believe that Moses wrote the account of his death in the last few verses of Deuteronomy. Many think that these verses were added by someone else after his death--perhaps by Joshua. That is a view which many rabbis have held. Personally, I would say it is entirely possible that Joshua or someone else wrote the statement about Moses' death, but I see no reason to feel that it must be so, because it does not contain anything that Moses did not know. God told Moses to go up the mountain and that God would take him to Himself--that he would die there and would not go into the Land. He gave him this declaration as to what was going to happen, and of course the Israelites would mourn for him afterwards. That was all prescribed. Moses knew that perfectly well. How can we be sure that God did not have him write it down in advance? When Calvin came to die, he ordered that his body should be buried at night with no one knowing where it was buried. They knew which cemetery, but they did not know in what part of it. He knew that at Roman Catholic cemeteries there was worship around the places where their great men were buried and it was thought that miracles occurred there. During the last nine years of Calvin's life the people of Geneva had idolized him and been ready to do anything in the world he said, and the people had come from distant countries to hear his words. Calvin wished to be considered as an interpreter of the Bible and as one who was presenting Christ. He did not wish anybody to take away any of their love for Christ by putting it upon him, since he was afraid such things might be done by his grave so he gave these strict orders. Now in the case of Moses, the danger would be even greater because Moses had led the people out from Egypt and had been their leader for forty years, divinely directed by Jehovah, the one through whom the Scripture had been written, and it would have been very easy for the people to make a sort of a god out of Moses and to have worshiped at his tomb. He knew that God did not wish such things to happen. Perhaps in order to avoid any misunderstanding later on about the matter, or any deification of him such as saying that he was too good a man to die and be buried and that God simply took him up to Heaven to Himself, or any such idea, Moses wrote the facts in advance exactly the way the Lord told him they were going to happen.

The situation now is to a large extent as it was before 1870, except that now the great bulk of scholars accept the higher criticism. Before that the great bulk of conservatives thought it was a lot of nonsense and paid no attention to it, though a few scholars here and there were vitally interested. Today most scholars say it is true, it is proved, and there are a great number of conservatives, but comparatively few scholarly conservatives, who say it is just a bunch of nonsense. You do not get anywhere with that sort of an attitude on the two sides. The great bulk of people today who profess scholarship say that it is proved and that anybody who does not believe it is ignorant. Most of the younger liberal scholars know little about it--only that it is what all scholars believe and therefore must be true. On the other hand, most of the conservative scholars have no idea what the thing really is except that they think it is nonsense. It is easy to ridicule certain phases of it, and it may be necessary to ridicule it in addressing certain ignorant audiences, it may be a proper method. It is sometimes a proper method of debate, and with a certain type of audience it may be necessary simply

to ridicule. Yet one can ridicule anything and it is just as easy to take our Christian views and make fun of them as it is to take the higher criticism and ridicule it. It may be a proper method of debate in certain audiences but I think it is vital that we have leaders who are able to see the relative strengths and weaknesses of the argument in both directions. In A.D. 1500, most people considered that the earth was the center of the universe and that the sun went around the earth. Then when Copernicus' ideas had become widespread there was a time when most people believed that the sun was the center of the universe, and that the earth and the rest of the planets went around the sun. Now all people who know anything about it know that neither the earth nor the sun is the center of the universe, and further that nobody can say whether the sun is going around the earth or the earth is going around the sun, because actually they are both going around each other. The two extreme attitudes were both utterly false and we ca not say which is going around the other--just that both of them are going around. In relation to the higher criticism, we need leaders who can understand its strengths weaknesses, and who can therefore intelligently talk to the person who is not satisfied in having been told it is a bunch of nonsense, but who finds that many people believe it and therefore wants to know what it is. He needs to find people who can intelligently discuss it with him and show him what its weak points are and what its strong points are. He needs someone who can show how it came about that great scholars and learned men can have accepted a thing which is actually unscientific.

The higher criticism of the Bible is the main force which has been used to lay a foundation for the destruction of faith in the Word of God. It is not so much discussed today as it was thirty years ago. At that time, great sections of the church were wondering whether there was any truth to the higher criticism and were beginning to lose their faith as a result of it. Today the liberals consider the battle won. The question now is not "Is the higher criticism true?" but, what does the higher criticism teach in relation to some section? The real fight over the higher criticism is more apt to be found in Brazil or Argentina or some such area where modernist books are just beginning to be distributed, attractively presenting the higher criticism in order to lead people to take that step which, logically carried out, leads to loss of all faith in the Word of God, and eventually of all faith in any supernatural being. That is the logical process which has occurred in many areas. When a logical process has made a certain start, it is very important that we examine its foundation and decide to just how great an extent it is valid and where it ceases to be valid.

There are those who say that if you leave New York on a train and you find that your train is heading for Pittsburgh when you want to go to Washington, you must go back to New York and make a new start to get off that tract and get on the right track. I think this illustration is utterly erroneous. If you get as far as Harrisburg on a train headed for Pittsburgh and you want to go to Washington, you are much wiser to simply shift to the line that goes from Harrisburg to Washington than to go clear back to New York in order to start over again. That is to say, there are developments that started in a certain direction and you logically go on from there. There are other developments which are not that way and one must determine the nature of the developments to know

what kind it is.

The term higher criticism, as originally used, did not in itself mean anything wrong. It may be desirable that we study the book of Hebrews to try to decide who wrote it. I do not think it is particularly important, because there is no evidence available. Some people are quite convinced that Paul wrote it and many are quite convinced that Paul did not write it. There is no evidence to prove it, one way or the other. In this life it does not matter who wrote the book of Hebrews, because we know that whoever wrote it was inspired by the Holy Spirit and kept from error as he wrote. That is what matters. It is a part of the Bible that God has given us. It is an interesting study and there are books in which it might be of special value to know who the author is. If you take up the book of Jeremiah it is an important question when the different sections of it were written? In that case, we have evidence in the book itself. It may be that the twenty fifth chapter of Jeremiah was written ten years before the twentieth. If clear evidence about this can be found in the book, it may be helpful in understanding its meaning. Questions of authorship, etc. may be important and may not be. It is always interesting and valuable to study them, provided one is satisfied to stop where the evidence stops. Don't feel you have to go on and make guesses and then become dogmatic about your guesses. A true higher criticism is a proper study and a good study and it is very foolish for us to inveigh against it, but when we think of the higher criticism of the Bible we are speaking of a certain type of higher criticism which has gone in a certain direction, with many scholars participating, and has followed a certain general attitude. That is what we generally mean when we speak of the higher criticism of the Bible. Its key stone was the higher criticism of the Pentateuch. There is no harm in the world in asking the questions, "Did Abraham write the story of Abraham in Palestine, did God reveal it to Moses? or was it passed down and Moses took it over?" There is no harm in such a study, but there is great harm if you try to insist on results for which there is no evidence. When we speak of the higher criticism of the Pentateuch, we do not mean just an attempt to try to learn these things or to see what the evidence is at the various points. We mean a certain movement of study which has reached certain conclusions and taken a certain position, which has become very widespread. There may be great difference of details among those who hold this position, but there are certain things in common sufficient to entitle us to consider it as one movement. It has had disastrous effects upon the history of the Church as a whole and so we are interested in knowing just what the movement was. For example, you might say that Franklin Pierce, the second president of the United States before Abraham Lincoln, had never been seen to have drunk out of a bottle when he was a boy, but had always used a bottle with a nipple and had never started drinking out of a glass, then it is entirely probable that he never would have died a drunkard's death. Perhaps the first step in his heading for a drunkard's grave was his beginning to drink out of a glass instead of through a nipple. Perhaps this was so, but there are many other steps which went into it. There was a certain point where the line was heading him almost inevitably toward the course which he struck, but you cannot say off-hand where that point is. You have to study the details and examine them.

It is very easy to say to little children and to young people that the Bible is absolutely true and that anybody who thinks the contrary is a numbskull and an idiot. You can ridicule evolution and you can ridicule higher criticism. You can pick out certain aspects of it and make it sound utterly idiotic and many people will accept what you say. But then if they go to college and find educated people--people of learning and high character--who hold these views and believe they have been proved, the next step for the child is to give up all regard for everything you have taught him and in the end to decide that you are one who is the numbskull rather than those who hold the other view.

Those who are to be leaders of God's flock need to think these questions through not merely to say, "How far can I keep away from that? Here is a precipice. I don't want to go over the precipice, so I won't stay on the road; I will climb up the mountain side and go along there." It is far better to do that than to roll off the precipice, but those who are to be leaders in Christian work, some of them at least, should think these things through and find the place of progress which does not go over into error or into fanaticism, but makes progress in a direction which can be useful and helpful. People may differ as to where that line is, but it is right that we should seek it for ourselves, and I believe that the cause of God is best served by our endeavoring to do so.

There was a man who wrote a letter in which he said, how perfectly silly it is to deny the numerical structure of the New Testament. He said, "Don't you know that every paragraph in the Greek New Testament has a number of verses divisible by seven and a number of words divisible by seven, and a number of letters divisible by seven?" As long as you tell people that do not know any Greek that every paragraph in the Greek New Testament has a number of verses divisible by seven and a number of words divisible by seven and a number of letters divisible by seven, and they believe you, they may be more apt to believe in the inspiration of the Scripture than they would be otherwise. So perhaps you are doing a good work, but the trouble is that one of them might get hold of a Greek New Testament and might find that even without knowing Greek, he could count the number of verses, of words, and of letters in a paragraph, and that it was only about once in every seven verses that one of these numbers would work out!

Many such statements are circulated. I do not think anyone should circulate lies, knowing that they are lies. It is never right to do evil that good may result.

I believe that the cause of Christ is benefited in the end by learning what the truth is and being able to know what is correct and what is not. The development which we call the higher criticism has gone in a direction and has reached a position where it has become one of the greatest causes of turning away from true faith in God.

Rather than just standing aside and ridiculing it, or saying it is all nonsense, it is far better that there be those who know about it. I would like to see some conservatives who know much more of the facts about this matter. We need to know more about how it came into existence than most of the liberals who hold it today, most of them simply because they have been told that it is true. We should know the facts about it and be able to discuss it intelligently.

My first interest in this course is that you learn what the higher

criticism is, that you have a little understanding of how it came into existence, and that you be able to discuss it with a fair measure of accuracy.

The Pentateuch exists. Here is a fact. It is a book which the Christian world has had for centuries and which the Jewish world has had for still more centuries. Here is a book which is now a unit and which is highly revered. How did this book come into existence? When the truly scholarly person faces a fact, he must try to find some explanation for that fact. A century ago, unbelievers who hated the Word of God attempted to explain it out of existence, and worked out such a clever explanation of its origin that many true believers found themselves unable to answer them and felt compelled to accept the explanation they gave. Many, though not all, of those who developed the higher criticism were unbelievers, hating the Scripture but facing the fact and desiring to find an explanation of it.

Suppose that you are in a desolate wilderness and you think that you are the first person who has ever been there. And then you look up and you see a log cabin. You will immediately say, "Somebody else has been here. They must have built that log cabin." You will either have to admit that some other person has been there or you will have to work up an explanation of how the wood could have fallen in such a way that it would build a log cabin by a natural process. That is the situation when a man thinks of the Pentateuch. Either God gave it to us or it was produced in a natural way. But if it developed in a natural way, what is that way? If you can show a natural way, which finds a clear analogy to developments elsewhere, you think you can destroy any argument for a divine origination, just as, if you can prove that a log cabin can just grow, you destroy it as an evidence for the fact that some individual was there. That is the problem that produced the higher criticism. The Pentateuch exists. How can we explain this fact? How did it come into existence? Of course, our explanation is not extremely simple either. Scholarly Christians do not say, "God dictated the Pentateuch word by word." There may be some who do, but they are mighty few. It is not the view that educated conservatives have held, at least in the last ninety years, that God simply dictated all the Pentateuch and Moses wrote down what God dictated, or that God dropped the book down from heaven and there it was. This would be a simple explanation, but that is not what we believe. What we believe is that "holy men of God spoke as they were moved by the Holy Spirit." We believe that these men wrote what they saw, that they told the facts that they observed. We believe that they included also those revelations which God gave directly to them, along with the facts that they observed. And that the Holy Spirit oversaw the process in such a way that what they wrote, while it shows their personalities, was the expression of their ideas, and used their vocabularies and their mental outlook, was yet so overseen by the Holy Spirit and so directed by Him that it also represented the mind of God. He correctly gave those facts that God wanted us to have, and left out from the inspired writings the many erroneous ideas which were in the minds of the men who wrote the books that God intended to preserve as parts of His inerrant Word. Thus we believe there came into existence a book which expresses the mind of God, a book which is entirely true and reliable, a book which contains a revelation of divine truth that we

IV THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH

could not learn from any other source.

A. ***Early Doubts of the Mosaic Authorship*** of the whole Pentateuch or parts of it.

This section would hardly detain us at all were it not for the fact that it is apt to get far more attention among the unscholarly and uneducated than it deserves and therefore we need to be aware of it. The general attitude of the Jewish rabbi was that all but the last eight verses of the Pentateuch were the words of Moses. They tended to think that the last eight verses of the Pentateuch might have been written by Joshua or by someone else.

In the twelfth century there was a noted Jewish rabbi named Ibn Ezra who wrote on many subjects and had great acceptation among the Jews. Ibn Ezra made a very peculiar statement about the Pentateuch. He seemed to have held the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and yet at one place he lists a number of passages: Gen. 12:6, Gen. 22:14, Deut. 1:1, Deut. 3:11, verses which were included in the study you have made in the book by Green. He says that these verses present an insolvable mystery and that the prudent thing to do is to say very little about it. In other words, he says here is an insolvable mystery and then he stops and says, "Let's not go into it." The noted Jewish philosopher Spinoza, a Pantheist who lived from 1632 to 1677, five hundred years after Ibn Ezra, declared that these words of Ibn Ezra show that Ibn Ezra did not believe that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. Many interpreters disagree with Spinoza. They say that in other passages Ibn Ezra shows clearly that he does believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Spinoza said if Ibn Ezra did not believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, what he meant by these statements was that Moses could not have said "the Canaanite was then in the land." What would be the sense of Moses making a statement like that? Moses would not have said that it is there in this day, or have made these other statements. Therefore Spinoza said the Pentateuch was not written by Moses.

Then Spinoza added other arguments. The Bible says that Moses was the meekest man of all living. Spinoza said that Moses would never have said a thing like that, so Moses did not write it. He said Moses is spoken of in the third person so Moses could not have written it. He said Moses could not have written the account of his own death in Deuteronomy; so Spinoza thought perhaps Ezra or some late writer compiled the Pentateuch.

Spinoza did not have much influence at that time among Christians or Jews; he was excommunicated by the Jews; he was considered to be an unbeliever by the Christians. His influence came later, but in the immediate time there was comparatively little interest in him. Others followed who presented various ideas about these particular passages as possibly proving that the Pentateuch was not the work of Moses, but conservative scholars answered them. In the section in Green that I asked you to read, Green discussed the interpretation of these passages and pointed out that conservative writers had answered them very satisfactorily as early as about 1730, and that they had little effect upon the Christian world. They were an attack upon the Mosaic authorship. Some thought these attackers were right, but they did not affect the Christian church. Personally, I believe as Green does, that in every one of these cases it is possible to show that the sentence could

have been written by Moses. I do not think anyone of these sentences would prove a non-Mosaic authorship. I think they are all entirely compatible with the idea of Mosaic authorship. But I do not think that is important. Even if every one of them could be shown to be an interpolation it would not affect the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch in the least. Every one of them is more or less of an incidental statement and they are not essential to the structure of the Pentateuch. I do not think there is any real difficulty in believing Moses wrote all of them, but if you do not think Moses wrote "the Canaanite was then in the land," I would have no objection to supposing that an inspired writer, studying the Pentateuch five hundred years later, reading the statements and realized that the people of his day would not understand what that would mean, inserted an explanatory remark such as "the Canaanite was then in the land" to make clear the reason for Jacob's anxiety. Such an insertion would not affect belief in Mosaic authorship in the least. None of them affect the essential matter. In recent times the higher criticism has taken every one of those objections and has made them subsidiary arguments in supporting its position, but they are among its weakest arguments, though they have perhaps received more publicity than arguments that are much stronger. Green went into them and discussed them quite satisfactorily. Other books have discussed them more fully and good answers to most of them were available as early as 1730. There is now a little added archaeological information about two or three of them.

A brief mention about one -- the chapter about the kings of Edom which says, "these were the kings of Edom before there was any king of Israel." Some say this could not have been written until there was a king of Israel. This is not a necessary conclusion, but if you want to think that somebody in the days of Saul or David made up a correct list of the Kings of Edom and inserted it into the Pentateuch at the place where it tells about Esau, it would not affect the main question. The Lord might have led an inspired writer to insert it there. It would not affect the basic question. See Green's excellent discussion.

It may be that this list of the kings of Edom in chapter 36 is an insertion at a later time, but I do not believe it is necessarily the case. We are told about Moses sending a message to the king of Edom, so there must have been kings then, and there might already have been as many kings as are listed here. I see no difficulty in that. Before there was a king of Israel it had already been prophesied that there would be kings of Israel so I do not think it is important, but I do think it is vital that you know the answers to these objections, simply because these particular arguments are often given more publicity than they deserve. Yet they are not really important. They might all be non-Mosaic and the higher criticism still not be true. Various early writers are mentioned and discussed in Green. I am not anxious that you know a great deal about these particular writers, but I want you to know the content of the verses and something of the problems involved. Section A dealt with men who were attacking the Bible, B deals with men who were trying to solve an interesting problem. A deals with something which has been and is easily answered and is of little importance, but B deals with something which is the foundation of the whole higher critical movement, though the men originally involved in it had no thought of any such thing. If no one

had gone on beyond the early stages of their ideas, there would be no harm in them, but they are vital because historically they are the beginning of the whole movement.

B. ***Early Documentary Theory:*** *Astruc and Eichhorn.*

1) The name of Astruc is very widely known. Any book on the higher criticism will mention it. Eichhorn is a man who is much less known at least among conservatives in general, but Eichhorn is far more important than Astruc in the whole matter. Astruc happened to be first, but Eichhorn had a hundred times the influence that Astruc ever had. If Eichhorn had not come, Astruc would have been completely forgotten. They are the two men who are vital here.

Jean Astruc was born in 1684. That is not particularly important. What is important is the date when his book was written. That is the date I wish everyone to remember! 1753 (he was nearly 70 at the time.) Astruc was a Frenchman whose father had been a Protestant pastor. When the severe persecution against the Protestants began, Astruc's father had left the Protestant church and had become a Romanist. The son was a physician and a lecturer on medicine. The great work of his life was a book on venereal disease which became a standard work. Perhaps it was because Astruc wrote a book on venereal disease that many books against the higher criticism refer to him as a French physician of profligate life. I have seen no evidence that he was a man of profligate life beyond other Frenchmen, aside from the fact that he wrote a book on venereal disease. I do not know on what this statement is based but I find it in practically every conservative book that deals with the higher criticism, which, they say, began with a book by Astruc, a French physician of profligate life. There is no evidence that I know of that his life was any more profligate than the lives of others in Paris at the time, and even if it was I do not think that that would necessarily prove the ideas in his book were wrong. Besides, the ideas that he presented were not necessarily harmful. We do not advance the opposition to the higher criticism by attempting to attack the character of Astruc.

Astruc was much interested in the Pentateuch. He noticed something that had been noticed by many people through the years, and had been discussed by the early church fathers: it was the fact that sometimes the Pentateuch uses the name Elohim which we translate as "God" for a chapter or two and sometimes it uses the name Jehovah for a chapter or two, and then sometimes it will use one for a verse or two and then the other. This had already been discussed by some of the early church fathers who noticed it.

I do not know why we need to make so much of "Astruc's clue" as if he had made a great discovery, but it so happened that the movement of the higher criticism began shortly afterward, and it laid great stress on this variation of names for God which Astruc stressed in his book and consequently he is given the credit or blame for starting the higher criticism. Astruc never questioned that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, but actually declared it. He insisted that Moses was the author of the book of Genesis, and Genesis is as far as he went in his study. He said that Moses was the author of Genesis but he pointed out that Moses was not with Noah in the Ark and Moses was not with Jacob in Egypt. So he asked a question that we ourselves can ask. Where did Moses get his information?

If you want to believe that God directly revealed everything in Genesis to Moses, I have no objection to your believing it, but there is no evidence of it. The Scripture never says God did so, and I do not see any reason why we would have to hold that position. In fact, we have evidence that the Israelites knew about the Patriarchs before Moses even began to write, and it hardly seems to me to be probable that God dictated the book of Genesis to Moses, though God certainly could have done that if He chose. It seems to me to be altogether probable that Moses got this information some other way.

Perhaps there was tradition among the Israelites. They may have told these stories over and over, and passed them on by word of mouth. When Moses began to write the fundamental law of the Israelites, perhaps he took these stories which were passed on by word of mouth, and from the great mass of stories God enabled him to select certain true elements for his book. Perhaps the Holy Spirit led him in his selection of the story of creation, of the flood, and of the lives of the Patriarchs so directing him that he was able to leave out anything that was erroneous and to keep what was true and thus to write a correct record.

Perhaps that is the way it happened. Or perhaps Abraham wrote down the story of his life or had Eleazer or one of his servants write it out. Perhaps Jacob wrote it down. Perhaps these things were written down and passed on in written records and Moses had those records, so that from them he could select whatever was vital to include in the book of Genesis with the Holy Spirit leading him as he selected and keeping him from error, causing him to omit any statement which was erroneous as he recast much of it in his own language and keeping him from including ideas which were not true. There is a third possible way in which Moses got his information, and my own guess is that it is the way in which he got it. It seems to me that he got it, not from direct revelation of God, and not from passing on an oral tradition, but from written records passed down to him. We know that when Abraham was in the land of Palestine writing was much more common there than it was in the early part of this present century. We know that when Abraham came out of the land of Mesopotamia, it was almost necessary to be able to write, otherwise your life might be in jeopardy if you were falsely accused, as you could easily be, and were unable to present evidence to free yourself. Writing was very common in those days. When Abraham was led out of Mesopotamia and into Palestine by the Holy Spirit of God and told that God had great purposes for him and that God was going through him to bless all the world, would Abraham have simply let the whole thing go without ever writing it down? It seems to me extremely unlikely. I do not think it at all probable that would have been the first thing to do.

Astruc acted upon the assumption that Moses had written documents to use and I think this is highly probable. But when somebody says, Moses used written documents and we can take the book of Genesis and separate out the different written documents from which its parts were copied, I say, maybe you can, but I begin to be a bit suspicious that you are overestimating your capability.

Somebody says, "Isn't that a delicious cake? Now that cake didn't come out of the air. Somebody didn't produce it out of his mind. He took some eggs, some sugar, some flour, etc. and he made the cake." Someone says, "I'll show you how he did it. I'll take out the ingredients and show

them to you. I'll put the eggs over and the flour over here and the sugar over here." I would say, "Well I don't know anybody who can restore the eggs out of a cake. I don't know anybody who can do that." But it is altogether different to take eggs and put them in a mixture in order to keep them from spoiling as my parents used to do before present methods of refrigeration were available. They would drop the eggs into this chemical mixture and later on they could take the eggs out whole and could separate them easily.

There are books which are written exactly like that. A student came to me once and said, "I am tremendously interested in the book of Ecclesiastes, and I have to write a book about it, so that I can get a publisher to publish it for me." " Well, I said, I will be glad to look it over," and so I looked at it. He said, "The book of Ecclesiastes is a very important book. Professor so-and-so of the University of Chicago said-----" Then he had half a page in which Professor so-and-so said that it is a very important book. Then he wrote: Professor so-and-so of the University of Michigan said that it is a very important book, a very interesting book; Professor So-and-so of the University of Buenos Aires said-----and then he quoted half a page in which he also said that it was an interesting book. Then he quoted various opinions of the meaning of the first chapter of Ecclesiastes from Dr. so-and-so of the University of London. Ninety-nine per cent of the book consisted of quotations. I said to him, "Why don't you study these quotations and examine the matters for yourself and reach some conclusions and write a book in your own words?" I said, "I don't think any publisher would be interested in a book that was just a series of quotations, and I don't think many people would be interested in buying such a book."

Professor Raven's *Introduction to the Old Testament* is a useful handbook, though it is now forty years old and is quite out of date. But if you were to examine its section on the canon you would find that it includes whole sentences taken out of William Henry Green's book on the Canon. He did not summarize in his own words, but went right through picking out sentence after sentence. When he came to the higher criticism of the Pentateuch he selected from Green's book on the Pentateuch. He condensed three or four of Green's books! It is largely made up of quotations, without saying that it is, along with some quotations from other works. Well, it is useful to have all this in one book.

If Moses had chosen to take writings that Abraham and Noah and various people had written, just to fit them together, I am not sure there would have been great harm in his doing so. The Holy Spirit might have led him to take those sections word for word and combine them. But I do not think you can say that He did unless you have pretty good proof of it. The question is not: What are the sources from which Moses got his material? The question is: Can you distinguish such sources in what he wrote? If somebody says that Moses used written documents, I am ready to say that it is highly probable that he did. But if somebody says, "I can divide the book of Genesis into the original documents and here they are," I say, "How do you know you can divide it up? How do you know that he didn't give in his own words the material he got from various sources? Is it possible to do this?" Well, Astruc thought it was, but he hesitated very much about publishing his ideas. He was

afraid people would think he was heretical. He was afraid he might get into difficulty. When he published his book it had a very interesting title in French: *Conjectures about the original memoirs which it appeared that Moses used in composing the book of Genesis with certain remarks which help to clarify these conjectures.* When he wrote his book he published it anonymously. He hesitated about publishing it at all, but a friend, whom he says was a very zealous Romanist, told him that the idea that Moses used memoirs had already been advanced by well approved authors, that there was nothing heretical in that, and that there was no reason he could not publish it. Astruc published his book without the name of any author and very few people paid any attention to it. In his *Philosophical Dictionary* Voltaire criticized it and ridiculed it, but otherwise hardly anyone paid any attention to it. It would not have mattered except for the fact that later on, when the higher criticism went in this direction from other causes, they looked back and saw that Astruc had made a start in this direction. Since it is the direction in which the higher criticism went it is good for us to know what Astruc did.

Astruc said, the story at the beginning of Genesis has the name "God" all through the first chapter and through the first four verses of the second chapter. In addition it is interesting to see that this part has a sort of 1 - 2 - 3 arrangement. There was evening and there was morning the first day, and God saw it was good," "And there was evening and morning of the second day." There are certainly recurring phrases that read almost like a mathematical table instead of like a book of narrative. Astruc said, "Here you have an original source which I will call source A." Then he pointed out that after verse four of chapter two it begins to talk, not of God, but of Jehovah God. And so he said, "Here is a different writer, he has a different name for God--Jehovah, and he put the word "God" after it in order to suggest that this Jehovah is the same God spoken of in the first chapter. And for a couple of chapters it nearly always speaks of Jehovah God and after that just speaks of Jehovah." Then he said, "If you go through Genesis and take those chapters or sections that speak of God you have one story, and if you take those that speak of Jehovah you have another..." He said, "You can divide the book of Genesis into two main documents which were fit together. When I set out to do this, I found that I was successful far beyond what I would have thought possible, they fit together so well."

However, he said, "not all of it fit this way. He pointed to sections which he said did not fit into this arrangement, so there must be ten other sources. And these ten other sources, he said, do not fit into either document, so he had ten other sources from which he said that Moses took material, though there was comparatively little material in any of these other ten.

Thus, he said, there were two main documents which Moses had, which he had combined, taking a section from one and a section from the other, and a section from one and a section from the other, etc. And it was an interesting literary study.

Astruc published the book and nobody paid any attention to it except Voltaire, who said, "What purpose does Astruc's thankless and dangerous labor serve? It only doubles the darkness he wished to enlighten." And Voltaire also said, "Here is the fruit of the tree of knowledge of which we are so desirous of eating. Why must it be that the fruit of the tree

of ignorance should be more nourishing and more easily digested?" Voltaire, who was a great skeptic and a great enemy of Christianity, ridiculed what Astruc had done, and nobody else paid any attention to it.

2. Eichhorn

Fifty years later, a German scholar named Eichhorn presented the same idea and far more attention was paid to it. Eichhorn, who wrote nearly fifty years later, said that he had not taken the idea from Astruc. Eichhorn was a noted professor in the German university of Gottingen. He published an *Introduction to the Old Testament*, in which he suggested that the book of Genesis was made up of two main documents with a few small sections from other works. (At this time he only spoke of Genesis--not as yet of the Pentateuch as a whole.) He said that he could take either one of these two documents and read it straight through as a complete story.

Eichhorn said that these were the documents that Moses used in writing the Book of Genesis. Since Moses was not there when the events described in Genesis occurred, he had to have documents unless God revealed it to him directly. Up to this point we have no reason to differ with him, but when he said that he could separate out the documents that Moses used, we need to examine his claim with care. Why should we think that Moses combined documents together as he found them, rather than to think them through and then express the results in his own words? I do not say there would necessarily be anything wrong in thinking he did so, if there is sufficient evidence to prove it.

Astruc had presented his theory in a book to which hardly anyone except Voltaire paid any attention, and Voltaire had ridiculed it. Eichhorn presented a very similar idea, and said that he had not received the idea from Astruc. Eichhorn had sufficient influence as a professor and as a writer to gain wide attention for his theory. So Eichhorn is of great importance in the history of the theory and Astruc of very little. Yet today people speak of Astruc far more often than they speak of Eichhorn. Astruc did not present any destructive idea. He believed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, and his theory related only to Genesis, not to the material that dealt with matters with which Moses was directly connected. There is really no harm in anything that Astruc did. It is a matter deserving investigation. Nobody today thinks that Moses used the documents that Astruc suggested that he used. It would not be particularly important for us to know about him, if it were not for the fact that all the books written in recent years blame (or praise) him for being the founder of the higher criticism of the Pentateuch.

It is quite different with Eichhorn, although the ideas that he first presented were not in themselves particularly bad. When he presented his theory it received considerable attention in Germany and some in other countries.

Eichhorn's theory was quite similar to Astruc's. His reconstruction of the two supposed documents was essentially the same, but neither of them is really close to the theory as it came eventually to be widely accepted.

Eichhorn thought that the book of Genesis could be divided into two main documents, one of which uses the name Jehovah and the other the title Elohim (God). Eichhorn said that Moses used these two documents in writing the Pentateuch.

Up to this point there is no harm in the view. If you do not think Moses used documents, where do you think he got the material in Genesis? Do you think someone told him by word of mouth, what his father told him that his father had told him, and so on? Personally I think it far more likely that he used documents. ~~fifteen hundred~~?

Writing was common at least 1500 years before the time of Moses. It was far more common in Palestine at the time of Moses than it was fifty years ago and certainly many times more common than it was 200 years ago in Palestine. And therefore it seems to be entirely probable that Moses used written sources. We ca not prove it one way or the other. It does not matter a great deal whether he did but there is certainly no object in trying to prove he didn't. We simply do not know. It seems to me most likely that he used written sources. But Eichhorn does not merely say that Moses probably used written sources, Eichhorn says that Moses used written sources taking over whole sections of them as they were. Here is where I have very serious questions. Perhaps Moses simply copied some material from one source and copied some from another source. There is no harm in it if he did, but how do we know he did? Maybe Moses read all this material and then under the leading of the Spirit of God put it all into his own words.

It is an idea worthy of investigation, but not to be accepted unless conclusively proven, that Moses preserved documents in the words in which he found them. That is an assumption. It is another assumption to think that one is able to separate out these documents. There is no harm in separating out the documents Moses used if you can do it. But let's not say we can unless we have real proof. Let us be mighty sure that we have sufficient evidence to prove we can do it before we say we can.

Eichhorn thought he had pretty strong proof. He based his claim on four lines of evidence. Green explains them very clearly. I want you to have them in mind because they are as important as anything we will have in this whole year.

The first of these is this: that the name Jehovah and the name Elohim would not be used the way they are unless he took a section from one and a section from another then a section from the first and then a section from the second and all through it just kept the names the way they were.

That seems really rather strange, that a man would just keep the names the way they were even if he kept the documents mostly word for word. Why wouldn't he arrange the names to suit himself?

The argument is worthy of investigation. Does the fact that the names are arranged in this way give us a clue to division into two main sources which Moses used? But what I am interested in at present is being sure that you know what the claim is. The early church fathers noticed the variation between God and Jehovah in Genesis, and they said that God is the name for God in the general sense; as the great omnipotent Creator, the One that deals with the universe. They said that when you get into chapter two and you start talking about God's specific relation to man it is quite natural to use the name Jehovah. The translation LORD does not really give this idea, perhaps because Lord is the one you obey. Actually Jehovah means the One Who has the personal relation with you, the One Who redeems you, the One Who helps

you. It is the covenant name for God in relation to Israel. Personally I liked the usage, *Jehovah* in the American Revised Version, and am sorry that it did not win acceptation and will doubtless disappear from use. I like it because it does not convey that it is simply His mastership that is stressed here. He is the LORD, but that is not the fundamental meaning of this word. Our Authorized Version put it LORD in capitals--LORD. The American Revised Version translated this Hebrew word as Jehovah. They said, when it deals with man, it used the intimate personal name, Jehovah, and then when it speaks of flood waters overflowing the universe, it naturally used God, the name showing Him as the great powerful One. Then when He speaks of His relation with Noah, helping and blessing Noah, it naturally reverts to the name Jehovah. There are many cases where there is no particular reason to use one or the other and then it is quite natural to keep on using the name you have been using. Often it does not matter which you use, you are simply referring to God without a stress on one aspect or the other.

We will look into this in much more detail later. Here I am just pointing out that the early fathers faced this problem and they said, here is the answer. It is sometimes emphasizing one aspect or the other of God's Being.

The critics of the development that became so strong insist that it shows that one document called God by this name and another document called God by that name and you can separate them out using this factor as an important key.

Eichhorn's other three arguments have to be taken into account. The first one, by itself would never provide an answer. It only suggests. But his second argument, if it works out, is a very strong one. We shall call it *The Argument from Continuous Narrative*. If I ask you to name the second argument for the documentary theory, I would like you immediately to say "Continuous Narrative Argument." It claimed that if you would take from the book of Genesis all the sections that speak of "God" and put them together, and do the same with the those that say "LORD" (representing the name Jehovah) you could put them together and read each group straight through.

Suppose that I were to write you an account of my visit to Palestine a year ago, and suppose that Dr. Harris were to write about his trip and that we were to describe similar experiences. Suppose someone would say: "We want some proof of what these men said. Dr. MacRae and Dr. Harris went to Palestine. Dr. MacRae says he rode in an Arab jitney with a lot of Arabs from Damascus to Jerusalem, but Dr. Harris says he rode down with the other American tourists. In Jerusalem they joined and went to various places together. Suppose that Dr. MacRae tells what he saw and Dr. Harris describes what he saw. Suppose these two accounts were combined into one, without designating who wrote which parts. There would be a lot of repetition. Then if someone could separate out what was in my words and what was in Dr. Harris' words and could put them together and would have two complete accounts, it would be a mighty strong argument that there had been two accounts, if one could separate out two complete stories, taken substantially as they were, and neither of them needing the other. Now do you see the force of that argument? It is a very strong argument, if the facts work out. This is a very important question for examination-- do the facts work out? We will not

examine this fully now, but I want you to have in mind the development of the critical theory, what the arguments were, and how it developed. This is very vital. Later on we will discuss how valid or insufficient the arguments are. There is no point in trying to discuss the critical theory unless you know what it is. If you want to say, I am not about to believe in it, it is not what they teach in my church, it must be a lot of nonsense, if that is your attitude, that is up to you. Many people who simply take that attitude are greatly used of the Lord, but I think we need Christian leaders who can come with an open mind to look at a thing and to see what the facts are and to learn to point out that the facts point in the one direction rather than the other. You can not do that unless you know clearly what it is and can look at it with an unprejudiced eye. In this course I am very much interested that you know the difficulties of the critical theory, but I am still more interested that you know what the theory actually is. And so this second argument, the continuous narrative argument, is a very strong argument if it works out.

If you find "Lord" in small letters we are not now interested, but if you have capital "LORD" that represents in the Revised Version, *Jehovah*. It is the Hebrew word representing a proper name, the name of God. Note the alternation of these two names. Don't pay attention (except in parenthesis for the sake of completeness in your list) to cases where it is "God of something or other." See the alternation of names. Between Gen. 1:1 and 2:3 you never have Jehovah. Then you start to have *Jehovah God*. Here God is not a title. It is just saying that Jehovah is God, the same God as mentioned in Chapter one.

After a couple of chapters he stops calling Jehovah God, you are used to it then and you understand that He is God, and thereafter he called Him Jehovah on through. Hardly ever again do you see Jehovah and God together. Go through and look at the alternation.

You can go through the book of Genesis in your list and see if you have a complete story and a complete story there. If each gives a complete story, it is a mighty strong argument for saying we actually are able to separate out the sources that Moses used, but if it isn't a complete story, then this argument does not work out. It is a thing which is worth investigating. Do we have a complete story in each of these documents?

~~Now your~~ The third argument is even more important than the second argument. It might be possible to have two sources. One man could describe the world war and tell what happened and another man could describe it and they would follow substantially the same order but each would tell it in his own words and you could separate them out into two complete stories, but you wouldn't necessarily include all of both of them. You might very well include both of them on important things, but when you came to less important things, you would only include on of them. So, if you cannot prove a continuous document it does not prove there were not two sources. That is very important. If you can prove continuous narrative, it is a strong argument for two distinct sources; but if you can not prove it it does not prove there were not two sources, because a person could very easily use two sources and only take part of each, but take the whole story out of either one. So the argument is more important than the second, because the third is quite

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sure to be there even if only part of each document were taken.

The third argument is the argument from parallel passages. It is one of the very most important arguments for the critical theory. Actually it is far more important than the alternation of divine names. According to it, part of the same event is described and then it is described over again. Why on earth would the same thing be told twice? You would not expect a sensible person writing about my trip to Palestine a year ago last summer to describe my day when I went up to Ai and Bethel and then to describe the same things all over again. If somebody took my account and took Dr. Harris' account and went through what I said and then went through his, and just gave them one right after the other without any heading, a person could easily get the idea that it tells of two different trips--that I had made the trip one day and that he had made it another day. If there were no names you could easily think that two different trips were described. There would be a parallel. If you would examine them carefully you would say, "two different men did not go on two different days and see exactly the same things in the same order and have the same other companions with them and ride in the same kind of car and have the same experience with Arabs along the way and have the same Arab come up behind Dr. Harris and strike toward his skull and Dr. MacRae ~~be~~ there just in time to grab it out of his hand, and read twice about the other little incidents in both stories. You would say, the same thing is being told twice. You would think that fellow that combined them together without explaining that they are parallel stories must have been pretty stupid. This could be the strongest possible kind of an argument for there being two different sources woven together. Anybody could fit things together and have ~~the use of divine names~~ reveal the fact that he is taking from this source and that.

~~Anybody could~~ combine two stories together [and when you separate] them you find that you can ~~read a story right along here and a story right along there~~. But if a person combines them together and you find ~~that~~ the same thing is told twice but there is no mention of it being the same thing, so that it sounds as if it is two different stories, when it is only just one, then there must be some stupidity on the part of the man who combined it. That does not look very good for him. That would look like evidence against the Mosaic authorship because Moses was a very bright man and you would not expect him to do such a thing. Now the fourth argument is the argument from style. You find the first chapter of Genesis saying, "God created man, male and female, created he them." And in the second chapter or the third chapter it speaks of the man and his wife. Well now, does one writer say, "male and female" and the other say, "the man and his wife?" One says "bring animals into the ark, male and female." The other says, "the animals came into the ark, and the man and his wife." Now, if you have two different usages that way, and one of your documents consistently used one and the other consistently used the other when there is no difference in sense to explain why one used one and the other used the other, that is a strong argument. But as you see, it is one which has to be handled with care in order to deal with it properly. ~~The argument from Style, the fourth argument, really like the~~ first, is part of the fourth. Because actually the difference between whether you call God, "God" or "Jehovah" is a difference in style. The only different thing is the one who started it. So he is just giving it a

first? — Unclear here

The first argument might have been included under the fourth, because after all

separate argument. But actually it is one of the alleged differences of style, and if you can find differences in style, as one Methodist minister said, not so long ago, "the difference in style between the J document and the P document is as great as the difference between present English and the language of Chaucer." I can safely say that anyone who makes such a statement knows nothing about Hebrew.

One of the most important needs of this course is to have these four arguments in mind. I have asked you to master the discussion of them in Green. In his first edition of *The Introduction to the Old Testament* in 1782 Eichhorn advanced the theory, and in his fourth edition, issued in 1823, he still held it. In the early edition Eichhorn insisted that Moses was the compiler of Genesis, and the author of the rest of the Pentateuch in which he described the things he saw and the experiences he had. There was no harm in Eichhorn's theory thus far. The harm comes when one gets dogmatic and says, "We can be sure this is what Moses did." If he had proof there would no harm in being sure, but the question is, how much real proof does he have? Personally, I think that Moses was too bright a man simply to string two manuscripts together in such a way as Eichhorn suggested. In the later editions Eichhorn suggested that it might be possible to carry the theory further into the Bible than just in Genesis, and there is some dispute as to whether he denies the Mosaic authorship in his fourth edition.

Very soon after Eichhorn's fourth edition appeared there were writers who were saying that an unknown redactor wrote Genesis, and some carried Eichhorn's theory much further. Eichhorn said that it works through Genesis and the first few chapters of Exodus, because after the first few chapters of Exodus, only the name Jehovah is used almost entirely in most of the other books of the Pentateuch and "God" is hardly used at all. He said you can separate two documents only that far and from there on Moses is telling us what he saw. However, others said, it is true you can not carry this distinction further than Genesis and the first few chapters of Exodus, but you learn to distinguish two styles in Genesis and these styles only by other characteristics you can carry all through the Pentateuch. "Besides," they said, "you can find parallel passages in other parts of the Pentateuch, and not just in Genesis." There would be nothing wrong to have, as Eichhorn says, Moses giving us the history of events before his time by taking two original sources and combining then together, but to say that Moses took two different sources and put them together, giving the history of what he saw and experienced, in the rest of the Pentateuch is a different matter. Why on earth would he do that? He was right there and saw it all. Then, if your parallel passages get to the point where you say that they contradict each other, how would you get a contradiction in an account by Moses of things in his own day? So when you carry it on from Genesis, you soon reach the point where you wonder if Moses wrote the rest of the Pentateuch. You begin to wonder whether it might not be a later writer who combines the documents in the rest of the Pentateuch. And when it is extended into the rest of the Pentateuch one begins to raise questions about the Mosaic authorship which you do not have when you confine it to Genesis.

When you get it into the rest of the Pentateuch, you get into a different area, because there you are immediately asked the question,

~~Well now,~~ if you have two different stories of events in Moses' time, and particularly if these stories contradict each other, then how could Moses have written them?

So the extension of Eichhorn's theory into other parts of the Pentateuch (whether Eichhorn actually began that extension in the very end of his life or not,) ~~that extension and, along with~~ it, the tendency to deny Mosaic authorship is a big start in the direction of something that is really harmful. Eichhorn's original view might be considered simply ~~as~~ a harmless speculation, provided you say, "I think maybe it was this way; let's look at the facts and see whether the evidence is enough to prove it, or merely to suggest it."

All that we have been looking at so far deals with what we might call the early documentary theory. I call it early because there was a big gap between it and the later documentary theory.

Eichhorn advanced substantially the same theory that Astruc advanced, whether he got it from Astruc or whether it was entirely independent of him. It is substantially the same view. This view is a fairly simple one. We would spend the rest of the year looking at the evidences for Eichhorn's theory to see whether it is true or false but the development did not stop there. Nobody today believes Eichhorn's theory. It was the beginning of the movement which developed into the views held today. If you do not know something of its background you do not really understand the theory as it is held today. Many of its defenders really understand it very little, because they do not know its background. If you are going to deal with it properly you must know its background, so it is very important to know what Eichhorn believed and how his theory developed, but it is not important to spend a lot of time examining the arguments for and against Eichhorn's theory, because today nobody believes in his theory, but it is valuable to see how the later theories developed out of this one and what effect they have on the argument. Do the new forms of the theory make these arguments stronger or weaker? Now that is a very important question. Eichhorn may not have known anything whatever about Astruc's idea, but after all it was a rather obvious idea. The real question is, does it work out? The alternation of divine names had been noted over and over again in Christian history, and we have noticed what, at that time, was the usual explanation of it. Astruc suggested a different one: anyone has a right to suggest a different explanation for anything. The only thing is, you have no right to insist on one unless you have real evidence for it. We must go to the facts and to the evidence. There are too many people in the world who follow a view simply because their parents followed it, or their teachers have followed it, or they have been told that it would be sinful for them to question it or to consider any other views. One of our great needs is that we examine evidence and see what the facts are and then follow the facts wherever they lead.

Here is a fact: the alternation of divine names. Where does it lead? Does it fit in with the ~~interpretations~~ that the fathers had given, or does it prove a diversity of writers? Certainly divine name alternation alone would never prove a diversity of authors.

But Eichhorn suggests three other arguments. And I would like to say this: If you could take the Pentateuch, or the book of Genesis, and you could take out of it those sections that have the name "God" and

those sections that the name "LORD" and put these here and those there, and then read these right through and have a complete story, and then in addition to that, if you would find that wherever this one said "male and female," that one always said "the man and his wife," and that certain expressions were very common in this and never used in that one and that a different type was always used in that one a definite difference as to the use of divine names would be one part of style. This worked out clearly might be sufficient to demonstrate that we could divide the book of Genesis up into two original documents which were put together to form a book. But when you begin to do this, you find soon that there are places where it does not work out. Consequently they say: "Well, the man who combined them--the redactor--altered it here." Once you begin to say the man who combined them altered them, you are greatly weakening the evidence. The question is, how complete is the evidence? How satisfactory is the evidence? I can say without hesitation that the evidence from style is very, very unsatisfactory. If the theory had stopped at that point, I would ask you to take the book of Genesis and to divide the whole book. Many of you have already indicated in your notebooks the alternation to divine names through the whole book. If the theory had stopped at this point, I would ask you to get a.little copy of Genesis which you could get for a few cents from the American Bible Society and to paste all the sections that had "God" together and all the sections that had "LORD together and then to compare them and note the phraseology used here and see whether it is used there. Note the type of language here and see whether it is used there and if you could find an absolutely consistent difference, between those two and each of them making sense as it goes through even if they were not complete, I would say that you had good proof. But if you began to do that, you would soon find you proof was really very limited.

But the documentary theory does not stop at that point. That particular view is held by nobody today, and consequently there is no need of our taking the time to fully investigate that idea.

It is vital, though, that we understand the next feature of the argument. It was not said by Eichhorn that the style of the two is absolutely different all the way though so that on the basis of style you can make a clear differentiation. He only gave that as one of several arguments. And this other argument if the argument of continuous narrative. That would be much easier to check than the argument from style. There are so many phases in the argument from style that you could take weeks and weeks checking it, but on this one you could check it fairly quickly and see whether you really have two complete narratives.

If there had been two documents that Moses put together, he could easily have left great portions of either one that he did not use at all. It is really not necessary that documents be complete if you have the two documents that way, but if they were complete and you were sure they were, you would have a big argument. Consequently, it is vital to see if there is such evidence--well, he said there is, and that is a matter which, if the theory had remained as it was then, we have to check through carefully.

As held today, the theory is very different, though it still maintains, to some extent, this argument of continuous narrative or

continuous document.

The third argument, that of parallel passages, might not be present at all, but if it is, it constitutes a big additional argument. In fact, if clearly present, it could almost prove the claim entirely apart from the other three.

A parallel passage does not necessarily prove a different document. It depends on the nature of the parallel passage. There are all kinds of parallels. Here is an example: Last year I visited South America. In July, 1951, I traveled from here to Brazil and then continued to Argentina, and across to Chile and back up to the United States. You note that my second sentence is absolutely complete without my first. Yet it is very natural to begin such a talk, by giving those two sentences. One gave specific detail and the other which gave a general summary. Each of them was complete. Yet this would not prove that I was drawing from two different sources, because one might quite naturally have thought that way. But you can readily imagine that I would not keep on talking that way through the course of fifty chapters. I might talk that way for a distance, and it might be enough to produce two continuous narratives without being any evidence for two documents. It is most likely, if I started that way, that I would not repeat myself as completely in the second sentence as I did just now, although I might. I might say, "Last summer I made a trip through South America. After a month in Brazil I continued my journey around the continent, arriving back in this country in September." In those two sentences, one succeeds the other and you get nearly as much information as you did the first time I gave it, and yet the second does not completely repeat the first. The second starts with me down in Brazil: "After a month in Brazil." It does not say it was last summer, when it was, nor does it tell how I got to Brazil or anything about it. So the two are parallel but not nearly so parallel as the other two and you would not get two complete documents out of it. In a continuous narrative, you may have parallels but not necessarily parallels of a type which will show a different document. This is important to keep in mind. When one works into this matter of division of documents, it is very easy for him to get into the frame of mind that says that wherever you have two sentences that are parallel you have two documents. That is not the case. In any sort of discussion there is repetition. There may very well be three or four parallels without having more than one document. It depends on the nature of the parallel. If the parallel merely consists of saying the same thing over again, we may do it for emphasis. Or we may tell that somebody told someone to do something and describe it and tell in detail what he is to do and then tell in detail what he did. When you do that you have two that are parallel, but there is a valid reason for having these two parallels. It does not necessarily prove two documents, although it might fit the idea of two complete narratives.

However, if you have a story of something happening and then a little later, you have the same story told over again as if it was a different event, with maybe a few details changed and yet it is really the same story, you can be sure that one man would never write that way. I would not tell you the story of my going to South America last summer and say I went down to Brazil and Argentina and then back up the west coast and tell you another story of my trip to South America last summer and I

went down the west coast and came up the east coast. I would not do that. But if two of you went home and one told the story about me going to South America last summer and described my going down the one coast and going up the other and told a good many details and the other one told the story but had an opposite order but also had it last summer, had me the one involved in it and gave similar incidents, someone comparing the two would say that one of those fellows got the story mixed. We do not know which way he went, but it is very clearly the same story. Someone else might combine both accounts into one long document, and then someone might quote the two stories as if I had made two different trips to South America. As you see, such a parallel as that would prove two distinct documents because no one man would write a story that way. But it goes further than that. It does not merely prove two distinct documents, it proves that the compiler did not know a great deal about it and that he thought that something was two stories which was really one. Such a thing is inconsistent with any idea of a divine inspiration and it may be inconsistent with much intelligence on the part of the compiler. To prove that you would have to possess complete stylistic evidence and such evidence is far from being present. But besides that we have mentioned two other types of arguments, one of them--continuous narrative, would not have to be present at all if there were two sources. Yet if you actually have it it is a big step toward proving it and may make up for a lack of sufficient evidence from the stylistic viewpoint. Then the other evidence, parallel passages, is one we have to handle with extreme care, because it is easy to forget the fact that parallels occur in any document. We have to ask the question, is this such a parallel as would not occur unless there were two different sources? It is an argument which can easily become inconsistent with any idea of truth in the narrative or of divine inspiration. If He chose to do so God could easily have caused Moses to combine two documents in this way, all of it being done under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. There is nothing in such a suggestion that would be contrary to our belief in God. But we have to find evidence He did: we must not just assume it. If you really have parallel passages in it in which the same story is given as two different stories, containing details that contradict each other, when actually it is only one story and only one narrative is right, this would be clear evidence that it is a fraud. It would be inconsistent with any idea of divine authorship. We have not as yet looked at these alleged parallel passages enough to make sure whether the argument as used by Eichhorn would necessarily imply that there were errors. As used by the critics today, that is very definitely done. It is the one of the four arguments which is most apt to involve denial of divine authorship. By continuous narrative we do not just mean there are two parallel stories; we mean that they involve the same general story. Continuous narrative means the two are parallel, so you have one big parallel, and this would involve having many little parallels. For instance, if you have two stories of the flood, it would be pretty sure that both of them would tell about Noah going into the ark. The idea of two rather complete continuous narratives would go pretty far in proving the critical theory if you could separate out two really complete documents, but the question is: Can this be done? We do not have to examine that in detail just now,

almost exclusively. That is very natural from our viewpoint.

Eichhorn originally only applied his source-theory to the Pentateuch,

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used to the idea, and many had thought it was a fairly good suggestion as to how Moses got the material—then some people said, Why doesn't this alternation of divine names continue through the rest of the Pentateuch? Why do you just have it in Genesis and in the first few chapters of Exodus? The rest of the Pentateuch, including most of the book of Exodus, uses the name Jehovah almost exclusively, and uses the term God very rarely. Why is that? Well, from our viewpoint we can easily think of a reason. If "God" is a name that stresses Him as a divine, powerful Being that rules in the universe, that is the natural way to speak of him in the first chapter of Genesis. And if "Jehovah" is the name that expresses Him in His covenant relation with His people whom He called apart and redeemed, then it is natural to find "Jehovah" a great deal in the book of Genesis. Then, after you get into the book of Exodus and have God dealing with His own people, bringing them through the wilderness, caring for them, giving them His law, showing them His will for them and preparing them for their entrance into the land He is going to give them, it is only natural that they use His covenant name almost exclusively. So the names Jehovah and God are both used a great deal in Genesis, but from the middle of Exodus on we find that Jehovah is used almost exclusively. That is very natural from our viewpoint.

Eichhorn originally only applied his source-theory to the Pentateuch, but it was applied to later books by others who followed him. (Some writers say Eichhorn himself applied it to the rest of the Pentateuch in the last edition of his book, but this is questionable.) Originally, at least, Eichhorn said you cannot do this beyond the first few chapters of Exodus, and then someone said, "Well, why not? Why should this alternation stop there? Why doesn't it go on?" Then Eichhorn or one of his successors said, "The answer is found in Exodus 6:3 where you read, "And God spoke to Moses and said to him, I am Jehovah and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob by the name of El Shaddai (which our English interpretation translates God Almighty), but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them." And then you look back and you will find that God said to Abraham, "I am El Shaddai, walk thou before Me." This name El Shaddai is used three or four times in Genesis.

Next the critics said, "Here you have what the Elohim document said. In it God is known as God until you get to Exodus 6:3, where God says to Moses, "I am Jehovah," but in previous times they had known me as El Shaddai. All through Genesis that document calls Him Elohim but here the name Jehovah has been revealed and therefore He is called Jehovah after this point. But the other document, the one that uses Jehovah, did not know about this story and so thought that He had been called Jehovah right from the beginning."

We can

So you see the alleged difference between the two. The one story calls Him Jehovah right from the beginning, while the other story calls Him God until it gets to Exodus 3 where He reveals His name JEHOVAH, and then after that it calls His name Jehovah. So from here on you cannot divide the documents on the basis of whether the name is Jehovah or God because they both call Him Jehovah from here on. So, they say, the authors of the two documents had different ideas about the early days. One thought he was called Jehovah right from the beginning. The other thought that the name was not revealed until the time of Exodus 3:6 and therefore called Him God. Well now you see what they consider to be a

authors of the two documents had different ideas about the early days.

One thought he was called Jehovah right from the beginning. The other thought that the name was not revealed until the time of Exodus 3:6 and therefore called Him God. Well now you see what they consider to be a very strong argument for a reason why the two documents were different. But you see what it does to the redactor--the man who, according to their theory, joined the documents together. He knows that one document says he was not called Jehovah before this point, and the other says that he was known by that name right from the beginning, and the redactor just joins them together, paying no attention. He was at least pretty careless, if not pretty ignorant. How could a redactor read this and interpret it this way (and it was quite evident that this was the interpretation) if it was in a document which always used God up to here and then always used Jehovah hereafter, and yet he put them together always keeping Jehovah in one document and always keeping God in the other document? It would show that he did not realize that the two documents sharply contradicted each other on the vital matter (if it means what the critics say it does), and yet he put them together without noticing the contradiction at all! So you see that this suggestion is very difficult to reconcile with any divine authorship! It could not be reconciled with Mosaic authorship. If Moses wrote it, then he knew that God had said this to him and therefore he would have been particularly aware of the fact that the name Jehovah was not used before that time and therefore he would not have had one document have it and the other not have it. He would have changed it and made them agree. If he combined two documents this way, this is the explanation, say the critics, as to why you have the difference in divine names no longer of help in the latter part of Exodus, nor in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. So, according to the critics, the two documents sharply contradict each other.

Next, they declared, "you can't divide the rest of the Pentateuch according to divine names, but we have differences of style in Genesis. Just look at Genesis 1. The Lord said, and such and such a thing happened, and the Lord saw what he had made and it was good, and it was evening and it was morning, one day. And the Lord said, let this happen and it happened and the Lord saw what had happened and it was good. And it was evening and it was morning the second day, and the Lord said, Let such and such a thing happen and it happened and the Lord saw what had happened and it was good, and it was evening and morning the third day. Well that sounds like a table, doesn't it? It isn't narrative. It sounds like a statistical table telling you what happened each day and repeating all these things over and over each day; yet in the second chapter he goes on and gives a narrative and tells what occurred. So we see a great difference in style."

There is undoubtedly a marked difference in style between Genesis 1 and Genesis 2. I am not saying there is such a difference as would necessarily prove a different authorship. That is a question for consideration. But that there is a difference of style is unquestionable. I could write a tabulation and use a certain style. First day--coming of light. Second day--creation of the firmament. Third day--creation of plant life. Fourth day--sun, moon, and stars appear. This is a very different style than if I should say, "now God created the whole world

and He brought certain things to pass--He caused this to happen and He caused that to happen." It is a very different style and yet the same man could use both styles. It does not necessarily prove that it has a different authorship, but it is a different style.

Now look at Leviticus. Here there are full detailed directions with much repetition. In a way it is similar to Genesis 1. So they said that the style of the Elohim document, found in Genesis 1 is the style in all the legal details of the book of Leviticus and parts of Numbers. They also said, "It is the style of much of Exodus where it gives the details of the tabernacle, but in the giving of the Ten Commandments and that sort of law, the style is different. So there would seem to be some laws which had the narrative style of Genesis 2, 3, and 4 and some laws which are in the 1, 2, 3 statistical style of Genesis 1. Consequently, they said, there is a similarity in style between large sections of the Pentateuch and Genesis 1 and a similarity of style between other sections of the Pentateuch and Genesis 2-4." So they said, "We can carry this right through the Pentateuch even apart from the basis of divine names." Thus--on the basis of similarity of style--this early document theory was extended through the entire Pentateuch. And once it is extended through the entire Pentateuch, along with the Jehovah document which uses Jehovah in the creation story, and the Elohim document which uses Elohim in the creation story up to the time of Moses, and then somewhere in Moses' life starts using "Jehovah." Thus, they say, there are these two documents which give different stories, not only of creation and of events among the patriarchs but also of events in the wilderness and of the nature of the laws and of the giving of the Law and so on. Then they say, Moses could not have written both of these. If there was a Moses who actually saw those things happen, he would not write two different complete documents, and he would not combine two different documents that other people wrote. Once you extend this approach through the Pentateuch, you must conclude that the documents were written long after that time, so you must assume the existence of a redactor, who put the Pentateuch together centuries after the time of Moses, and the Mosaic authorship has been given up entirely, and also divine inspiration and any belief that it is a divine and dependable book, because it involves all these contradictions. Now the parallel passages argument is carried to the point where it involves many contradictions--that is, accounts are so parallel that you know the same thing is being told, but when there is such a difference between accounts you know that both can not be right. One must be right and the other must be wrong.

If you prefer, you can entitle the events we have been listing discussing The Early Documentary Theory. It began with Astruc and was developed by Eichhorn and his successors.

If you have two parallel stories which seem to be the same but are not, and somebody has put them down in such a way as to make it look as if they are two different events, when actually they are the same, but told with different details, then you have such a contradiction that they could not be put down by a man who was right there at the time and knew the actual facts. That is the force of the argument from parallel passages. For instance, they say, "One document will tell you that God gave the Law which you find in Exodus 20-22, and another will give you

the detailed law that is given in Leviticus. One of them is a very detailed law with great stress on full details of sacrifice and offering. The other says only a very little about offerings and deals mostly with individual relations with people." This is different from the way that we interpret it. We understand that God gave the Covenant in Exodus 20-24, and then took Moses up the mountain and gave him a full detailed law for the priests, including many details which it was not necessary to give when making the Covenant with the people. So we believe we have two distinct laws that fit together. Each of them is complete for the purpose for which it was given and they fit together. According to the interpretation of the critics these are two different laws, very different in type, and containing a great many small contradictions. They say, "There is a great contradiction in emphasis, with the one putting tremendous stress on details of sacrifice and the other saying very little about it. Consequently, if one of them thinks this is the law that was given, and the other thinks that was, they can not both be by Moses. So they must be by somebody much later."

But if they do not contradict each other, then you have no evidence for different documents. There would be no sense in Moses taking documents from other people with different styles, and combining them to tell about something that he himself saw when he was actually there.

Astruc and Eichhorn in their early days, did not necessarily hold to any contradiction, but as the theory developed it led to belief in contradiction, and once you hold that there are contradictions you give up the Mosaic authorship and the belief in divine inspiration. It was extended through the Pentateuch by Eichhorn's successors.

C. ***From Eichhorn to Graf***

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1. The Fragmentary Hypothesis: Eichhorn's successor was a man named Ilgen. He was not particularly important, though there has been much stress recently made on him because, like Astruc, he hit on some lines which were later adopted years after his life, but not as a result of what he did. It was not taken from his writing. Ilgen was a great educator, who succeeded Eichhorn. He wrote a book which had a long title. In this book Ilgen said that the Elohim section in Genesis is actually not a unity, but has within it some parallel passages and some differences of style; so there are really two Elohim documents in Genesis. Now he has three main documents instead of two main documents. The division he made is very similar to the division the critics make today. (It is very interesting that Edward J. Young of Westminster Seminary in his Introduction to the Old Testament, gives Eichhorn eight lines and gives Ilgen an entire page.) It was Eichhorn who was really the father of the higher criticism and tremendously important in its development. Ilgen thought of something new and presented it, but nobody paid any attention to his book and it was completely forgotten until sixty years later when somebody else advanced a theory which happens to be similar to the one he had advanced. They never thought of Ilgen until within the last thirty years when people dug back into the archives and found that he had created a somewhat similar theory way back then. So I would say that in a conservative book Ilgen certainly would not be worth over four or five lines and Eichhorn ought to have a page. I do not care if you do not even remember Ilgen's name, but Eichhorn is tremendously important.

The thing about Ilgen that interests me now is not whether he anticipates developments in the criticism sixty years later, but I am interested in pointing this out to you: when they claimed to find two main documents as early as 1798, a man said, "Yes, but you can divide up one of these documents into two again." In other words, the method does not stop.

Ilgen started a trend. He was merely one of many authors who wrote, who, I think, should go under the head of the Fragmentary Hypothesis.

There are three names which are usually mentioned under the Fragmentary Hypothesis. They are: Alexander Geddes, Vater and Hartmann. These three writers took the methods by which the book of Genesis and the other parts of the Pentateuch were divided into documents and showed that you could divide each of these into other documents, and they divided it up into smaller and smaller divisions until they had many different documents, that they said had been combined together. They found thirty eight different fragments which they said had been fit together to produce the Pentateuch. They said that some of these were from the time of Moses, but that the Pentateuch in its present form comes from a much later period. Geddes said the two document theory of Astruc and Eichhorn was a work of fancy. He said there were whole series of fragments, which had been combined. Well, you see, taking this method and these arguments--the second one would not help, but taking the first and particularly the third and forth--they divide up on the basis of differences of style and differences of parallel passages into many different documents. It is conceivable to prove that two recognizable documents were combined to produce Genesis, if there was sufficient evidence. But if it was an actual fact that there were thirty eight different documents, there would be sufficient evidence to prove that they were different documents, and to divide it up that way, is almost impossible. So the Fragmentary Hypothesis was the documentary theory carried to a ridiculous extreme. It was carrying it to the point where you just could not really prove anything if there were all those different fragments and documents. How does anybody know they are different fragments or what is part of one or part of another? You can divide up any book that way. Any time that you see a different word with a similar idea you can say that it shows a different document! So the Fragmentary Hypothesis was a reduction to absurdity of the documentary hypothesis and most of the Christian world was not affected by it. In the scholarly world, some individuals accepted it, but others said, "It is fantastic. How could a great book come together in this way?"

In those days they were dividing everything up. People thought that the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer were made up of many different poems which gradually came together. In most any book about Homer, written during a long period of time, the writer would say, "I don't know the literary history; I don't know how many people wrote it," but he will say, "I don't know how many people wrote it, but I know that the artistry of Homer's Iliad and Odyssey is superior to anything anybody else has ever written." So there must be some one great mind, whether he got sections from other people or not, when he worked through the whole thing and put his attitude and his approach and his style in the whole thing. So the attitude that was common a few years ago, of dividing it up into many

documents is pretty largely gone. While there are a few who will still hold to dividing Homer up into a few documents today, the tendency ~~is for~~ is to recognizing that minds that can write a poem like that are not commonplace, and really, the same thing would apply to the Pentateuch. To suggest that there could be two or three people who could write large sections of the Pentateuch might conceivably be the case, but to say that a great many people wrote its parts is simply unreasonable. There are not that many people with that type of mind. So if the Fragmentary Hypothesis had carried the thing right out into the wilderness and it would have been forgotten, then the Christian world would have ignored it and the scholarly world would have forgotten about it and that would have been the end of the higher criticism. But it did not stop there.

The Fragmentary Hypothesis was destroyed by the attacks of a number of scholars. One outstanding man who had a part in destroying it, though at first he had espoused it, was a great German scholar named De Wette. He is important for several reasons so I am going to give him a separate head.

2. ***De Wette*** is a very important man in the history of the criticism. In 1805 he wrote an epic-making book, presenting the idea that the book of Deuteronomy is the book referred to in connection with Josiah's reformation. De Wette said the book of Deuteronomy was not written by Moses, but that it was written at the time of King Josiah, before the book was found in the temple. He said, "Read what Josiah did and read about the changes in Israel. You will see that it exactly fits with what Deuteronomy commands." He said that the book was written because the priests in Jerusalem were jealous of the priests in other places, which were called "high places" and that these priests in Jerusalem wanted all the income and therefore wanted to make a new law to destroy all the other altars and have all the worship done in Jerusalem. So, he said, they made up a book which said that all the worship must be done in Jerusalem, and then they put a lot of other stuff in the book and claimed that Moses wrote it, and they hid it in the temple so that they could find it there in the temple and bring it out and say, "Here is a wonderful book written by Moses," and then when the King saw it he made the changes they wanted and destroyed all the high places, and they got all the income. That was the theory De Wette originated, and it is still held my most critics today.

Geddes, Vater, and Hartman are the outstanding representatives of the Fragmentary Hypothesis which was coming to be the standard view and was being accepted by more and more people. De Wette helped to destroy the Fragmentary Hypothesis by showing how impossible it was. He was one of several who did this, but he also advanced his theory about Deuteronomy, and this aided one of the central structures of the higher criticism.

I of course believe that the book of Deuteronomy was found in the temple, but I think that the rest of the Pentateuch was with it. I think that what they found there was the whole Pentateuch, but it is easy to see that the book of Deuteronomy was part of the Pentateuch which particularly impressed them. It was the part which contained the exhortations to do the very things Josiah did. I think that they previously had it as a standard law book for Israel, and that it had been neglected in the wicked days of his grandfather, had been lost, and that

they found it in the temple and then Josiah followed it. But De Wette said that it was a "pious fraud" put in there by some good people who saw how nice it would be to have greater income for the Jerusalem temple and so they wrote this book and hid it there so that it could be found. However, today very few critics still say that it was a pious fraud: someone else had put it there, and they think that the priests just did not know any better, but it amounts to the same thing.

~~Last time we were discussing heading C, From Eichorn to Graf, and we looked at 1~~, the Fragmentary Hypothesis. ~~We~~ I saw that the alleged reasons for dividing the Pentateuch into two main documents were soon carried further, dividing each of these up into others, and eventually, Geddes, Vater, and Hartmann presented systems which said that a great many fragments had come together. Somebody put together all these fragments and made up the story. That seems very unnatural, unless you had a great many writings. If so, why wouldn't one of the writings be preserved? It seems very unnatural, but it is that to which the early documentary theory led, and for a time the fragmentary hypothesis seemed to be the attitude of the criticism.

When a man sits down to write a book, he naturally has material in his mind that he has gathered from many sources, which he checks. He may have books before him from which he gets a fact here and a fact there and makes comparisons. He may have many sources, but he works it over and writes it in his own words. Thus you may find that Shakespeare wrote a play and that there was a play written in Italy two hundred years earlier which is quite similar in some regards. Perhaps it has some similar characters, and you say, maybe Shakespeare got his idea there. That does not mean he copied from there. Then you may find something written by a French dramatist which has features of one of Shakespeare's characters, and you say he got the character there. You are not sure whether he did or not, but you could make a theory as to the source of his idea. That is very different from saying he copied them, or that parts of their documents are imbedded in his writing.

Sometimes a person, instead of studying things through and giving the results in his own words, may unconsciously follow a work almost word for word. There was a thesis presented for a Masters degree in the seminary once in which a man discussed certain matters of Apologetics and when he came to the resurrection of Christ he said the evidence for the resurrection of Christ is very definite and clear, and then he went on at that point for three pages to give various evidences, but somebody in the faculty happened to notice that what he had written there agreed almost word for word with what was in Mr. Eppard's syllabus. If he had wanted to say in the course of his paper that Mr. Eppard had given a very fine presentation of the evidences of the resurrection, and then had quoted with Mr. Eppard's permission, that would have been acceptable. But for him to simply use the words without any reference as to where he got them is not considered a proper procedure today. We assume that you should give a man credit if you use his words.

When someone writes a book, it is entirely possible that he will use a page or half a page or two pages almost verbatim from someone else. That is not considered good procedure, but many people do it. If one of you should give me a paper on a certain subject and I should find that two paragraphs in the middle of it were word-for-word like something in

William Henry Green, it would not be hard to prove that you got it from William Henry Green and that you copied it almost verbatim. But I might have had to have William Henry Green in front of me to do that. If all the books by William Henry Green had disappeared, it might be pretty hard to say just where you started following his words and where you went off on your own. A long writing might here and there copy the wordings of a number of different books, but it might be pretty hard to prove it unless you had those books with which to compare it. On the other hand, if a long writing were made up by taking two books and copying a paragraph from this one and a paragraph from the other and a paragraph from this one and a paragraph from the other, it might not be so difficult to compare these paragraphs and see that one of them had a certain type of style and another had a certain type of style. Then we could have a large amount of material on which to show that two strikingly different types of thought were used together; but you would have to have quite a lot of material to do that, unless you had the actual original from which it was copied.

We of course have no originals of any source for the Old Testament. The Bible itself is all we have. It is most likely that there were sources for many things in it. Nobody lived long enough to see all the events related in Kings or Chronicles. The writer had to have sources. We do not know how much he copied word-for-word and how much he put into his own words. We can not tell without the original sources.

We do not know whether Moses had sources or not when he wrote the Pentateuch. But to say that we know that Moses had sources and that we know that these are the sources he used and that it is divided this way is a much more difficult undertaking, especially when it is said that we are dealing with small fragments instead of large sections.

If the type of evidence you use to show two main documents, said to be differing strikingly from each other, will divide each of them in turn into a lot of little sections, that should make one wonder whether the type of evidence is really valid. It is simply impossible to divide a book up into a lot of little sections and say that they are fragments, written by different writers and then put together. Nobody can do that. There is not sufficient evidence on which to do it. But that was the viewpoint of many critics for a period shortly after 1800. From 1800 on for a brief time the critics taught this and it was easy enough for conservatives to say, "how utterly idiotic!" Incidentally, at that time the criticism was not yet widely taught, as it has been for the last sixty years. At that time it was only a few scholars in different countries studying it and taking an interest in it, and at that time all the churches were opposed to it.

I have given De Wette a separate section because he was a man of great learning, scholarship and originality of mind. He exerted a tremendous effect upon the criticism, and does so to this very day.

De Wette's first great step was in his dissertation in 1805, in which he gave his theory about Deuteronomy and on this point his influence is still very great. His argument on Deuteronomy is a bit apart from the straight forward motion of the criticism, but it joins with it later and becomes a very integral part of it. So I mention at this time that in 1805 he brought it forward. His argument was that in II Kings 22ff. you find an account of the very things that are stressed in Deuteronomy and

particularly in Deuteronomy 12. He showed that Josiah's revival followed exactly the lines of the book of Deuteronomy. And that therefore the book of Deuteronomy is the book found in the temple at his time. So far, we would agree with it. We would say, undoubtedly Deuteronomy was found, but why not the whole Pentateuch? Deuteronomy is the part of the Pentateuch which particularly influenced Josiah's revival. But De Wette went much further than that. He said that the big point of Josiah's revival was to get the other altars destroyed and to get all sacrifice concentrated in Jerusalem. He said: That is something that was never known in Israel before -- to concentrate it in Jerusalem. Deuteronomy 12 declares several times orders that all sacrifice must be performed at the one place which God will choose. According to De Wette this chapter is the real purpose of the book of Deuteronomy. It was placed there by the priests who wanted to have it found so as to increase their income at the temple in Jerusalem. They put a lot of good things in other parts of the book, so as to make people think it came from Moses, but, he said, we find in the book many things that do not have any relation to the time of Moses but which fit exactly with the time of Josiah. He argued that the book of Deuteronomy fits the time of Josiah and does not fit the time of Moses. He pointed out that II Kings 22 tells of its being found at that time, and therefore declared that that is when the book of Deuteronomy originated. Of course you ask, was worship first concentrated in Jerusalem in the time of Josiah? Well, in previous chapters of Kings it is said, time and time again, that such and such a man was a good king who followed the Lord in most regards, but that the high places were not taken away. That is repeatedly said in Kings of good kings of previous days. De Wette said that those high places were the other altars where the people worshiped. He said that the man who wrote Deuteronomy, or some member of that group, was doubtless the one who wrote the book of Kings, and that he criticized all these good kings for not having taken away the high places, but that these good kings, if they had known it was wrong to have worshiped in other places, would have taken them away. According to De Wette these statements about these good kings of the past are "deuteronomic statements." He says that really nobody had thought there was any reason why they should not sacrifice in many places all over the land until these priests succeeded in getting this book accepted in the time of Josiah and that after that it was considered that the earlier kings had all been wrong.

Later on we will look at some length at the argument about Deuteronomy. We will probably leave it until rather late in the term, because it is a question more or less by itself. The main thing I want to do now is to have you have clearly in mind when this attitude toward Deuteronomy developed so that I can show how it came into relation later with a theory about Genesis and the other books. Even though we will not examine its arguments at this time, it is very important to have it in mind.

De Wette continued to study and write. He began to examine the rest of the Pentateuch. In his earlier writings he generally followed the Fragmentary Hypothesis, but as time went on he began to declare that it was not a satisfactory interpretation. He found that there is unity and progress in the Pentateuch. It is not just a lot of separate fragments that somebody put together to make a book. Thus De Wette came to

accept the next step in the criticism and was one of its strong supporters for a time, but he was not its originator so I will not discuss it under De Wette but under the third head which I will name after it:

3. ***The Supplement Hypothesis:*** a strong reaction against the Fragmentary Hypothesis (C.1.).

The founder of the Supplement Hypothesis was Heinrich Ewald. He was one of the great German Old Testament scholars. He had a brilliant mind and deserves equal rank with Eichhorn as a man of great importance in the critical study.

In 1823 Ewald published a book on the Critical Investigation of the Composition of Genesis, in which he assailed the Fragmentary Hypothesis. He said that you will find a unity in the book of Genesis running straight through it. It is designed to exhibit the history of God's people from its origin until it was brought down into Egypt. He said that many idioms of expression are repeated showing the general unity of viewpoint and of style through the entire book of Genesis. There is a progress, he said, through the book. There are subtitles in different places, but you find these in other books and particularly in Arabic literature. He quoted much from Arabic literature. He criticized the idea that it had been made up of a lot of little sections just thrown together. He said that actually there are thousands of little connections between these sections. The idea that they are not interrelated is utterly absurd. Ewald, perhaps, was the one who may be said to have given the death stroke to the Fragmentary Hypothesis, even though Hartmann's book had not yet been written. The Fragmentary Hypothesis continued for a time, but Ewald's attack caused many to give it up. De Wette joined in the attack, and before many years, the Fragmentary Hypothesis completely disappeared. Unfortunately, it was not replaced by a new recognition of the idea that Moses wrote the book of Genesis. What took its place was this: Ewald and De Wette said: You see this wonderful unity and this progress in the book of Genesis. Now, if you will take the parts of Genesis that use the name Elohim, you will find a progress through the book. It tells the story of creation and describes the series of events in some places more fully, in some less fully, but the sections that use the name Elohim for God present a complete story right straight through Genesis and on through the Pentateuch as far as Exodus 3:6, where it says that the name Jehovah was revealed. From there on it uses the name Jehovah but it still uses the same style as in Genesis 1. This style loves to enumerate: the first day, the second day, the third day; here is the list of the kings of Edom; this man lived so many years and he died, and he begat sons and daughters, and he died, and this man lived so many years, and he begat so-and-so and be begat sons and daughters, and he died; you sacrifice in this way, and you do this to this part of the sacrifice, and this to this part, and this to this part--all this sort of statistical listing style. He said that that is the regular style of the sections that have Elohim up to Exodus 3:6 and Jehovah from there. "It is easy," he said, "to recognize this style, which occupies about two thirds of the material in the Pentateuch. It is the original. We do not know who wrote it, but we know that it is the original." He called it *the foundation writing,* (German, *Grundschrift*, literally, "Ground writing.") He said, "it has a unity to it, it gives you a definite picture; some might even say [some did say], that Moses wrote this *Grundschrift*."

According to this Supplementary Theory, somebody who knew the name Jehovah which had not been given until Exodus 6:3, had become so used to this name that he forgot that it had not been known until Moses' time, made up some other stories, and inserted them into Genesis. Or else, as one scholar said, "there was another book which used the name all through and somebody took extracts from that book and inserted them into this one."

Do you see the great difference? According to the Documentary Theory, you can divide the Pentateuch into two documents, each of which is complete and each tells the whole story. That is like the view that is generally held by the critics now. They were combined by someone who is called the redactor. But in the early 1800's the present view had not yet been proposed. According to the Supplementary Theory, which we are now discussing, there was one complete document in Genesis and it used the name Elohim. They called it *the foundation writing*. This foundation writing includes Genesis 1 and all the parts of Genesis that use the word God, plus Exodus 1-6:3, and then all the other parts of the Pentateuch that were considered as having the same type of style. The other sections were considered to have been added later or "supplemented," so this is called the Supplementary Hypothesis.

For fifty years practically all the followers of the higher criticism accepted the Supplementary Hypothesis. The Fragmentary Hypothesis disappeared altogether. The Supplementary Hypothesis was accepted not only by the radicals but also by men like Bleek, who were evangelical but who felt that they could not answer the arguments, and that therefore this Supplementary Theory must be true. Bleek was an evangelical Christian, but he said, doubtless it is true that somebody in the time of Moses wrote the document that has the name God in it and gives the true story, and then somebody at a later time added the material that has Jehovah in Genesis.

According to this view there is good evidence of one complete document using the name of Elohim up to Exodus 6:3 and Jehovah after that. It tells the story from the creation right on through the history of the flood, and the history of God's chosen people right up to the time when, it says, the name of Jehovah was revealed; thereafter, they say, it uses the name Jehovah, and it gives the laws in Leviticus and most of the material up to Deuteronomy, which they considered to be separate.

What I am trying to get across now is the idea of how the criticism progressed. In connection with it, let me merely ask a question. If Exodus 6:3 means what the critics say it means, that the name Jehovah was not known before the time of Moses, just how stupid was the man who added a great many sections (not merely one or two) in which the name Jehovah was used? I think that is a very vital thing to consider, but we will go into it later.

There are many scientific theories that do not last as long as fifty years. Thirty or forty years ago "everybody knew" that the reason we can transmit wireless messages was because they went over the ether waves, but most scientists of any standing would laugh at you if you mentioned ether. The idea of ether waves, which was then the great theory of radio, is abandoned.

For fifty years practically all scholars were convinced that the Supplementary Theory provided the true explanation of the way the

Pentateuch came into existence, but now nobody believes this.

De Wette had shown that Deuteronomy is a definite unit. Its style is different from either the J or the E sections. Deuteronomy is exhortation. It consists of Moses' addresses to the people, exhorting them to obey the law. It is different. There are some comparatively small portions of Deuteronomy that the critics say come from J and some that they say come from E, but Deuteronomy as a whole is separate. They call it the D document. They said Deuteronomy was the book written at the time of Josiah. We agree that Deuteronomy was found in the temple at the time of Josiah, but we say that does not mean that it originated then, nor does it mean that only Deuteronomy was found then.

It is very important to understand the difference between the Supplementary Hypothesis and the early document theory or Fragmentary Hypothesis. The Supplementary Hypothesis was accepted by most critics for over fifty years. In such schools as Union Seminary in New York it was accepted, and it was taught in the theological departments of most of the German universities, and also in many universities in France and even in some in Great Britain. It was taught in very few universities in the United States and in comparatively few in Great Britain, but in some. Not all of the universities in Germany taught this, by any means. There were still many in Germany who held to the conservative view, but among those who believed that we can divide the Pentateuch into documents the Supplementary Hypothesis was accepted for about fifty years.

Some few might say that Moses wrote Genesis, but most would say the somebody wrote it at the time of David or something like that.

In the Supplementary Theory the basic thing is the foundation writing, with the J additions to it made at a later time.

Ewald held that there was a great unity in it, but he did not believe that it was actually written by Moses. Ewald wrote his great attack on the Fragmentary Hypothesis. In 1830 he strongly followed the Supplementary Theory. Naturally some people would still hold the Fragmentary Theory but gradually it was displaced and in a few years the Supplementary Hypothesis was accepted by almost everyone. We need to see what killed it later on. Some continued to hold it until 1900, but it was held by most of the critical scholars only until about 1875.

When scholars began studying the Supplementary Hypothesis they began to find certain difficulties. One difficulty has been pointed out by Mr. Schreiber. It is alleged that you do not have two complete documents, but one, but is that one complete? Soon you find places where it does not seem to be complete. Thus you start with the document that has the name God and you read how God created the world and it was good. That is chapter one, then chapters two, three, and four use the name Jehovah and so are considered supplementary. Look at the next chapter, and read, "And the earth was full of violence, and God saw the earth and it was full of violence, and He said, 'I will destroy man.'" Where did this violence come from? God made a good earth. Everything that He had made was good, and yet He sees that it is full of violence and is going to destroy it. Where did this evil come from? That is a queer change without any explanation for it. The supplement (the J document), gives the explanation--the fall of man and the coming of wickedness. There is nothing in the E document about any such thing. So it is difficult. As it goes on, it assumes knowledge of something which it does

not explain. That is the difficulty.

Another example is Genesis 20:13, "And it came to pass, when God caused me to wander from my father's house, that I said unto her, This is thy kindness which thou shalt show unto me; at every place to which we shall come, say of me, He *is* my brother." Why doesn't the document say anything about his being called? Why does it just assume it and refer to it that way? According to the critics that is considered to be in the J document. Thus they found many places where the "foundation writing" seemed to imply knowledge of something which it had not told about. Eventually we find Ewald himself trying to solve this problem, and he advances a very interesting solution. He says that the ground writing is not as long as we used to think it wa. It gives the main facts and then some supplements were added to it, and you have a longer book with these insertions in it, and then, he says, another supplementer which uses the name God again adds more supplement, and then others who use the name Jehovah add more supplements. That was the crystallization hypothesis. It was Ewald's attempt to meet the difficulties, but it did not satisfy many. Ewald previously had a part in starting the supplement hypothesis, but he saw these difficulties and he tried to solve them with the crystalli hypothesis, but people did not find it satisfactory. It was Ewald's way of trying to get around the difficulty.

Then there were some who began to point out difficulties in the original "ground writing." There was an English bishop named Colenso who was a missionary bishop in Africa from the Church of England. In a book he wrote about the Pentateuch he said that when he told the Africans the story of Adam and Eve they said, "Do you really believe this?" Then Colenso said to himself, "Do I really believe it?" and he began to wonder. Soon he found that instead of converting the Zulus they were beginning to convert him.

Do not attempt to go out and do missionary work unless you are sure of what you are trying to present, or you may find that you are the one converted instead of the other. Once I met a man in England who told me that from the time he was a boy that he was trained for missionary work in India. After a long preparation he went to India and began preaching Christianity to the people there, but before long they convinced him that he was wrong. They would ask, "Do you believe in that? Do you have proof?" He found that he did not have any proof. You believe that the Bible is true? Well, how do you explain these difficulties? He did not have an explanation, so he soon decided he did not have anything to tell them and returned to England, where he took a position as professor in Oxford University, training other missionaries and ministers. [laughter] He asked me to find him a position in the United States, but I have not found one for him yet, so I suppose he is still teaching in Oxford. It just goes to show what can happen if you are not well grounded yourself. It is very easy to say, I know it is right; it would be a sin for me to doubt it; I am going to stand on this, but if you are to be truly effective you need to learn the facts and face the difficulties fairly and fully. Colenso had accepted ideas because he had been taught them. He assumed them, instead of going into the evidence and examining the facts for himself. Thus, Colenso could not answer their questions, and began to ask, "Is this correct after all?" He began to raise questions about parts of the Pentateuch and, to his surprise, he found that the

parts he was questioning were in the "ground writing" rather than the parts he had been told were interpolations, added later. Today he is considered a great hero of criticism, because he tore up the ground writing instead of the alleged supplements and interpolations.

Ewald's Crystalli Hypothesis did not win general acceptance, but scholars began to find difficulties in the Supplement Hypothesis. As they studied, trying to see how they could make it water tight, they kept finding new problems. The next step was the Modified Document Hypothesis.

4. ***The Modified Document Hypothesis***: Hupfeld (1853)

This modification of the theory was an attempt to solve the difficulties, but it was not considered satisfactory by many people. Looking back at it today Hupfeld is considered a great hero of criticism, but at the time some people thought he was going off on a wrong trend altogether.

Hupfeld wrote his book in 1853, a date which will be easy to remember, because it is exactly one hundred years after Astruc wrote.

Hupfeld found difficulties in the supplement theory. Colenso and others had said that there are differences of style even in the foundation writing. They said that even it contains parallels. They said the 'foundation writing' is not complete after all; one must jump from this to that and presuppose things that are not there, and consequently it is not satisfactory. Hupfeld took what many felt to be a backwards step. He proposed returning to the documentary theory. The old documentary theory had been discarded sixty years before. Since the documentary theory that he then proposed was somewhat different, we should call it the modified document hypothesis. He did not go back to the beautiful simplicity of Eichhorn's Document theory, but he said, "Look at the foundation writing, as you cal it; it has the name God all through the book of Genesis. As early as the first chapter of Genesis it has this statistical and enumerative style such as is found in Leviticus and other sections of the law. We also find it in the part that describes the building of the ark and in various passages between Genesis 1 and 20." "But," he said, "from Genesis 20 on, all through the rest of Genesis, most of the sections of your document that use the name God are really nearer in style to the sections that use the name Jehovah than they are to the other sections that use the name God."

You notice how utterly contrary that is to the original document hypothesis, and also to the supplement hypothesis. "And so," Hupfeld said, "actually you have three documents (i.e., not counting Deuteronomy, which would be a fourth)." He said, "there is the J document, the one that used the term Jehovah, then there is the E document which has Genesis 1 and Leviticus and these different sets of names and statistics." Then he said, "Notice that most of the passages in the last part of Genesis and the first part of Exodus that use the word God are entirely different in style." Thus Hupfeld declared these E sections have two utterly different styles, and that one of them is actually much nearer to the J style than it is to the style of the rest of the E document. At first many thought these statements were rather preposterous, but after a few years everybody accepted them.

So, you see, Hupfeld had four documents continue the D document (Deuteronomy). In the rest of the Pentateuch there is the E document,

Genesis 1, the story of the building of the ark, certain genealogies, the levitical laws for sacrifices, enumerations, and statistical lists. Then there was the second E, (he called it the second Elohist) which starts about Genesis 20 and includes most of the material after that point that uses the name God. It is quite similar to the J document. Then there is the document which uses the name Jehovah. What he called the second Elohist, scholars today call E, and what he called the first Elohist, they now call P. You should keep in mind that by "documents" they mean separate writings that were separate and complete but might be combined, or might receive additions, added material that had not existed separately. Hupfeld said they were separate documents, thus going back to the old theory.

The view that most of the critics have held tenaciously for fifty or sixty years is still held by most liberals, but it was held by practically all until very recently. We should understand how this view came into existence. It is a view which hardly could have originated in one step. It is the result of a long development of ideas; we are just coming to the most crucial and vital change in the whole system, from what had previously been held.

Summary review

Let us briefly review the developments thus far. Astruc had an idea which affected practically nobody, but Eichhorn had the same idea and it became a wide-spread belief. Eichhorn's view was that there were two documents, that had been combined. At first he applied this only to Genesis; then he extended it throughout the Pentateuch. "This document that uses the name Elohim," he said, "runs all through the Pentateuch. It uses Elohim only up to Exodus 6:3, and after that it uses Jehovah." The other document, that always uses the name Jehovah, he called the Jehovistic or J document. He said that each of these has many parallels to the other, and that some of the incidents are told in both of them in such a way that one or possibly both must be somewhat wrong. He said that there are marked differences of style between the two and also marked differences of thought, differences which, he said, are characteristic of the Elohim document and the Jehovah document.

Then there was the Fragmentary Hypothesis, using the same methods of division and dividing up each of these documents until there were many, many fragments. Eventually Ewald, De Wette, and others showed how impossible it would be to say that all these different fragments were written separately and just came together this way. There is too much definite plan and organization for that.

Next was the Supplementary Theory which had the E document, the document that has name of God in it, as the foundation, to which supplements were inserted or added. It used the name "God" all through Genesis and early Exodus, and then "Jehovah" through the rest of the Pentateuch. Its larger section included the long detailed laws which have the same style as Genesis 1 (the statistical or enumerative type of style). Then they found that the Supplementary Theory did not work satisfactorily. As they tried to work out its details they found that there are many places where there is too big a gap. It jumps from one thing to another and it presupposes and assumes. It sometimes discusses things that were related to a section that they said was inserted by the Jehovistic supplementer. Consequently, you have this difficulty which various scholars tried in different ways to meet, and

Colenso cast doubts on the original foundation writing. Then there were two attempts to meet it: (1) Ewald's Crystallization Theory which was the Supplementary Theory carried further. First, a small original section; then additions made to it; then other additions; then more additions made at various places. (2) Hupfeld's suggestion, which seemed to be a step backward toward the old Documentary Theory. Hupfeld's Theory is that two different documents used the name "God." He took nearly all the material from Genesis 20 on that used the name of God and called it the Second Elohist. So he had two Elohists. The first Elohist included Genesis 1 and the sections that used the name of God up to Genesis 20, but very little in Genesis after that. It also includes all the long sections of the detailed priestly law and the other laws in the latter part of the Pentateuch. The Second Elohist includes the section using the name Elohim from Genesis 20 on, (but none before Genesis 20), through the rest of Genesis, some sections in early Exodus, and occasional sections in other books including a small part of Deuteronomy.

According to his theory the first Elohist was the first part to be written. Then the Second Elohist was written. Then the Jehovist section was written and then the book of Deuteronomy. Hupfeld said all of these had been most cleverly combined. He said the First Elohist and the Second Elohist had been very cleverly joined together and in some places little changes had been made to make them fit together. Then the Jehovist was put in and very cleverly combined with the others. Then Deuteronomy was combined with the others. He said there had been a whole series of redactors, rather than as Eichhorn would have said, one man who took a section of this and a section of that and a section of the other and put them together. He said that in some cases the redactor had just put them together as they stood, even though they contradicted each other. In other cases, where there were apparent contradictions, he said that the redactor had changed the wording. Most scholars did not follow Hupfeld in this idea, but there were some who did. All agreed that the E section was first. It was the ground or foundation writing, the beginning. Most said there were supplements added afterward. Hupfeld said the E section is first and then comes the Second Elohist. Some who followed Hupfeld said, "No, the Jehovist comes after the First Elohist and before the Second Elohist." So you see, there was a question: Is the order, First Elohist, Second Elohist, J, D or is it First Elohist, J, D? The second order is the one that was accepted by most. Actually Hupfeld's view was not adopted by a great many scholars and probably would have been forgotten, if it were not for the next step--the vital step, the one which continued to be followed.

Really, this whole business of dividing books into documents and thinking you can separate out the original documents is highly questionable. At about A.D. 1800 it was done to all ancient literature and much fairly modern literature, but it was beginning to go out of fashion and by 1900 it was used hardly at all aside from the Bible. It is very interesting to pick up the Cambridge Ancient History which was published sometime between 1900 and 1920. In its introduction a statement like this is made, that the old idea which so many people held in the last century, that Homer's poems--the Iliad and the Odyssey--were made up of a series of different documents united together is now being pretty largely given up, and it is usually held that there must have been

one great mind that composed these and that the facts in them such as the great underlying basis of factual history, is true. On the other hand, it said it will also be startling to most readers to realize that the old idea that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, is now completely exploded, and to find here the true facts on the matter, that the Pentateuch is made up of a number of different documents, all of them written many centuries after the time of Moses and combined together, and with very little of true history contained in any of them. That is the attitude of the Cambridge Ancient History. On Homer and on these other books it gives up the old idea of dividing them into documents --that idea which was so very common about 1800. But on the Bible it is not only accepted, it is insisted upon. It is proclaimed with attempts to extend it. Well, now, why is this? This source division theory, which was so commonly held but which is now largely discarded and given up regarding other books, why does it continue regarding the Pentateuch, and in fact, practically the whole of the Old and the New Testaments. The reason is found in our next point.

6. The Rise of the Development Hypothesis

The Documentary approach continued to be used in connection with the Pentateuch because it came to be united with the theory of Evolution. It came to be united with the view that holds that everything came into existence as a result of natural processes and seeks to trace out natural processes of development. The theory of Evolution played a large part in the development of the new Documentary Theory and so did a philosophy of history: the idea that you find a certain force active in history and then an opposing force arises and this will result in a synthesis between the two. Attempts had been were made to apply this Hegelian approach to the Pentateuch and to other parts of the Bible as early as 1833, when Reuss, a French professor in a university, had advanced a theory by which he claimed to show an evolutionary development of the ideas of the Old Testament. Another of the Hegelian scholars, who was quite prominent at that time, was named Watke. In 1835 he advanced ideas along the same lines. In 1861 a Dutch scholar named Kuenen spoke out very positively in this direction. In 1865 a scholar named Graf took a great step toward applying it to the Pentateuch. When he took it, it appeared to most other scholars to be radical and impossible, but Graf said "Look at your document as most scholars recognize them. In the Supplementary Theory you have the E document which includes the greater part of Genesis. It uses the name Elohim and it includes all the long, detailed laws of Leviticus, the laws of the Tabernacle and many detailed regulations. According to Hupfeld all of this except a small portion, came from the earliest time. Then he said, look at your Jehovistic laws and what Hupfeld calls the second Elohist. These are much simpler. They present a simple approach to religion in contrast to the very extensive and complex material in the other section. In accordance with the principle of the evolution of religion you have it turned completely around. What you are saying is the earliest legislation, is really the latest for it contains the very detailed account of sacrifices and involved regulation. That could not have come at the beginning of an evolution of religion. It must actually be late. On the other hand, your Book of the Covenant, Exodus 20- 24, shows a very primitive and rudimentary state of religion with simple laws

and simple regulations." He also said, "The laws of Deuteronomy which you have been putting last are much more advanced, much more complex and much more involved than the laws that you find in the Book of the Covenant. What you call the Elohist with its laws about the Tabernacle are still more involved and must be still later."

5 ← Graf declared that the view that had been accepted about the book of Genesis was wrong. He claimed that he found a system of evolution from simple to complex in the Pentateuch.

When Graf announced this arrangement scholars laughed at him. He replied, "Just look at your Elohistic document: God spoke, and it was done. This was one day. Then God spoke again and something else happened, and it was the second day. This is repeated for the third and fourth days, etc. There is a statistical, enumerative style. Further on you find lists of the materials in the ark, detailed genealogies, etc. Then there are the detailed laws in the rest of the Pentateuch. These belong together. They form one document. There is a development from simple to complex, and the way you have it, you place the more detailed material first. You cannot separate these documents so you must turn around your whole previous arrangement."

In 1869 Wellhausen published a book in which he strongly presented the same view. He said, "What everybody has thought to be the earliest document is actually the last. What you call the ground writing or the beginning, is really the final section."

This was like a Copernican revolution. There was a complete change in the whole attitude of the Criticism. The previous order had been: first the priestly legislation (which later came to be called P), next the Jehovistic, then the second Elohist (later given the title E) and last of all Deuteronomy (called D). This was a complete change in the whole system.

Wellhausen was a comparatively young man when he wrote his epoch-making book. He was a brilliant scholar who had already written articles on New Testament criticism which had received great attention. His study of Arabic and his work on the Old Testament came to be recognized throughout the world. Yet his great influence in Old Testament criticism must be attributed to quite an extent to his unusual ability as a writer. Most of the German scholars were difficult to read because of their cumbersome, awkward style. For instance, one of Hupfeld's sentences may extend through two or three pages with the verb at the very end. So many readers are not sure until they reach the end of the sentence what is its real point. German style tends to be awkward, cumbersome, and difficult to read. At Dr. Buswell's request I translated one of Zahn's discussions into English and I found it necessary to break up every sentence into two or three English sentences to make it understandable. Wellhausen, however, had a very attractive style, writing short sentences that were easily understood. He presented his new theory in a book on the history of Israel, published in 1878. Up to this time study of the Criticism had been largely restricted to a number of scholars along with a comparatively small number of readers and very few others knew much about it. When Hupfeld, Graf and Kuenen published their interpretation most scholars paid little attention. Wellhausen presented the theory that Graf and Kuenen had worked out, writing it up in beautiful and attractive German. His book

was read all over the world. It was like striking a match to a pile of straw and the theory came to be called the Wellhausen Theory because it was his book that received such wide attention. From then on interest in the Pentateuch was not confined to a few scholars but spread to the whole of the scholarly world. Everyone who was at all liberal in his views accepted it eagerly. Sometimes it is called the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen Theory, sometimes the Graf-Wellhausen Theory, but more often simply the Wellhausen Theory. From its origin in 1878 it spread throughout the scholarly world and for the next fifty years practically all the scholars, except some of the older ones, adopted it. As the older scholars died off the earlier theories disappeared and it was said by 1900 that there was a consensus of opinion in favor of the theory that J is the first stage in the evolution and P the last stage. It is only in the last twenty years that this consensus has begun to break up though the main essentials of the theory are still held by nearly all of the liberal scholars <This lecture was given in 1951>. In most universities in any part of the world, if anything is taught about the Bible, the main essentials of the Wellhausen Theory are presented as fact.

Wellhausen wrote his book in 1878. A brilliant young Scotchman, W. Robertson Smith, studied in his classes and adopted the theory. In 1881 he gave a series of lectures at the University of Aberdeen, Scotland, where he was a professor. He was accused of heresy on account of these lectures and was tried by the Scotch Presbyterian Church and convicted of unbelief in the Word of God. When he was cast out of his professorship at Aberdeen, he went to England and became a professor at Cambridge University and was the editor of several editions of the Encyclopedia Britannica. His ideas and influence spread throughout the world. In this country Professor Briggs of Union Seminary presented the same views. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America condemned him for it in 1893. When Union Seminary stood by Professor Briggs, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America ordered that no Presbyterian student attend Union Seminary. For a time Union Seminary attendance dropped, but then it recovered and exerted a large influence. I believe that all the seminaries of the United Presbyterian Church teach the Higher Criticism now.

3. *The Unity of the Theory*

The essential point of the Wellhausen Theory is its claim that the Pentateuch, if correctly arranged, shows an evolutionary progress from simple, rudimentary ideas of religion to complicated laws and advanced ideas. They say that the J document presents very primitive ideas, that the E document is slightly less primitive, that D is much more sophisticated and that P presents the most involved and complex system of all, and that is the development which we will look at next.

To understand the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, one must know exactly what Hupfeld did. He went back to the documentary hypothesis, but presented it in a form that was not as simple as that described by Astruc. He said that there had been two E (Elohist) documents. He said that Genesis 1 goes with the detailed laws of the priests to form one E document, but that most of the material after Genesis 20 that uses Elohim belongs in a second E document. This is called the Modified Document Theory. Though based on documents rather than fragments it

was more involved than Astruc's idea. It is probable that the Documentary Hypothesis and the Supplementary Hypothesis would have disappeared without leaving any permanent effect if it had not been for the rise of the development theory. See how Hupfeld had complicated it. Eichhorn had said that there were two main documents, that could be distinguished by the use of the two names for God (though it required the recognition of other criteria after Exod. 6:3). Then, according to Hupfeld, the material using the name God must itself be divided into two documents, so the divine names cease to be of much help after Exodus 3. According to Eichhorn's view there was a complete narrative, the E document, and another not quite so complete, the J Document. Then they gave up the idea that J was complete and said that it was just a series of supplements of the E document that had been added. When Hupfeld declared that this E document, which had been considered so complete, had itself to be considered as composed of two original writings, the beautiful simplicity of the theory was largely destroyed, and the probability of being able to show the existence of a complete document that had formed the basis for the Pentateuch was greatly diminished. Hupfeld said that in the E document, even with the removal of the second E document as well as the J document, there was a complete story, and that this was also true of the second E document, from Genesis 20 on, though it did not go back to the creation. He made much of this claim, but it is easy to see that this would be much harder to prove, after the removal of his second E document.

Of course the parallel passage argument would fit with Hupfeld's idea. That argument would not be weakened by his idea, but the argument from style would be. If you have this long E document, running ~~clear~~ all the way through Genesis, from Genesis 1 on, and including half or more of the material in our book of Genesis, it provides enough material to determine exactly what type of style that document uses. But when you divide it into two parts you have far less material and it is much more difficult to determine a definite type of style. Then Hupfeld said, what we have thought of as one document is really two different documents, and the style of one of them is actually more like that of the former second document than like that of the other part of this one. This would seem to cast doubt upon the whole claim to determine the existence of different documents here by alleged differences of style. Hupfeld said that his second Elohist was so much like the style of the Jehovist that they could scarcely be distinguished, except for the difference in divine names. What does that do to the previous argument that the whole J document had a style that could easily be distinguished from the style of the E document? Hupfeld actually weakened the evidence for any belief that the Pentateuch can be divided into original documents. He tried to strengthen some of its weak points and in so doing he greatly weakened the whole structure, and I think it would have completely disappeared, as so many similar theories have, if it had not been for its union with the idea of development--an idea that had had no part in the previous discussions.

Up to this point it had been discussed only as a literary problem. What were the sources, and how had they been combined? Can we prove that these were different sources by showing that they contradict one another? Now a new element entered, with the rise of evolutionary

ideas, and the approach which had seemed almost ready to fall of its own weight was so changed and so promoted that it spread rapidly through the world.

Does the union of two weak things necessarily produce one strong thing? They may make it look very strong, but they need to be examined with great care. After the publication of Wellhausen's book in 1878 the whole scholarly world seemed to accept his theory and it spread like wildfire, as the liberals claimed to have found the true explanation as to how the Pentateuch came into existence. Then they claimed to find that the documents carried on through the book of Joshua and gave up the word Pentateuch altogether, substituting Hexateuch--"six books."

~~[We have been looking at number 3 - The Unity of the Theory]~~

~~Now~~ they said, as you arrange these documents, there is J, the earliest, the most primitive, the most anthropomorphic. It thinks of God under human figures: God comes down to the garden; God talks with Adam; God smells of the sacrifice; God is treated as a man. It is anthropomorphic.

Next came the second Elohist, which was said to be quite simple, but less anthropomorphic than J; D was still less so, and P was said to be very spiritual.

Along with this increase in sophistication there was said to be a steady increase in complexity. J was said to be very simple in its requirements and its general system. E slightly less simple, and D quite a bit more complicated, while P included all the complexity of the developed sacrificial system.

It was said that in J any family head could sacrifice--when Abraham would come to a place he would build an altar and sacrifice. In Deuteronomy only the Levites sacrifice. In P sacrifice is limited to the descendants of Aaron.

You see how, according to this theory, the regulations become more and more strict. In the J document, a man can make an altar anywhere. When Abraham comes into the land he makes an altar at one place after another. Wherever he is, he sets up an altar and sacrifices. Deuteronomy, however, says that there is only one place where sacrifices can be offered. The P document does not repeat the restriction so emphasized in Deuteronomy, but assumes it. Thus the critics claim that there is development from simple laws to complicated regulations.

We should pause here to notice the real difference between these sections of the Pentateuch. After its first ten chapters most of the book of Genesis is the account of the experiences of one family as God brings them into the land of Canaan and oversees their experiences as He prepares them to become a great nation that is to be the means of bringing His revelation to the world. Under these circumstances a complex and detailed system of religious observance is hardly necessary. Exodus and the following books deal with God's relation to a group of thousands of people, forming a nation that is to honor God and show forth His glory to the world. The simple arrangements that are sufficient for dealing with one family as it travels through a thinly populated land can hardly meet the needs of the new nation that is to be brought into the promised land and settled there. These later books include regulations for an entire nation as it travels through the wilderness and as it prepares for life in Canaan. In this more complex situation

complicated laws and requirements, which would have been meaningless for a single family, become absolutely necessary. The absence of complicated laws and ordinances from the account of God's dealings with Abraham and their presence in His dealings with a large nation are only what one would expect.

The critics claim that there is a great increase in complexity between the J and P. But if one puts all the complicated regulations in P and leaves most of the simple narrative for J and E, it should not be surprising to find that P is much more complicated than J and E. Simple ways of worship are in the J and E documents and the complex regulations in P. They also claim that P is more spiritual than JE, but it is rather difficult to prove that one document is more spiritual than another. Most of the definite arguments deal with religious institutions and practices. We need to examine these claims very carefully. They claim to build on the phenomena of the Old Testament as a whole. They say that the book of Deuteronomy fits with the reforms of Josiah, and that we can therefore conclude that that is the time when it came into existence. It was said that this gave a basis on which to date the other documents, perhaps placing J as early as the time of King Jehoshaphat, and the P document much later.

The critics say that the history fits with this arrangement of the documents. They say that before the reforms of Josiah one could sacrifice anywhere and anyone could sacrifice, but that after that time altars were restricted to Jerusalem. Josiah broke down the high places and restricted sacrifice to Jerusalem, and after that time only the Levites could sacrifice. Then, they say, when you go on to the later period you find not only that sacrifice is restricted to Jerusalem, but that it can be performed only by men descended from Aaron. So it is claimed that there is a development within the documents and that this development corresponds to the facts of history.

It is rather hard to speak about God without using an anthropomorphism, but one is more apt to find anthropomorphisms in a narrative, such as you find in J than in a genealogical table or a list of the kings of Edom, or other material of the kind that is generally allocated to P. It is true that the P document makes no mention of sacrifices prior to the time of Exodus, while sacrifices are mentioned in J and E at earlier periods, but it is easy to get this result. It requires only that all reference to altars or sacrifices at that earlier period be attributed to the J or E document, rather than to P.

Jehovah is the covenant name of God. It is God in relation with His people. When you read about Abraham entering into covenant relation with God and sacrificing to Him, the name you would expect him to use would be Jehovah, rather that the general term, God. When you think of God as the great Creator of the universe, God is the title you are more apt to use.

Between Genesis 1 and Genesis 20 those sections that deal with sacrifice are in the J document. After that they are in the J document or in the E document. They are not in the P document, because there is practically nothing allocated to P between Genesis 20 and the end of Genesis. There is very little, just three words here and a half sentence there, plus a list of the kings of Edom.

You see the great importance of having this development theory

combined with the document theory. The idea of the development of religion might have produced all sorts of theories, but this idea of development had something to work on. It took hold of the document theory and crystallized it into one definite form. The former document theory was purely a literary matter, and would have fallen to pieces because it was out of line with new developments and viewpoints in the study of literature.

I think that the documentary theory was on the way out when the development theory was brought into connection with it. When you combine the two, the development theory strengthens the idea that there are distinct documents, and the evidences adduced to show that there are distinct documents strengthen the idea that there was a development, if you think that the religion of Israel was not a matter of God revealing Himself to man, but a matter of man gradually developing and evolving in his ideas until he develops the very complicated ritualistic sacrificial system which you find in the book of Leviticus, which was the highest stage of development when it comes to complexity, but which would perhaps be a low stage from the viewpoint of real spirituality. And yet, it is claimed that the P document is more spiritual because it does not have as much anthropomorphism! In the J document you have God walking in the garden in the cool of the day. You have God repenting that He made man. You have God smelling the sweet savour of sacrifice. While in the P document, they say, God speaks and it is done. It is more a statement of what God does rather than a descriptive presentation of God's intimate relation to His people. Is it more spiritual to have less personality in God? I am not at all sure that you have a right to say that it is more spiritual.

They say that when you get to P you have monotheism. P has God as creator of the universe. That is monotheism. They say that the viewpoint of J is not monotheism but henotheism. That is to say that they would worship only one God. It does not say whether there are other gods or not.

A graduate of one of the American Presbyterian seminaries was in Berlin when I was there. We would take turns preaching in the American Church there. I remember that one day he preached on Jacob's concept of a tribal god. He said that when Jacob was at home in Beersheba or Hebron he was in Yahweh's territory, but when he went across the Jordan he was in the territory of a different god and there he had the vision in which his god promised to go with him and protect him, even in the territory of the other god. That was what was taught in one of our great Presbyterian seminaries twenty five years ago. I do not know what they are teaching there now.

The word Elohim is plural. Is it a remnant of polytheism or is it an implication of the Trinity? There are various possibilities. God says, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. He uses the plural. Why do we use the plural? Does it suggest the Trinity? And if He uses the plural of Himself to suggest the Trinity, are you then denying the Trinity if instead of addressing Him by the plural pronoun "you" that you use, even to talk to other human beings, you should insist on addressing Him by the singular pronoun "thou"? Would it imply that you do not believe in the Trinity? I do not think it necessarily would, but monotheism cannot be proven simply by the words. It is a matter of the

teaching. There is clear monotheism in Amos and in the so-called Second Isaiah. The claim is made that it is the result of an evolutionary process, up to that point. Yet, there is no denial of monotheism anywhere in the Bible. When you write you do not need to say on every page that you believe in one god and do not believe that any others exist. Other spiritual beings are referred to, but only as beings that are greatly inferior to the great Creator.

I would like all of you to know what this theory is. It is a complex theory. It is all very well for someone to say, "It is just a lot of foolishness," then the man who has learned it in school can say, "These old-fashioned conservative ideas are a lot of foolishness; how can anyone believe such nonsense?" Each of you can presuppose that he is right and ignore the other and talk only to those who do not know anything about it. Perhaps, for a great many people that is the way to do Christian work. But if we are going to reach the educated people of our day we have to be able to deal with them--at least with some of them--from a different attitude. Instead of presupposing that everyone else is wrong and we are the only persons who are right, we should be willing to look carefully at the facts--but we should make sure that we really know the facts! From here on we will be mostly looking at the arguments to see whether they hold weight. You cannot understand the arguments if you do not know what they are arguing about. That is why it is so important that you know exactly what the theory is and how it developed into its present form, I will not take time over number 4 under Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis, but will just briefly mention it, because we have dealt with everything in it hitherto. It is the review of the arguments. This is vital to have in mind.

What makes a person think that the Wellhausen theory is correct? It is important that we make this clear to people. The burden of proof should not be on us to disprove it, but on the man who believes it to prove it.

When I was in college, we had a professor of Philosophy who one day presented some rather brief material on Freudianism. A little later I met him on the campus and said to him, "I did not think your argument was really proof for Freudianism. I did not think it sufficient to prove it." "Well," he said, "what is wrong with Freudianism? How can you disprove it?" He tried to put me into the position that Freudianism was true unless I could disprove it. That is a very clever way of arguing, but the requirement is really upon the man who holds something to prove that it is right. It is not upon the other person to prove that it is wrong. The Bible exists. Here is this book which has been passed down for thousands of years. We have the five books of Moses. They can be traced back at least to 200 B.C., in substantially their present form. But now nobody has a J document or an E document or a P document. No one can show you any tangible evidence that such documents actually existed. There is no copy of such a document that has been passed down. There is no record of anybody referring to it in ancient times. There is no specific factual evidence of such a thing having existed. Now that does not prove that it did not exist. It could have existed without leaving a copy available to us or a statement by anybody who saw it. Nevertheless, if a person says it existed when he has no such evidence, it imposes upon him the necessity of giving mighty good proof before he has a right to ask

burden of proof

anybody to accept it.

So we have two sorts of arguments here. The claim is that these arguments prove this critical theory. These arguments are of two types: (1) the arguments for partition--the claim that you can take the Pentateuch and divide it into distinct documents (2) the argument as to the relation of these documents--the developmental theory.

We have noticed that the arguments for partition are of four types: (1) the argument from divine names (2) the argument of continuous narrative (3)the argument from parallel passages, and (4) the argument from diversity of style, diction, ideas, etc.

The argument from diversity of style, as I stated it, includes ideas as well. That is to say, if you find one document, which seems to believe in a God who simply speaks and it is done, but has no characteristics similar to those of human beings, and another which thinks of God as One who talks with people and deals with people as a human being would, there is a difference of ideas. But is it a contradiction of ideas? That is a question which has to be considered. If that is a contradiction of ideas then it is rather good proof of two different documents. Under this heading for partition, do you have such evidence of difference of style or difference of viewpoint as would require it to be different documents?

The second type of argument is the argument that shows development. It is sometimes called the argument for order: the argument that you take the statements and show how they logically fit into a certain order. Under that again, number I deals with ideas rather than words (as the previous ones do to a great extent). But under that, number I is very similar to a portion of number IV, partition. That was Discrepancy, the argument that you had distinct differences of viewpoint between different documents that would seem to show an order of development. Are there such discrepancies? Some books will tell you that P knows nothing of any sacrifice prior to the establishment of the temple, that P knows nothing of any sacrifice by the Patriarchs. A patriarch comes through the land and never stops and makes a sacrifice anywhere. That is what they say. Well, does that prove that the author believes he did not?

2. Logical process: the claim is that there is logical progress among the documents. We have noticed two specific points: (1) priesthood, and (2) the place of sacrifice--the altar, and others are alleged to be related to these. There are many things alleged to show that you have a logical progress from the simple to the complex.

3. Violation of Laws as Evidence of Non-existence (which I have not mentioned before this morning). This is the claim that if the law that there is only one place where you can sacrifice and that is Jerusalem was in existence at the time of Solomon, then Solomon would not have gone up to Gibeon and offered large numbers of sacrifices there. The fact that he does this, they say, proves that there was no Deuteronomic law at that time.

As an example of violation of law they point to the fact that Samuel offered sacrifice. If this was done by Samuel, the great and good leader of the people, they say, it proves that nobody had ever heard of such an idea: that a man has to belong to the family of Aaron to be permitted to offer sacrifice--as, they say, the P document stressed so very, very much. Violation of law and evidence of its non-existence is by far the

strongest of the arguments and it is indeed a tough one.

4. *The Appropriateness of Sections to Particular Periods*

This is another aspect of the same argument. Arguments 1 and 2 relate to the documents in themselves and how they can be arranged in a progression; 3 and 4 are their relation to history; 4 is the appropriateness of sections to particular periods. This deals particularly with the book of Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy you have the description of a series of commands which exactly fit Josiah's reformation, and deal with all sorts of things which were then very vital problems to all. It is vital that we understand the complexity of the theory, and the difficulty of proving such a theory. It would take more than any one of these arguments to prove it, no matter how strong that one might be. Now the question is just how great is the evidence? Is the evidence sufficient that any reasonable person must think it through again and see whether this is not after all the correct viewpoint, or is it a matter that is pretty hard to prove, and therefore we should stand by that which we believe for other reasons? Or is the evidence actually so weak that an intelligent person, who will honestly and fairly look at it, should be compelled to admit that there is no real strong support for the documentary developments. We shall now very briefly look at how Solomon sacrificed at Gibeon. Deuteronomy says, "You are to sacrifice at the place where God puts His Name." Leviticus and Numbers say that only sons of Aaron are to sacrifice. Yet 1 Kings tells us that Solomon went to the great high place at Gibeon and offered thousands of sacrifices. The critics say that this contradicts both laws. It is not sacrifice at Jerusalem, but at Gibeon. It is not sacrifice by a priest, but by someone else. Of course, an incidental feature would be that if Solomon killed ten thousand animals that day his arm must have become very tired! When it says that Solomon sacrificed, does it mean that Solomon himself sacrificed? Or does it mean that Solomon provided the sacrifice, and it was a priest that did the sacrificing? I think that the second part of the argument, which is so stressed, is really not difficult at all.

The first part of the argument, that says it was at Gibeon and not at Jerusalem, is something which I would not wish to try to discuss in just a minute or two now. We will wait until we pick up that argument later. Here I just give it as an example to show that they have a few facts which are difficult and which need very careful study.

One of the great arguments which was presented from about 1900 on was that there is a consensus of opinion among scholars. It said that they all believe in these documents. That was a great argument for about thirty or forty years while the agreement was almost complete. In recent years there has come more diversity on many points. This we can say: that the critics agree almost to a man as to what constitutes the P document, but there have always been diversities as to what constitutes J and as to what constitutes the so-called E document.

How can somebody just say this argument of the consensus of scholarship is a lot of nonsense? After all, if the great scholars agree upon a thing we should at least consider their reasons. But of course, when it comes to that, it is important to examine just what does the consensus of scholarship amounts to? Does it mean that there are a great many men who are carefully considering these arguments and are agreeing upon them? Or do a good many of these men assume that certain

other men have the truth and simply take over what they say. If they make that error, should we not be careful that we do not make a similar error on the Christian side? Because you will never reach truth through that approach.

There is an interesting illustration, that of evolution. I have found that practically every science teacher in a high school or in a college is thoroughly convinced as to the theory of evolution. But I used to find an interesting thing when I was in college. A man would be 100% for evolution, saying, "It is absolutely proven" "But," I would say, "Professor So and So, in what field did you do your graduate work?" "Oh," he would reply, "I studied the circulatory system of the butterflies." Another one would say, "I studied the arrangement of the classification of plants in a certain category." Most of these scientists in the biological field, 95% of them, at least, did their graduate work in subjects which have nothing directly to do with evolution; they are dealing with other phases of science. Most of them take over whatever they know about the question of evolution from a very few; therefore a consensus of opinion of people who simply take over from other people does not prove anything. It is important to have a consensus of opinion of those who are working in a particular field. But the question is, just how many of them really are working on it? And how close is the consensus and what actual differences are there? I have found that in religion that the intolerance of people who are not in a position of being first-hand scholars is generally greater. I have a friend who studied at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago thirty years ago. It was then one of our most liberal institutions, that is, liberal in the sense of being anti-Biblical. Which really is not liberal at all. It is a misuse of the word "liberal", but it is the way the word is often used. Later on he took some work in the Divinity School of the University of Southern California, in Los Angeles, and there the teachers had been prepared at the University of Chicago Divinity School. The views taught were practically identical in the two institutions. The University of Chicago Divinity School was one of the great scholarly institutions of its type, but the University of Southern California was not in that class at all. "Well," he said, "it was very interesting to note that while the views were just about the same, the dogmatism in the University of Southern California was twice as great as that in the University of Chicago, because the men who were doing original work in this field could see its difficulties and there would be differences of opinion on one place or another, while the men in the other school, who were working at second-hand rather than at first-hand, took whatever these great scholars said as being the last word on the subject. They were more dogmatic and more sure of themselves than the men who were really working on it and saw the difficulties. So if you find that ten thousand so-called scholars who take what somebody else says and repeat it are in total agreement, it proves absolutely nothing. It is far more important to find five men who are actually studying and working on a field and see to how great an extent they agree. So your consensus of opinion is a matter of importance, but it is a matter that has to be examined carefully to see just what kind of a consensus it is. Recently I heard a professor in Crozier Seminary make a statement. He said, "People say that the synoptic gospels are three witnesses, but actually they are

not. They are only one witness. Mark wrote a Gospel, and Matthew and Luke copied from Mark. So, they are just copies and there is really only one witness." Well, if he is right that Matthew and Luke copied from Mark, then he is right that it is only one witness and not three. Absolutely right, if you prove his first statement that Matthew and Luke copied from Mark. But I do not think that is true. I think they are three. But when something is just a copy of something else, it adds nothing to its authority. There is no question that there was a very great consensus of opinion upon this matter, but the consensus needs to be examined to see just what kind of consensus it was and what it was based upon, and it is not as great as has been assumed, because a great many of the people who are included in it are simply people who are repeating what others say. Of course, nobody would say that the agreement about every verse was absolutely clear from any viewpoint, but the critics are pretty well agreed as to what P is. However, they give most of the material between Genesis 20 and Genesis 50, which uses the name "God" to E. Right in that area there is a tendency to pick a word here and two words there and a sentence here and say that it is from P. Thus you get a complete narrative in P by picking out a sentence here and there. The question is, is that a valid method?

That is about the only place where there is much question as to what belongs to P, but when it comes to J and E you will find great dogmatism as to what is in E, but you will find great differences of opinion. It is very important to have in mind what these arguments are, and to examine this question: to how great an extent do they or do they not prove that there ever were separate documents like this, and that these documents show a progression and therefore must be by different authors?

Now we have looked at a summary of the history of the criticism. If you do not have this in very excellent shape, it is rather a waste of time to go on to the next part for it would be just repeating words with no meaning. You can know all the answers to the criticism, from here to the end of the year, word for word, as I give them to you, but if you prove in your examination that you do not know what the critical theory is, I will not give you one bit of credit for knowing what I give you from now on. There is no point in being able to answer something if you do not know what it is. It is just talking into the air, and repeating what someone else has said. So it is absolutely essential that you have in mind exactly what the criticism is, or there is no point in discussing it. From here on we are going to look at the arguments. Some of these arguments we take up are more important and some of them are less important, but they are different arguments looking at different aspects. I am anxious that you know the most important ones very thoroughly. I will hope to give much more material from now on than I have given up to this time, because up to this time I have tried to stress a few things in order to be sure you get them in mind and understand them. From now on we will take up arguments on this and arguments on that, and I am very anxious that you get the main ones well. But only the best students will get all of it. Do not worry if you do not get everything from now on, but do get everything up to this point!

This is the view which was held by all the liberal scholars until 1920 or 1930, and even now it is substantially held by most of them. There are many variations which do not affect the main points.

We are interested in the Wellhausen Theory as Wellhausen presented it in 1878 because it is held substantially today.

V. *The Examination of the Arguments for Partition*

As we have noticed, we have two types of arguments. I present to you five different manuscripts. Here is a roll. Here is another one. Here is another one. Here are five different rolls, and they exist as separate things. And I say, "Look at these, and tell me in what order these were written." As you look at them, you find a steady progress from one up to the other--a progress which could be traced along several different lines, but which always went in the same direction from the more primitive to the more complex. You would say, "I am quite sure that these documents belong in this order." You would not have to discuss partition, as you already have distinct documents.

In the case of the Pentateuch the selection is entirely different. No one has ever discovered anywhere an ancient copy of any one of the documents which the critics claim to have existed. Nor is there anywhere any mention of any such documents or any trace of one or any ancient mention of one. Nothing of the kind exists. The claim that such documents ever existed rests upon taking the Pentateuch as we have it today and dividing it up into sections and putting two verses here and three here and a chapter there and two chapters over here, thus dividing it up. And then, when you divide it up into documents, you say, "Look at the order and see how the progress goes from the simple to the complex and from the primitive to the advanced." But you need to prove that you have a right to divide it up, or your other argument is of no avail. If you first prove that you have a right to divide it up this way, and then find that there is such a development, it would be a very strong evidence that your decision was correct. Thus, two types of arguments go together. But they can be separated. As a matter of fact, it was the arguments for partition that were discussed back and forth and studied for a period of over one hundred years before the beginning of the Wellhausen Theory, before the development idea was brought into line with it at all. This has to be proved before one can be ready to discuss theories of development.

It is important to examine the four arguments for partition. We shall now examine the first of them.

A. The Argument from Divine Names

Astruc's clue was the fact that he noticed the difference in Divine names and suggested that it points to a division of documents. Eichhorn also made a great deal of it. It came first chronologically. By this I mean two things. The first is that the chronological development of the criticism was to so great an extent based upon this that it is hard to imagine that the critics could have developed without it. It had a vital part in the start of the partition and most people think of this criterion first. It is true that a real scholar who holds to the Wellhausen theory today would probably say that this is merely one of many instances of style and is no more important than any one of the other instances, but the fact is that as the theory developed its literature was filled with discussion of this particular criterion. It has been used more than any other to convince people that it is right. I gave a paper on this subject

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a year ago before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia. In the audience there were professors from the University of Pennsylvania and from various other universities, including practically every theological seminary within forty miles. In the discussion that followed more attention was given to this than to any other. Those were strongest in insisting that my denial of the critical theory was wrong, putting their whole emphasis on the fact that the name "God" is used from Genesis 1:1 to 2:4 and then the title LORD for the next three chapters, and that some sections use one divine name and some the other.

There you have a problem. How are you going to answer it if you do not say that you have sources?

These men included two professors who had been Orthodox Jews at one time. Probably they had given up their faith as a result of the Higher Criticism. To their minds this was the big thing. They were educated, considered as real scholars, but not men who had specialized in the field of the Higher Criticism.

There were also men there who were specialists. A professor from Princeton Theological Seminary sat three seats to my right. There were also a few specialists who were absolutely determined to hold the critical theory, but neither one of these, who knew more about the subject, raised the question about the divine names, for they, unlike the others, knew that there were enough holes and enough flaws in the argument from divine names that one cannot reasonably base a strong case upon that one factor. They have to try to evade it, and say, "Oh, well, it is just one of many criteria." But in the history of the development, it is the first thing that is presented, and it has probably been more influential in holding people to the theory than anything else. So I am glad that Mr. Werner asked the question of priority. Yet I do not mean by priority that it is the basic thing. The divine names could be proven wrong even if the theory were proven right. If we disprove the argument from divine names, it does not disprove the theory, but this has a very vital place in the popular attitude of the theory and also in its historical development--so much that I would incline to think that without this clue, it is highly questionable whether the theory would have ever developed, regardless of all other suggested alleged proofs.

1. *The priority of this criterion*

I have here Drivers' *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. For at least forty years this was the standard critical introduction to the Old Testament in the English-speaking world. (Now it probably has been replaced, to quite an extent, by the book by Professor Pfeiffer of Harvard, which appeared a few years ago.) I find that Driver is still more useful than Pfeiffer in this study, principally because Pfeiffer is apt to assume a thing as proven, and not think it necessary to go into the evidence to any great extent. It is proven, everybody knows it, it is so--and that is that. You will probably find most of the alleged evidences in his book but they are scattered here and there. When they are not so sensitive in the way that Driver presented them, he was the noted professor at Oxford University who began teaching the Higher Criticism to people who thought it was entirely wrong. He was determined to convince people that it was correct. His book became the standard textbook in most theological seminaries in the English-speaking world. (It is a very excellently written work. His scholarship is greatly

superior to that of Pfeiffer.) But Driver's book is now sufficiently old, that it is no longer the standard one. Yet, on this particular matter there is very, very little change. A few changes that Pfeiffer proposed have not been adopted by other scholars. You will find that at least four-fifths of what Pfeiffer says about the Pentateuch will be the same as what Driver says, and that where Pfeiffer differs from Driver, other scholars today probably differ from Pfeiffer.

Driver begins his discussion of the Hexateuch by showing a difference of style between Genesis 1:1-2:4 and what follows. He tries to show that this style is utterly different from the rest of chapters 2, 3, and 4. As we have noticed, chapter 1 is like a table, a list, or an enumeration, while chapters 2, 3, and 4 are more like personal narrative. There is a real difference in style, but that does not necessarily mean that it is a type of style that requires a different author. After Driver discusses this difference in style he goes on to say that you find this same style used in later portions all through the Pentateuch and that you find the word "Elohim" commonly used in these sections as far as Exodus 6:3, and that after that they always use "Jehovah." He calls this group of passages "the P Document," and says that it has a style that is very different from that of the other portions. ~~He calls this group of passages the P document, and says that it has a style the other portions differ from~~. Then he says that the parts of Genesis which remain after the separation of P have next to be considered, and declares that these also are not homogeneous in structure, but that, especially from chapter 20 on they exhibit marks of composition. He says they are composed of parts which do not differ from one another in diction and style as widely as does either from P and which have been so welded together that often the lines of demarcation cannot be fixed with certainty. Yet, he claims, that their difference can be plainly discerned, and he bases much of this claim on differences in the use of the term God and Jehovah. In fact he even says, "Other phraseological criteria are slight." He says that when you take the P material out, the phraseological criteria in the rest of it are slight, aside from the criterion of a difference in divine names.

So you see that this argument still has great importance even though people may try to say, "Oh well, it is just one of many great theological differences."

Section two deals with something we have already stressed as we discussed the development theory. It is so important that I will give it this heading: The Graf-Wellhausen Theory Breaks Up this Criterion. This is very, very important.

2. *The Graf-Wellhausen theory breaks up this criterion*

It seemed simple as Eichhorn gave it: take all the passages that have the names Jehovah and put them here; take all those that have Elohim and put them there; then read them straight through and you will have two continuous stories. But now the Graf-Wellhausen theory says no to this. It completely breaks up this criterion. According to the Graf-Wellhausen theory you have three rather than two. One of them used the name Jehovah. Two of them use the name God, and the style of one of those that use the name God is said to be much more like the style of the one that used the term Jehovah than like the other one which uses the name God. So you see how it breaks up this criterion.

You also are already familiar with the next point, but it is important.

3. This criterion is confined almost entirely to the book of Genesis. (The Pentateuch is five books, but the critics do not talk about the Pentateuch any more; they talk about the Hexateuch and they have six books.) In these six books this criterion is almost entirely confined to the first one. According to the critics the P document believes that it is in Exodus 6:3 that the name Jehovah is given and that it was unknown before that time, and that therefore the P document always uses Elohim up to that time, but after that time the P document uses the name Jehovah and in fact, uses it practically all the time. Thus, after Exodus 6:3 this criterion is of no further use. Not only that, they say that the E document, Hupfeld's second element, according to the one which usually uses the name God says that the name Jehovah was given in Exodus 3 rather than Exodus 6. Chapter 3 is devoted to the E story. Of how the name Jehovah was given they say that after Exodus 3, the E document uses the name Jehovah. So you see that actually there is very little in Exodus in which the divine name could be a criterion. Also in Genesis the alleged difference between J and E, aside from this one, is so slight that it is generally very hard to tell what is J and what is E. According to the theory, practically all the material after Genesis 20 is assigned to either J or E. Very little after that is assigned to P. So actually the only place where it would seem to be a criterion of a documentary division on which a definite agreement can be found, is prior to Genesis 20. Thus, it is important only through twenty chapters, but it just happens that this comes at the very beginning of the Pentateuch. This marked difference is only in a comparatively small section! I do not say this disproves the theory, but it certainly breaks it up. The strength of an argument often depends to quite a large extent upon its simplicity. Actually, when you get down to it, this criterion is of very little value as a way of showing major documents anywhere except in Genesis 1-20.

The great bulk of the material from Leviticus is said to be P. The latter part of Exodus is P!--the building of the tabernacle. There is a good deal of P material in Numbers, some in Deuteronomy, and a lot in Joshua.

Of J and E he says, "Theologically the two are so close that it is very hard to tell where one ends and the other begins." There are some scholars who question if there even was an E. They think that E was a supplement added to J. The difference between J and E is a matter on which there are all kinds of opinions: the criteria are not clear. The thing they claim to be sure about is the difference between P and J. And the difference between E and J is not provable so they say JE, rather than just J. They say that J and E were combined to make one document and that you can tell what is JE and what is P. But when you have JE which Addis publishes as "the oldest book of Hebrew History," and you have P separate, you cannot divide P from JE on the basis of divine names because JE has both names in it.

This criterion is confined almost to the book of Genesis. As a matter of fact, it is largely in Genesis 1-20 where this criterion would claim to be really of much help. Yet it is commonly and popularly put forward as if it is the great proof of the critical theory.

B. 4. *Inconsistent use of criteria*

Most of what we have said up to the present point has been repetition of materials previously given, but now we come to something new. In Genesis and early Exodus, the criterion is not used consistently. In many cases the names are mixed. This is important. Everything I have said today is important, and this is equally important. The statement is made in Genesis and early Exodus that P always uses the name God and J uses the name Jehovah. When you begin to get E, uses the name God and J uses the name Jehovah, even though P as well uses the name God. But the criterion is not used consistently. In many cases the names are mixed.

After Exodus 6, or at least from Exodus 20 on, the division is made on other bases.

In one paragraph of the previous handout, I stated very clearly that if you find a word "LORD" in capitals followed by "God" or "Jehovah" it goes under Jehovah, not under God. Because it is then using God simply as a designation of the fact that Jehovah is a god and the divine name used is Jehovah.

The name "Jehovah God" occurs steadily in chapters 2 and 3, and I believe 4, and thereafter is used only once in the whole Pentateuch. The fact that it is used so many times in these two or three chapters and only once more in the whole Pentateuch is an interesting phenomenon. What is the explanation? The critics say, "You have the J document; a redactor put the two together. In putting the two together, he wanted the reader to know the one he talks of as Jehovah is the same one that he talks of as God in the first chapter, and therefore he added the word "God" after Jehovah to show that Jehovah is a god. And he does it for about three chapters until you get used to it and then he drops it." If the critical theory is right I think that is an entirely satisfactory explanation. On the other hand, exactly the same explanation can work in our view of the Mosaic authorship. When Moses describes God's relationship with the universe he calls Him God, and when he comes to write specifically of God's relation to mankind, he uses the covenant name of God as Redeemer--the name of God as Friend of His covenant people. He uses that name in God's dealing with His own people and consequently he begins to use the name Jehovah and uses it a great deal thereafter. But having used the name God in the first chapter, he wants you to understand that he is not talking about a different God, but about the same One, even though using a different name; so he calls Him "Jehovah God" and does that for about three chapters. So you see it is the same explanation exactly, whether a redactor did it in combining J and P or whether Moses did it in going on to his second chapter after his first. It is exactly the same explanation, and to my mind it is an entirely satisfactory explanation. I see no problem in it. It does not prove it one way or the other.

Now does somebody have in mind a fact which a person who does the assignments I have given might be expected to have noticed?

There is another fact which I have stated at least a dozen times. This criterion in Genesis and early Exodus is not used consistently. In at least one case, the names are mixed. After Exodus 6, the term Jehovah is used by all the documents most of the time. Student: Well, we hardly have the term used after that. AAM: It is used occasionally. But not always after that, very rarely, but as we have seen, point 4 is that in Genesis and early Exodus, in the places where this criteria does apply,

Has anyone noticed a fact that should have been noticed by anyone who did the assignments?

it is not used consistently.

Student: In the account of Noah and the flood, while the words are interchanged quite frequently, it would be very difficult to divide the account of Noah and the flood into different documents. AAM: Yes, but the critics claimed to do it.

Previously I mentioned that the first chapter of Genesis 1:1-2:4 uses the name God, and from 2:4 on, for the next three chapters, the name Jehovah God is used. That is what struck Astruc. On the basis of that he divided it into two documents. And it was on this basis that Eichhorn divided it into two documents. On the basis of that they went through the Pentateuch and divided the J and the E documents. Now that being the case, I asked you to begin with Genesis 1 for our second assignment and to put all the cases of the use of Jehovah on one side and all the cases of the use of God on the other side. Here an intelligent, wide-awake person would have said, "Yes, but Dr. MacRae says that the critics say Genesis 1 always uses God and Genesis 2 and 3 always use LORD God, and here are a couple of cases where it is not true." I found that some of you did not notice it at all. I was greatly grieved about that but more of you did indicate in your papers that in Genesis 3:3 and Genesis 3:5 the name God is used. The serpent says, "Yea, hath God said?" The serpent said, "Yea, hath God said?" Here is the International Critical Commentary. Professor John Skinner wrote the commentary on Genesis. On Genesis 3:3 he says that the use of the name Elohim here is commonly explained by the analogy of other passages of J where the name Jehovah is avoided in conversation with the heathen or when the contrast between the divine and human is reflected upon. But J's use of it is not uniform and it is doubtful what the true explanation is here. How can the J document use the name God which is a characteristic sign of the P document? Yet right there in the very beginning, in chapter 3, verses 3 and 5, the criterion is broken up by the use of the name God twice, near the beginning of that chapter. That is a very important point, breaking up the beautiful symmetry right at the very beginning, and raising a problem of which Skinner says that the correct answer is uncertain. Here he can admit an explanation which, if adopted, would give a reasonable explanation all the way through. This is very important. I did not ask you to write out these names God and LORD just for an exercise in writing. I would have been pleased if you had noticed it, but I was particularly displeased when two or three did not notice it at all! Now let us see what the fact means.

We were discussing the first argument for Partition. That is the first in point of time, first in point of general effect on those who are not specialists in the field, first in relation to the Bible itself, because it is the one which starts right out at the very beginning. It is notable that in Genesis 1:1 to 2:4 only Elohim is used. From Genesis 2:5 or 2:4 on to chapters 3 and 4 almost exclusively Jehovah is used. So it looks as if you have sections from one, sections from the other. You put these together and you put those together, and you have two documents, originally each of them using a different divine name but going along parallel. We notice, however, that the Graf-Wellhausen theory breaks this up because after about Genesis 20, most of the passages that have God are not considered to belong to the same document as Genesis 1 but to a different document which in most other regards is more like the

Jehovah document than it is like the P document. We notice that the criterion is almost entirely confined to the book of Genesis because after Exodus 6:3, P uses Jehovah almost exclusively.

The first impression a person gets is that you can just divide up the whole Pentateuch according to divine names. Well, it is not so. In Genesis 3:5 you have the name God used and we ask ourselves, how can that be, how can he use the name Elohim?

From our viewpoint it is not difficult to explain. Jehovah is being talked about in these three chapters--God and His relationship with man; God the Redeemer; God the One, who has this interest in His people. But in verse 3 the serpent speaks and the serpent does not use the word that reminds her of this friendly relationship to man, but uses the term which simply refers to God as the great powerful Creator of the universe. The serpent say, "Has Elohim said?" From our viewpoint there is no difficulty. But from the viewpoint of the critic, there is.

Could you explain it by saying that the author uses the term Elohim because he would not want to put the term Jehovah in the mouths of serpents, so that here he uses a term which has a different meaning? Well, once you recognize that terms may be used that have a different meaning, you greatly interfere with the whole value of it as a clue for division. They do not like to do that. So we find that in this International Critical Commentary on Genesis by Professor John Skinner of Cambridge, where in Genesis 3:3 it uses the name Elohim, he says that the use of the name Elohim is commonly explained by the analogy of other passages where the name Jehovah is avoided in conversation with heathen or where the contrast between the divine and the human is reflected upon. He gives a reference for each one but says that J's usage in such cases is not uniform and that it is doubtful what is the true explanation here. Then he refers back to page 53, where he has a further discussion of it. There he says that certain other suggestions have been made and it remains quite a problem. Is this a clear clue to documents? Or is it something which may be used where one name or the other is found. There is a point of difficulty. If this were the only one, then there would not be much to worry about, perhaps. But when we come on to chapter 7:9 we find the story of the flood. The critics divide up the story of the flood, giving a few verses to J and a few verses to P and claiming to find two complete stories of the flood. Most commentaries now will have a section on the flood according to J and then a section on the flood according to P, and take up each story separately and discuss it. Well, here is part of what they consider to be the J story of the flood, and yet in verse 9 of chapter 7 it uses the name Elohim which is the name that P should use rather than J. In this case, the redactor who combined the two, has included elements from both! This particular verse, which is mostly J, has some elements from P! The redactor has confused the two and used some from one and some from another. Now see how much less probable it is that you will be able to actually separate out two stories.

Well, it is a question, how did it get in? After all, if you have a Jehovah manuscript which uses Jehovah right through, here is a sentence from the Jehovah manuscript which is necessary if the Jehovah manuscript gives a full story. What right does it have to use Elohim?

I have here two volumes by W. E. Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*. He calls Volume I "the oldest book of Hebrew History." In it

he gives the JE document using one type for J and another type for E, and giving it right straight through. Then in Volume II he gives the Priestly Document as a separate thing. We read here where he comes to verse 9, he says "there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark...as Jehovah commanded Noah." Well, that is just what you expected the J document to use. The only problem is that that is not what the text says. **The text says Elohim. And so he puts in a footnote which says, "The Hebrew text has God but the Samaritan, one of the Targums, the Vulgate and one manuscript of the Septuagint leaves it out!"**

It is interesting that the ancient translations were not particular to get Jehovah and Elohim exactly right in the translation, and the Septuagint will often have the other one from the Hebrew. So if you want to explain it, when there is a difficulty, by saying that one manuscript of the Septuagint has the other--well, you could do that on every page! So here that is not much of an argument unless you are going to carry it throughout, but then the whole clue would disappear!

Well, that is the J document. Now let us look at the P document of the flood. Verse 9 of chapter 7 is part of the J document and verse 16 of chapter 7 is part of the P document. Let us look there and see what we find. We read in verse 16 "and Jehovah shut him in." That is right in the middle of the P paragraph. Then they say that this little last half of that verse--just three words--belong to J, though they have been stuck in, right in the middle of this P paragraph. Open your Bibles for a second to Genesis 7, and I will read it the way Addis gives the priestly document for this paragraph. He starts in with verse 11 but then he skips verse 12 and gives verses 13, 14 and 15, and then 16. He says, "And they that went in, went in as male and female from all flesh according as God had commanded him." But then he skips to verse 18, and he leaves this last half of verse 16 to be in the other document because it has the name Jehovah. So you see that he takes out just a very few words in the middle of a long paragraph. Now see what he does in 14:22. Here you are in a section from the P document. Chapter 14 has a problem; it is hard to know what document to put it in. It really may perhaps be simply a fragment by itself. We are not sure where it belongs, but at least it is not part of the J document, and consequently it should not have the term Jehovah in it. But in verse 22, we read, "I have lifted up my hand to the most high God, Creator of heavens and earth." Here Addis says in the footnotes, "The word which precedes 'the most high God' in the Hebrew is rightly omitted by some manuscripts of the Septuagint." It does not belong in that place. Chapter 17 is entirely given to the P document. And chapter 17, which uses the name Jehovah right, uses the name God, rather right straight through except in this verse. The first verse says when Abram was ninety-nine years old, Jehovah appeared to him and said, "I am El Shaddai, walk thou before me that thou mayest be perfect." Addis simply puts it this way, but when Abram was ninety-nine years old, God appeared to Abram. And then he has a footnote under God. He says, "God, the final editor of the Pentateuch has substituted [ ]. It used to be God, but the final editor of the Pentateuch has substituted [ ]." We know that because God occurs all through the rest of the chapter, and therefore, according to the theory, it ought to occur here but it does not. What occurs here is Jehovah. In chapter 20 you have the account of the relation of Abram with Abimelech. In dealing with this

outsider the name Elohim is generally used rather than Jehovah or Yahweh, as the critics call Him. So chapter 20 is a part of the E document. It is too much like J to put it in the P document, so it is considered to be a part of the E document. However, in the midst of this chapter 20, we find in verse 18 the statement [ ].

That is the conclusion given to the discussion of Abram's relation with Abimelech in which the name of God is used up to that point. We read in the end that Jehovah, the covenant-keeping God, the Friend of Abraham, has shown him protection in this way. Addis has a footnote here. He says for [ ] and so this verse is an addition by the editor who mentions the [ ] and Elohist document. You can see that this verse is an addition by the editor who untied it for two reasons. First, because he used [ ] instead of Elohim, which is used elsewhere in the chapter. And second, because he misunderstands the Elohist document which he uses. The editor forgot that Abimelech had been struck with sickness so in this verse he leaves the impression that the barrenness was merely to the women. So, you see, the verse contradicts the rest of the chapter, so it cannot be part of the original, and it uses a different name for God, so it must have been added by the final editor. Do you see that when you do this sort of thing, it means that you are rearranging your clue to fit your theory--not building your theory in accordance with your clue. It certainly weakens the value of the clue as any proof that you have actually the different documents.

The E document begins with chapter 20. It is the first thing we have from the E document, and it is interesting that the E document begins with telling us that Abraham journeyed to the land of the Philistines. It does not tell us anything about him before that. It does not tell us where he came from or who he was.

It is interesting that in this course, we speak of two men quite a bit. One is Addis, who has written extensively in presentation of the critical theory, and the other is Allis, who has written a book attacking the critical theory. We refer to both of those men in this course far more than in any other course. Since the two names are so similar, it is obvious that this similarity is not merely a coincidence! It is very clearly a parallel. There must be two different documents that have a misunderstanding between them [class laughter]. The way the critics argue, you would have to say that the parallel shows that they really represent one name.

Jehovah is used almost exclusively after the Israelites leave Egypt, but before that sometimes you have Jehovah and sometimes you have God.

Today many leading scholars try to say, "The use of God and Yahweh in the book is just one of the various phases of logical evidence. Just one of many." Yet actually it is the basis on which the division was originally made. What interested me was that in the end the criticism was not made on that viewpoint by the men who were experts in this field but made by men who know little about it, whose faith had been destroyed by the Higher Criticism. That was the thing they jumped into. And if I had expected that or realized that I would have had three or four excellent illustrations of this type just ready to give in about two minutes. But instead of that I gave another type of evidence which I had built up, but this type would not be of any value unless you had your material right before you. When you speak generally, it means absolutely nothing, but

if you have a precise verse, it can be very convincing. But I had not expected that particularly, nor did I get it from the others, but the fact that I got it from those two, shows how it still is that which is the general run of things that characterizes the criticism.

It is also the thing that impresses the people who are won to the criticism without really being scholars in the Old Testament. To them it seems to be the big argument, "You have one document using Elohim and you have one using Jehovah." But you do not! If you can divide it on that basis and put all the verses that have Elohim together and all those that have Jehovah together, when you get through, you will find that neither will read consistently. There are quite a few points where your clue does not work at all.

An answer to a question from a student [about the J writers from which Jehovah was used and what the critics think about the name Elohim being used earlier]: There are two aspects to that question. One is the question as to what the critics believe was the original situation. They say that they try to determine that from the documents as they find them. Well, now, how did they find the documents? The first clue they used was the claim that one always used the name Elohim and the other always used the name Jehovah. That was the first claim, but they are not consistent in it, so the reason for making a division in the first place is greatly weakened! That is as far as I wanted to go in that direction now. After they had divided it into documents, then they tried to develop a theory as to why the documents are this way. You could easily develop a theory in which you would say that according to the P writer the name Jehovah was not given until later but that, after all, even though it was not given until later, the man who wrote at a later time and always used it after he knew that it was God's name--why should he not occasionally use it before, even if it was not known to the patriarchs? Similarly you could say of the J writer who ordinarily calls Him Jehovah, why should he not occasionally call Him Elohim? If you say that, you no longer have any clue. It could be a very good theory if you had your documents proven already, but if you take that theory, you are giving up the value of the clue. What I am trying to do now is principally to show that it utterly fails to work as a clue.

The beginning of chapter 21 is very interesting. Let me read to you from Addis, *The Oldest Book of Hebrew History*. In chapter 21, the parts of verses 1 and 2 that he assigns to the J document read as follows, "And Jahwe visited Sarah as he had said, and Sarah conceived and bare Abram a son in his old age." The parts of verse 6 that he assigns to the E document read, "And Sarah said, God hath prepared laughter for me and everyone that heareth will laugh with me." Then he assigns the first part of verse 7 to the J document, "And she said, Who would have said to Abraham that Sarah should give children suck?" And he assigns the rest of verse 8 and all of the following verses to the E document. That is how he treats the beginning of chapter 21 from the J and E documents, which the critics say were combined to make JE. Now let me read the same section to you from the priestly manuscript, P. I shall read everything that he assigns to P from chapter 20 through chapter 22. P has nothing from chapter 20, and nothing from chapter 22, but takes a few words from chapter 21. Here is all it has, (starting from verse 1), "And God visited Sarah as he had promised." Continuing from verse 2, "at the appointed

time which God had promised." Then from verse 3, "Then Abraham called the name of the son that was born unto him, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac." Verse 4, "And Abraham circumcised his son who was eight days old as God had commanded him." Verse 5, "And Abraham was an hundred years old when Isaac was born to him." That is all that is assigned to the P document there, because verse 6 is put in the E Document, "and Sarah said, God hath prepared laughter for me and everyone that heareth will laugh with me."

That is all that he put in the P document. But you notice how the two start, in order to get a continuous story in the P document and a continuous story in the JE combination. J begins, "and Jahwe visited Sarah and she conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age." P begins, "And God said to Sarah as he had promised at the appointed time which God had promised." As you see, the difficulty here is that while most of chapter 21 is said to be from the E document, its first verse uses the name Jehovah twice. He assigns most of the chapter to the E document but gives verses 3, 4, and 5 to the P document even though Jehovah is used twice. In this section of the JE document, he has a footnote which says, "This verse is an addition by the editor who united the Jehovist and Elohist documents." In the case of the P document, he says, "and God did to Sarah as he promised," and he has a footnote to the words "and God" which says, "The text of the Pentateuch has Yahweh." The editor has put together fragments of JE and of P in one verse and naturally he objected to a change of divine name in joining them. You notice that he put half of the verse in J and half of it in P, and then changed the divine name so as to make it fit.

They say very definitely that the P document continues right through to the end of Joshua.

Please read verses 1 and 2 in your English version. Student: And The LORD did to Sarah as he said and the LORD did unto Sarah as he had spoken, and Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age and at the set time for which God had spoken it.

That is the way it stands today. Now let me read it to you the way they divide it. Will everyone follow it the way it stands today and let me read you the way they put it into the J and the P documents. See what they put in the J document, "And Yahweh visited Sarah as he had said and Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a son in his old age." You see what is done? Half of each verse is given to J. Now here is the other half given to P, "And God did to Sarah as he had promised at the appointed time which God had promised." He puts verse 1, plus verses 3, 4, and 5 in P, even though the first verse has Jehovah in it. See how he confuses both of them. He puts half of one verse in P and half of the other verse in J. Here P and E should both use the name Elohim, but the name Jehovah is used twice in the first verse, so they say that most of the chapter is from the Elohim document, but it begins with a couple of verses said to be taken from J which have nothing to do with anything else in J but form a good introduction to the story which they say is from E."

Well, why say that? Why not say, the name has been changed? Is it because there is no excuse for changing it? And besides, you need not only to say that you do not want to change the name lightly, but you need to have the name that way to show why the name was changed in the

P document. So you actually have the P story which should have the name God here and the E story which should have the name God, and you start them both with verse 1 which uses the name Jehovah twice! In one case you say it is a change to conform to the other, but the other should not be there either, so a section of the J document is brought in and put in the beginning of the E document. You see how artificial that is!

Of course, if we had absolute proof that there was once a document P and that there was once a document E, and that there was a document J, and that somebody has put them together as one, then it might be worthwhile to go into all this theorizing in order to try to figure out how he put them together. But when you have absolutely no proof that there ever were such documents, and your only proof that there were is to show that you can divide it up and have definite documents, then you are really destroying your evidence when you change it around to fit your theories.

If I have not made myself clear: verses 3, 4 and 5 he gives to P. Student: Not E at all? AAM: No. He gives E verse 6 and on. P and J each one half of verse 1 and half of verse 2. One half to J, one half to P. But actually it is the beginning of the story from E so you should not have something from J anyway. You should have something from E, but the trouble is they both have the name Jehovah so you see what confusion there is. It shows how weak the whole idea actually is of using the name as a clue.

This is the argument from continuous narrative. They say that you have a continuous story right through and they divide it up and say, "Look, we have a continuous story." We look at it and say, "Now, do you have a continuous story or is something actually missing?" At least it goes along smoothly to some extent and then you say, "And God did to Sarah as he promised at the appointed time which God had promised, then Abraham called the name of the son that was born to them, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac." Well, after all it would seem funny to say, God did as he promised and Abraham called the name Isaac. Why don't you explain that there was a child born? Well, you might say, you can infer that. Why should you infer it? Why should you not state it when it is stated right there, instead of assuming that the needed statement belongs to another document.

In *The Documents of the Hexateuch* Addis called Vol. I the oldest book of Hebrew History because it is the JE document: that is, J and E together.

In chapter 22 he assigns a section from the Elohist. That is the E document. We read in this story from the E document about how God proved Abraham, that "God told Abraham to go up to the mountain and to offer his son Isaac." That is from the E document. It uses the name God. But when you come to verse 11, it says "the angel of Jehovah." What has that to do with the E document? Addis says, "the angel of God called to him from heaven." In a footnote he says, "the Angel of God--Hebrew texts in all the versions except Syriac, say Angel of (Heb. for LORD)." He says this must be due to an editor; it should be the angel of God because it is the E document. Worse yet, from verse 14 to verse 18, you have the name Jehovah used four times in those four verses, so in these four verses we have a selection from the J document that is inserted in the Elohist story. A selection from the J document just stuck in the middle!

Now it is much more reasonable to say that Elohim, God, put Abraham to the trial, but the angel of Jehovah interposes and blesses him. You see, God, the great mighty God, is testing Abraham, and the same God is spoken of as the covenant God, the friend of Abraham. Jehovah interposes and delivers Isaac from being offered. There is a perfectly reasonable use of the two names as showing two aspects of God. It is a perfectly reasonable way of using the two names. When you try to say it is a clue for dividing up documents, you have one story here that you cannot possibly divide in such a way as to make two parallel stories, so you have to say in some cases that the name Jehovah is put in by an editor or by the carelessness of a scribe and in the other that four verses have been inserted in the J document. You see that the clue does not work out satisfactorily. Of course it is a very artificial thing anyway, to say that somebody took two distinct documents, took a little from here and a little from there. It would be much more natural, if you are going to combine documents, to read them both and start then to write. One might take whole sections from this and that, and might change things according to preference. Any one of us might do that sort of thing, but if he did, it would not leave a clue by which it could be divided up into two documents and therefore it would be ~~pretty hard~~ for him to prove we had or had not done that. I am not saying ~~that~~ it would not be possible that there might be two documents which would be combined and things done the way the critics say. I am saying if things were done the way the critics say, it so destroys the clue as to leave you without any proof of it.

There are many instances we might look at, but let ~~us glance for a~~ briefly look at second at chapter 28. In chapter 28 we have the story of Jacob's dream. In this dream, which Jacob had as he went toward Haran, the name of God is used and the name Jehovah is used, and Addis divides the story and says that part of it is J and part is E. But neither one can be read in such a way as to give a whole story. It is a continuous story in which you have the two names used. Sometimes one is used and sometimes the other is used. ~~And~~ even when you come to the part that he says is quite definitely E, because it has the name God in it, you find in verse 21 he says, "And if I return in peace to my father's house, then Jehovah will be my God." It is right in the middle of the verse, and it does not fit with the E document, which is supposed to use Elohim and not Jehovah.

Student: Would it fit in the J document? AAM: There is nothing to go with it. Nothing at all. If it is an insertion from the J document, it is an insertion from a portion of the J document that is lost. And yet you have several sections earlier that are said to be quoted from the J document because verse 13 says, "and Jehovah stood beside him and said, 'I am Jehovah [ ] the God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac...'" and verse 16, "Jacob awoke from sleep and said, 'Truly Jehovah is in this place and I knew it not.'" Here is a ~~little~~ brief section which must be from J. But it is out of line with the context, you see, because it uses the wrong name.

6. We have been discussing these divine names which involve consideration of the critical arguments based on Exodus 6:3. As you know, the critics say that originally there are two documents, one which has the name God, and that you can read them straight through. Eichhorn and Astruc found no objection to both of these documents being written

by Moses. When you come to early Exodus, where Moses was actually there, they thought that he had also written that originally. Then others continued the theory through the Pentateuch. They said there were these two main documents, one of them characterized by the name God and the other characterized by the name Jehovah, and that it is easy to see why that is, because in Exodus 6:3 they said there is a sharp contradiction to the whole teaching of the J document previous to that time. Now of course, you could not possibly interpret it this way if you believe that Moses wrote it. According to their view, Exodus 6:3 says that God revealed the name Jehovah to Moses for the first time, and that therefore the P document always uses Elohim before that because the name Jehovah was not yet known, and then in Exodus 6:3 God revealed the name and they start using it. However, the J document which, until the time of Wellhausen, was thought to be the later document of the two, written long after they had forgotten that it was supposed not ~~to have been~~ known before Exodus 6:3, and yet the people who made up J, this late and untrustworthy document, knew God as Jehovah, the name by which He is almost always called in the later part of the Pentateuch, and they simply call Him Jehovah all through. So, according to that view, you have a sharp contradiction there between the two. Of course they also claimed that you can see a great difference in style between them! We have mentioned several times that when you compare Genesis 1 and Genesis 2, Genesis 2 is in a narrative style and Genesis 1 is said to be enumerative or statistical. That is the reason why Eichhorn joined the detailed priestly laws of Leviticus with the account of creation in Genesis 1. He said the reason that they have an enumerative, statistical style is that Genesis 1 is like a list: God said something; something happened; God saw what He had done and it was good; it was evening and it was morning, one day, a second day, etc. He said that Genesis 1 is again and again just like a tabulation, like a genealogical table, a list of the kings of Edom, a list of what the priests are to do with the this part and with that part of the sacrifice, in contrast to the style of J which is the style of narration. (Yet one wonders why the same person could not use both of these styles in response to particular types of subject matter.)

For nearly a century, the P document (the one called E for Elohim) was considered as characterized by Genesis 1 and by the Levitical legislation, and no one pointed out that all the material that was later called the second Elohist had a style that was almost indistinguishable from the J sections. Then Hupfeld pointed out that the style of a great part of the so-called "ground writing," the part from Genesis 20 to 50 and the similar parts of Exodus was more like the style of J than like that of Genesis 1 and the priestly rules. It was only then that Hupfeld separated E out from P and made it a separate document. While its use of divine names agrees with P, its style agrees so closely with J that all the critics had to admit that it is extremely difficult to tell what is E and what is J. In fact, it is almost impossible on the basis of style to do this.

Originally it was said that there were two main documents, one of which gave the true picture, that the name Jehovah was not known until Exodus 6:3, the other which was said to be untrustworthy had forgotten all about this fact and used the name Jehovah all through the earlier

part. That was the early idea. When E was taken out of that, they said, "E is different from P" (but they did not yet use the name P then--many people used different names for E; it was only after Wellhausen that P came to be the standard name, they meant the same thing whatever they called it). They said, "E is different from it in style, and they said E parallels J and parallels P." So you have three documents, more or less complete. They also said, "E's story of when and how the name was given is found in Exodus 3. There in Exodus 3 we read in the E document about how the name of Jehovah was given and consequently after that time the E document also uses the name Jehovah and not the name God as previously. That was the claim made about the E document. Well, now that is substantially the same, whether it be Exodus 3 or Exodus 6. The document has the name Jehovah right from the start. Exodus 3 was when it was given, according to his theory by which you have parallels in E to many things in P and in J. But Exodus 3 is not nearly as clear in this regard as is Exodus 6:3, which is the big point of the criticism here. As a matter of fact, you find the name Elohim used many times in Exodus 3, but seven times in it you have the word Jehovah used. And then in verses 15 to 18 Elohim ordered Moses to tell the people that Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Jacob has sent me. And from there on it is claimed by the critics that the name Jehovah has now been given in the E document. That is the name. As you can see, that is not nearly as clear a giving of the name as in Exodus 6:3. We notice that Exodus 6:3 says that the LORD said, "I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as El Shaddai (which was mistranslated in our English version as God Almighty), but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." That is a pretty strong statement; ~~That~~ it agrees is a real problem. Is Exodus 6:3 the place where you can imply that He is telling him that the name Jehovah is the name and yet many times in Exodus 6:3 it is stressed that He is the God of their fathers. He is the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. We find in Exodus 3:13, Moses said to God, "Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel and say to them, the God of your fathers has sent me to you and they say to me, What is his name, what shall I say to them? And God said to Moses, I AM that I AM..." These Hebrew words have the same root as the word Jehovah. "And he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I Am hath sent me unto you." "And God said, moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, Jehovah, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob hath sent me unto you, this is my name forever, and this is my memorial unto all generations." All through the chapter it is stressed that He is the God of their fathers and the implication that the name is a new name is far from being the only possible way of interpreting the chapter. In fact it is more reasonable to take it that when He wants to know how to convince the people this really is their God, He gives the name that they are familiar with, rather than that the name that is given is a new name. But when the critics noticed that there was a parallel here between Exodus 3 and Exodus 6:3, of course it seemed to strengthen the idea of two documents. So immediately someone said, "~~Well~~ now, is there not a parallel in J also?" And sure enough, they found in the portions that they had allotted to the J document, a statement that might be thought of as such a parallel. In the J document in Genesis 26 you find the statement, "Then began men to call upon the name of

Jehovah." Genesis 4:26 says, "To him also there was born a son, he called his name Enos, and then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah." Addis has a footnote at this place in which he says, "It is better translated: 'Then began men to call God by the name of Jehovah.'" There is an interesting problem here, is there not? Here is a parallel. The giving of the name Jehovah has a parallel in J along with E and P. But you notice the problem, if that is the case, if P does not use the name Jehovah before Exodus 6:3, because it was not given before that, and E does not use it before Exodus 3 because it was not given before that, and if in J it was not given until Genesis 4:26, how does it come then that the name Jehovah is used in the J document before Genesis 4:26 --and in fact, used before that a good many times? How is that? You notice that Addis says, "Then began men to call upon..." and he puts in [God] in brackets to show it is to be understood as "then began men to call upon Elohim." Then he says in a footnote, "There is difficulty in reconciling this statement with the foregoing account in which Cain and Abel sacrificed to the Lord." You have Jehovah mentioned over and over and over in chapters 2, 3, and 4 and then at the end of chapter 4 you have the name Jehovah. "Then began men to call on Elohim and then by the name of Jehovah."

Pfeiffer's *Introduction to the Old Testament* is the leading critical introduction to the Old Testament today. I will refer you more often to Driver than to Pfeiffer, because Pfeiffer takes it for granted that the criticism is true and does not bother to try to prove it, while Driver is trying to prove it and therefore gives us something with which to deal. Pfeiffer assumes that it is true and goes ahead and explains it. His book is very useful. I wish you could all study it. It is very helpful, but there is so much taken for granted in it that it is not nearly as useful for discussion of the basis of the Higher Criticism as Driver is.

They say that J contradicts E and P and give this as one of the proofs that we have three different documents. P says the name was not given until Exodus 6:3. E says it was given in Exodus 3. There is an alleged contradiction between them. It is not a great contradiction. J says it was given away back in Genesis 4, and thus contradicts P. J constantly uses it after that, but he had already done so constantly before this alleged giving of the name. Thus they say you have three different stories of when the name Jehovah was given. They say the redactor did not have sense enough to notice that they contradicted each other and kept all three statements in his book. But you have this difficulty. If these are contradictions, if that is what these three mean, why do you find that J uses Jehovah before the name is given? That confuses the whole theory at that point. Dr. Pfeiffer claimed to have solved that problem! He tells us that, after all, the J document does not begin until the story of Abraham and the material from Genesis 2 up to Genesis 12 that had previously been assigned to the J document is really another document--the S document. And he says that the S document actually was written after P! Instead of being the first, it is the very last, later than P, and inserted into the Pentateuch at the very end. He says in his "Introduction to the Old Testament" that other scholars have different views than this, but he says this is the true situation as to how it came about. That does away with the difficulty of having the J document use the name before it is introduced; it does away

with that difficulty, but it does away also with the whole basis on which the criticism began!! It was the contrast between Genesis 1 and Genesis 2 that started the whole business.

His viewpoint here is that the S document is a document which was written even after P, instead of being part of the J document, the earliest document of all. It is a distinct document, which was the latest document, even after P. And instead of the combining of P with JED being the end of the making of the Pentateuch, the last step was to take J, E, D, P and put into it this S document which included all the sections of Genesis 1-12 except those which are in P. He says the name S comes from Mt. Seir in the region of Edom and that it was actually written by the Edomites and was not written by the Israelites at all, and in some way the Israelites took it over from the Edomites and combined it in, and that is why he uses the letter S for Mt. Seir. He can explain all the problems--who wrote all the different parts of the Pentateuch. He can tell you what names were used in each of them, and from what different backgrounds they came; he has an answer to everything. The only thing is, we have to wonder where he gets most of it!

I am not sure whether he has attempted to explain that or not, but at least his S sections are comparatively small and unimportant. Of course, he does not say it is just for this reason that he does it; he claims there are also other evidences.

There are three statements which are interpreted by the critics in the giving of the name Jehovah, but in the J document (or in the S document if you are following Pfeiffer), the name is used constantly through three chapters before that. And in Exodus 3 the name Jehovah is used several times before it is given, so you have to take them out and say they are the work of the redactor.

That should raise a question in our minds. Evidently they were not understood that way in these two cases. Then, if there some different way of understanding Exodus 6 or does Exodus 6 sharply contradict the whole J document, as it does if Exodus 6:3 is saying that the name God was not given until that time.

It is interesting to note that Astruc and Eichhorn had not thought of it that way. They did not think of that as being a contradiction. It did not occur that way to them. Another thing about it is that according to the theory, somebody put the documents together. They call him a redactor. There probably were thirty different redactors who came on at stages and made different combinations, according to the theory. But at any rate, the redactor who made the final combination by combining and fitting together the P document and the J document, if he understood the P document as saying the name Jehovah was not given until now, why does he just change the name two or three or maybe a dozen times before? Why did he not change it right through and make it consistent? Or it is more reasonable to say he did not understand it that way? That he did not understand this statement to mean that the J document was entirely wrong, otherwise it would certainly be a stupid thing to combine a little from one and a little from the other if all through one of them was contradictory to a plain statement which was carried through consistently by the other one. I think we can safely say that if there were such documents, and they were put together, the redactor would have to have interpreted Exodus 6:3 in some other way. Nobody can say

that we are now beginning to try to twist things around and get a new interpretation in order to avoid the difficulty, for the interpretation that makes the difficulty has only come in recently and it has not been so interpreted before. Not only was it not by Astruc and Eichhorn--it was not by the redactor, if there was a redactor who combined them, and there must have been if they ever existed as distinct documents. So the question is: Is that what this chapter really means? "By my name Jehovah was I not known to them?" Does that mean that they were not familiar with this name? We find that the word "know" is used constantly in the Scripture in a sense that means much more than just to be familiar with the facts. The term "know" is used to come to really understand something fully, to enter into its complete meaning. We are told to follow on to know the Lord. The book of Hosea refers to knowing God over and over again. It does not mean just becoming familiar with a few facts about Him. In Scripture the word "know" has that sense which it has occasionally in English, but not as a rule. It has been the interpretation of people all through the ages, and is the interpretation of most conservatives today, that this says that He appeared to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob with stress on the characteristics which are emphasized by the name El Shaddai. By the way, that name occurs many, many times in Job, but otherwise very seldom in the Scripture. It occurs in the account of God's appearing to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He says, "I am El Shaddai, walk thou before me and be thou perfect." He uses that when He speaks to them in the book of Genesis. It is a common name of God, but a name which occurs every now and then, particularly in His relationship with them. It probably means "to be the God Who cares for and nourishes," "the God Who oversees one to provide what he needs." That is probably the meaning of El Shaddai. It does not mean God Almighty. The idea of God Almighty was a guess that somebody made about one of the uses in Job and then it was taken over into the Vulgate, and from that place in the Septuagint, and carried all through wherever it occurs. But it does not occur in anything before the Vulgate, except for those very few uses in Job. People who try to justify it, say that the word "shaddai" comes from "shadad" which means to deal violently and that from that you get the idea of God Almighty. If it did come from that it would not mean God Almighty, but God, the Violent One. And that certainly is not what the word means and it does not fit any context where it is used. There is no idea of almighty in it. It was a bad guess made by some unknown translator of a small part of Job and then taken over from there. It probably means the nourishing God--the God Who cared for them. It was God protecting Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as they wandered in the midst of hostility. It describes God dealing with His covenant people. That was His relation with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It stresses God's relation with men in general, but especially with His covenant people. God is going to show Himself in fullness in the meaning of those qualities Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were familiar with. Their relationship with God had been based upon those qualities which are typified by El Shaddai.

I believe I have mentioned that a very earnest Christian man who has lectured at the University of Liverpool insists that the correct interpretation here should be "I appeared unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by the name of God Almighty, and by the name Jehovah was I not known to

them?" Since he is the only man I know of who has advanced that theory, I do not think it is necessary to feel that it is correct. It might be correct, but in the view of most conservative interpreters, the translation is accurate, taking the word "know" in a stronger meaning of "realizing the characteristics to the full, having an intimate relationship with one rather than simply an acquaintance with a name." At any rate, whatever the true interpretation (and this one seems entirely satisfactory to me), it is the one that the writings of Dr. Green and Dr. Allis both contain and each of them gives supporting evidence of it. Whether it is the correct interpretation of it or not, certainly no contradiction was felt to be here in ancient times.

6. 7. All admit that there is a difference in these two. It is admitted by all that the names are sometimes used with a special reason. From the critical viewpoint, J always uses Jehovah, E and P always Elohim, but from the very beginning of the J document in Genesis you have the name Elohim used twice. What is the explanation? There are two possible explanations. Some will say, "Well, in that case, the writer did not think it proper to put the sacred, covenant name, Jehovah, into the mouth of Satan so he uses the general name, Elohim, recognizing the difference." Others will say the original writing must have had Jehovah, but that the redactor who put them together did not think it fitting that Satan should use the name Jehovah and so changed it to Elohim. In either case it is recognized that there is a difference in meaning between them. There are cases where one name occurred in the document supposed to have the other ~~where that statement will be made~~. Actually you cannot separate them consistently simply on the basis of the names without mutilating the documents beyond recognition at many points. To avoid that in some places, middle sections are taken out, but in other sections they say the redactor changed it--but why did he change it unless there is a difference in meaning? In other cases they say that the original writer used the other name for a special reason. Thus it is recognized that there is a difference in meaning between the two. Driver admits that there is a difference and that sometimes they are used with a difference, but he says that in the great bulk of cases this does not apply. Everyone recognizes that in some cases there is a difference in meaning. If you recognize a difference in some cases, you have sufficient reason for a change in many cases. That is to say, we insist there is a difference in meaning far more often than the critics will admit. We say the first chapter of Genesis is describing the universe as a whole and so uses the name Elohim which describes God as power and majesty, God as the One dealing with all the universe as the natural name to use and it is used throughout that chapter, but when we are dealing with God in His relation with mankind, the name Jehovah is a more natural one to use. There is a difference in meaning which we say accounts for the change between Genesis 1 and Genesis 2, 3, and 4. But Driver says, "And they all say there are many cases where there is no reason in the meaning for them to be used and yet one or the other is used and in connection with that we must recognize the fact that it is true of us in life when we start using a certain term, we tend to keep on using it unless there is a reason for a change. You start using a certain term and the chances are that you will keep right one. You will not say in every case, "Now, is this the best term to use or should I change to a

different one?" You will keep right on using it until there is a reason for a change. If there is a reason you will change, and then if there is a reason you may change back again. Sometimes in the Scripture the two are used in one verse in such a way as to stress the fact that they are the same, that Jehovah is Elohim. That would seem to be the purpose of the writer sometimes in definitely making a shift from one to the other. But when there is no reason for a change, one is apt to keep on using the same name unless he feels that it is too repetitious, and then he will just naturally make a change. I mean there are all kinds of reasons why you may use one or the other. I ran onto a fellow up in Cornell last Sunday whom I had known a little bit a good many years ago, and I guess he thought we had known each other a lot better than I had realized. At any rate, he came up to me just before the meeting and greeted me by my first name, and I could not think who he was. I talked with him for a minute or two and asked what he was doing now, etc. Then I began to guess who he was and I remembered having known him slightly, about ten years ago. We chatted a few minutes and then they called me to start the lecture. So I said, "I'll see you afterward." Well, afterward there were a lot of people asking me questions, and he went away before they were through. But that evening I was to visit a man and found this fellow also calling on him. As soon as I came to the door, the man I had seen in the afternoon said, "Oh, come right in, Dr. MacRae and have a seat." In the course of the next hour he continued addressing me as Dr. MacRae. But before that, when he had first greeted me, he had used my first name. Well now, as you notice, he used one name one time and another name another time. I do not know what was in his mind, but it would certainly not be proof that these are two different stories. Student: Sometimes there is just no reason at all. When I write letters, say to another Christian, I sometimes say 'the Lord' and some times I say 'God,' and I can not see any special reason why I do. AAM: Yes, of course, that is true of all of us. Now you take the names Christ and Jesus. I made up a series of suggested Sunday School Lessons once and the heading of one was Christ does this, second, Christ does this, third, Christ does this. Then there were a couple of lessons in which I said, "Jesus tells us, Jesus tells us, Jesus tells us, and when they were finished about half of the lessons in that group used the name Jesus and about half used the name Christ. I sent the lessons out to the committee for suggestions and one said, "You ought to be consistent; you ought to always say Christ or always say Jesus." She went on to say that she much preferred to use "Christ" the divine name, rather than "Jesus" the human name, and thought it would be better if we used Christ in these lessons. Nevertheless, I did not agree with that. I do not think Christ is particularly the divine name. It means Messiah and Messiah is an office. The Messiah is God, but Messiah is not a specifically divine name. In fact, Jesus is the name that God Himself gave, and it means Jehovah saves. There is nothing more divine in the world than the name Jesus. So, I do not think that the name Christ is in any way more sacred than the name Jesus. Anyway, God uses both of them, so why should we restrict ourselves to one. Even though it was entirely accidental that I had used one sometimes and the other sometimes, it seemed to me that it was a truer picture of the Gospel attitude to use both names, sometimes one and sometimes the other, than it would be to try to be consistent.

But as you see, the way it started: in the one case there probably was a reason why I used the name Christ and in the other case probably a reason why I used the name Jesus. I do not remember what it was, but from there on I just used it continuously until some reason occurred for a change. And we do that in our references to other people. In our talking to them and in our speaking of them you do not have to have a reason every time why you select a particular name to be used. It is not at all unreasonable that Moses should have written the Pentateuch using the names exactly as they are used. Sometimes there is a reason, other times it may be merely an arbitrary selection and at still other times simply continuing the use of the one that had been used before. It is a perfectly natural thing and is not an argument for two documents unless you can show that when you divide it on the basis of divine names, (and do it consistently without introducing a redactor into it to explain away your problems), the argument from the divine names, as an argument for division into different documents, pretty thoroughly breaks down in view of the various considerations at which we have looked.

Dr. Allis brings out an interesting fact about this. He says that it is often hard to know the reason for a particular name. For instance "man of God" occurs about seventy five times and "servant of God" rarely if ever. "The angel of Jehovah" is used much more often than "the angel of Elohim"--about five to one. But both of them occur. There is "the man of God," and "the servant of Jehovah." The prophet is the Lord's servant, who is called the man of God much more frequently than he is called the servant of the Lord. Does the Bible, as it stands, use it so unnaturally that you have to say these are evidences? I have given various evidences that it is not unnatural nor unparalleled in other documents; other places seem to shift back and forth as they do. They say, "No, when you have one name it shows one document, and when you have the other, it shows the other one." But the fact is that their documents are not consistent, and they admit that sometimes there is a reason for using a particular one.

As you know, there are two vital parts which fit together to make the Wellhausen theory. There is the idea that we can make a literary partition into documents, and that we can tell what these documents were that were used. That is, we can divide a book up into original sources and know exactly what is in each, and consequently know, of course, that Moses could not have written them, that they must come from some other source, since these documents are said to contradict one another and to show certain misunderstandings. Without such variations there would be no evidence upon which to reconstruct the documents at all. The other part, which we are not examining yet, but which is very vital for your understanding of the Criticism, is the claim of development among the documents. The addition of the theory of evolution is what made the Graf-Wellhausen theory what it is. The idea that there is a J which can be separated out, was written at one time as a unit and as a complete story, and then that another document, the E document, was written and that at a later time these two documents were combined to produce JE, the earliest book of Hebrew history. According to the Wellhausen theory, the next section of the Pentateuch to be written was the book of Deuteronomy--not all of it, but the greater part. This D document, found in the temple at the time of King Josiah, was later combined with J and E,

which had been previously combined together, thus producing JED. They say that the one who combined Deuteronomy with JE made a few insertions in them at different places to conform to the views of the Deuteronomists--not a great many of these, but some. The critics also claim to find some sections of E and of J in the D document.

I would say at least in 70% or 75% of the material they would agree as to what is J and what is E. As to what is JE and what is P, they may agree on more than 90%. As to what is J and what is E there is a great measure of agreement among scholars today even though there was much diversity in the early days of the theory. As to P and JE, scholars are pretty well agreed. There is the JE document and the D document is joined with it, and so you have JED, and it is quite easy to tell D from JE as a rule. As you know J is narrative. D is exhortation, and has a style that is slightly different. There is, of course, a difference between exhortation and narrative. Later on the P document is written in order to exalt the position and honor of the priesthood. It was written, they say, in order to confine the priesthood to one group who call themselves the sons of Aaron--something never previously heard of. It is a document to exalt their particular functions and also to give very minute and detailed regulations. It shows an advance in complexity over the previous documents, even though in some ways it shows degeneration, with its precise regulations of worship. Still later, according to the critics, this P document is combined with JED to make the complete Pentateuch.

The development theory claims that there is definite evidence as to which came first, and that they show growth and development. In many ways this claim of progress is quite tenuous, but they claim that it is very definite in what it requires about the place of sacrifice and the persons who conduct the sacrifice. Much of this is brought out in Gray and in Carpenter. I asked you, as you do the assignments in Gray and Carpenter, particularly to stress what they say about the place and persons of sacrifice. I do not mean only who sacrificed and where they sacrificed, but what other effects in the documents inevitably followed according to the critics, from the fact that these changes were made in these particular laws. That was brought out very clearly by both Gray and Carpenter, and that is why I asked you to stress it, although, of course, I want you to master all that is said in the few pages that I assigned.

So much for a brief resume of this vital matter. Continuing with discussion--we were looking last time at B and C. We did not yet [illegible] much time on B because B and C, even though each [illegible] extent a distinct argument, are so connected [illegible] some extent at the treating [illegible] would work on both [illegible] what Graf [illegible] and doing this, he strengthened [illegible] arrangement in which each seemed to [illegible], and in that way each gave strength to the other. [illegible] question is, Can either of them stand alone?

If you are dealing with ignorant people it may be more effective to just ridicule the critics, although they can just as well ridicule your view. This is not quite the same as to pick out the weak [illegible] stress them, which can sometimes be so close in [illegible]

B, Cont Wave insert part II from page 94 on B. Cont, Num, + 1926 notes on Cont. narrative

that it is hard to distinguish. One way to strengthen belief in the unity of the Pentateuch is to pick just a few weak points in the theory and go after them hammer and tongs--but I think you should have intelligence enough to be able to do that for yourself. I do not think it is necessary for me to take two or three hours here in simply pointing to demonstrative weak points and dwelling upon them. I am interested in giving you an understanding of the weak points of the theory, but when I mention them very briefly that should be sufficient. On the other hand, I am trying to go into the strong points of the theory more at length so that you will be able yourself to see just how strong or how lacking in strength each is. In other words, we want to study it--not just to convince you that it is wrong.

C. ***Parallel Passages***

To some extent this is the same argument as B. It also involves material that is quite distinct and additional. If there was nothing else we would just assume it under the previous head Continuous Narrative. The theory goes that here you have a complete story and there you have a complete story. Each of them stands alone. If each of them gives you a complete story of the same thing, there is a parallel among them. So we are interested in examining different parts and seeing how parallel they really are, and we are interested in seeing whether some points that are omitted from one or the other can be omitted without any loss of continuity or whether there is a definite loss. However, the argument from parallel passages goes much further than that. It claims that you have in each of the documents a repetition of the main features of the other, but with this repetition often given in such a way as to show there was some confusion, as the two came to be combined. That is, if you have the same story told in such different ways then only one could be right, if either one could; that there is a sharp discrepancy where you have it in the Pentateuch as two distinct stories, when actually it is merely a confused presentation of the same thing. This could easily happen. There is nothing strange about the idea that such might be the case, but we ask, is it the case? Yesterday a letter came to me from a friend in Chicago. He enclosed a bulletin from an insurance company that had the name of the president of the company in its heading. My friend said, "This will bring back memories to you of the time when you talked with this man as you were returning from Europe on a steamship." When my friend noticed the man's name he remembered hearing that I had met him and therefore sent me the bulletin. However, he had confused two distinct stories that I had told him at different times. Once I told him about returning from Europe one time when the noted liberal, Dr. Harry E. Fosdick, was a passenger on the same ship. I had also told him about the time when I had become acquainted with the president of an insurance company who was vacationing at Lake O'Hara in the Canadian Rockies when I spent a few days there. Evidently the name of the insurance executive had made a much greater impression on him than the name Harry Emerson Fosdick, but the experience on the voyage back from Europe had made a greater impression on him than had been made by my visit to the Canadian Rockies. Thus he combined elements from each of the two stories that I gave and put them together into one story. When my heirs go through my possessions and come across that insurance circular that my friend sent me and read what he wrote on the top of it, they will think they have

evidence of my having met this man on a return trip from Europe. Then if they happen somewhere else to come across an account of my trip to the Canadian Rockies, they will think that I had two meetings with this man, when actually there was only one.

Such errors often occur when stories are repeated. You may tell somebody a story of some rather exciting and interesting experience you have had, and he may consider it interesting enough to repeat to someone else. Eventually someone repeats it to you so changed that you might fail to realize that you were the person involved. So it would be quite easy for certain stories to be told without any real basis of facts. We believe that God kept the writers of the Bible from including in it any error or false statements. But many of the critics have held the J story did not rest on anything definite and that such men as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob never lived. Some critics have said that there were shrines in Palestine to which people would come and leave gifts, and then that stories had gradually arisen about the reason for the shrine's existence. One story might say that this is the place where Jacob slept on his way to Haran. Another would say it was where Abraham had camped. Thus, as time would go on, these stories would get into various forms and the J writer heard some of these stories and put them together and later on the E writer heard the same story in a different form and put them in his book and it sounds like two different sets of stories, but actually there was only one, but told in a different way.

That sort of thing could have happened. The question is, did it happen? According to the critical theory there would be no actuality at all.

One time a few years ago I was talking with a young fellow who was professor of Old Testament in McCormick Theological Seminary. He had been studying a good bit of archaeology and had swung in a more conservative direction from his previous teachings. With us at the dinner table was a man who is now a teacher in Princeton Seminary. The man from McCormick told how his archaeological study had affected him. He said, "I am beginning to reach the point where I really think there was an Abraham," and the man who is now teaching in Princeton was terribly shocked at such a reaction.

That was several years ago. I do not know whether he moved further in a conservative direction or further back in liberal fashion since that time.

Some of the founders of the critical theory did not think such men as Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had really lived, and thought that these stories had sprung up around these shrines and then had been put together. Such an attitude is not essential to the Wellhausen theory, but was held by some of its founders. Yet if divine activity is excluded, it might be hard to decide whether these stories grew up around shrines, as many of the critics would think, or whether they rested to some extent on historical facts, as some of them more recently are coming to hold. From either view these stories might have assumed different forms at different times and been put into the different documents, and then been combined, producing a whole series of stories which contradict one another and yet are demonstrably the same story, and thus give evidence that these were distinct documents. As you see, the parallel passage argument is a very strong one, if the facts are as the critics claim. It is a very strong

argument, but it is one that is absolutely inconsistent with acceptation of the Bible as God's Word.

If two stories of the same event contradict each other, they cannot both be right.

There are three sorts of parallel passages. There is one that simply amounts to a sentence in one place which is similar to a sentence in another. Such parallels occur in almost anything that anybody writes.

If you want to get your thoughts across, you will usually have to repeat and stress the things that are vital; so in any narrative you will probably have sentences which repeat the same idea in other words. This is not in itself an evidence that there are two parallel passages. It really goes under the other question of continuous document. If you can take one out and take the other out and read right straight along, it suggests that you have a continuous document. But again it only suggests that ~~because as we have noticed~~ a certain amount of repetition is to be expected in just about anything you read.

The second type of parallel passage is found where there is more than an individual sentence corresponding to a sentence somewhere else. It is where you have parallel accounts, such as the story of the flood is said to be. There you have a long account which you can divide up and put a few verses here and a few verses there and read them each and get a complete story and thus have two stories which are parallel. There again, it is a question of how much repetition you are apt to make in what you say. In anything you tell there is apt to be a fair amount of repetition, though there would not ordinarily be enough repetition that you could reconstruct two complete accounts. Besides, these alleged accounts usually have gaps in them. They are not usually as continuous and complete as they claim that they are. If you can construct two accounts, that is a large part of the argument for parallel passages, and if these two accounts contradict one another, then you have especially strong evidence for a parallel passage.

The third type of parallel passage is where you have two different stories which are given in the Scripture as if two different events took place, but actually, when you examine them, you find that it is the same story told twice.

There again we find that often the Criticism will claim that there are parallels when there is a reason for two accounts, as, for instance, when someone is told "Do this" and is told in full what he is to do, and then it says, "So-and-so did this," and it gives a full account of what he did. Sometimes you find that sort of repetition in the Bible.

Is it unnatural to have that sort of repetition? Can it not be that you will actually have in a manuscript a whole thing told as what is to be done and then the whole thing told as what was done. Or perhaps you are told how an event happened and then you are told how the person tells somebody about it and you hear it again. An instance is found in the book of Acts. There is the account of Saul's conversion. Then there is the account of how Paul told the story of his conversion. And then you read again about how Paul told the story of his conversion. There are three accounts of the story of Paul's conversion--three parallel passages. But this does not make any difficulty for us in believing that Luke wrote the whole book of Acts. We have these three accounts of Paul's conversion because we are interested to know what Paul said on those

two occasions, and we are interested in the first case to know how it occurred. In many books, in many stories, and in many situations you will find such repetition. The real case where there would seem to be a very strong argument for distinct documents on parallel passages is where you have two stories that purport to be distinct stories, when there is really only one story. Such a misrepresentation would be a very strong proof that two distinct documents had been put together. A good example of an argument of this type is found in connection with the account of Abraham's lying about his wife. We find this in Genesis 12, when Abraham was in Egypt, again in Genesis 20 when he was in Gerar, and again in Genesis 26, but this time it is said about Isaac. In these three cases there is a similar event. You have Abraham telling the wife to represent herself as his sister. You have the king taking her. You have God punishing the king for doing this. You have the king criticizing Abraham for having led him into sin through not telling the truth about the situation, and then you have the Lord removing the disability which had been done to the king and to his family as a result of Abraham's prayers. These three stories are told in Genesis 12:10-20, Genesis 20:1-17, and Genesis 26:6-11. Driver lays great stress on the first of these accounts in his argument that there are distinct documents. He says that the same story is told twice, that in one case God is used throughout and in the other He is called "the LORD." Actually, however, the first of them has "LORD" used only once. LORD is not used more than once in the story. But in the other case, though you have the name God used ordinarily, you also have LORD used once or twice, so there is not a consistent difference between the two on the basis of the names God and LORD. In addition, in what is said to be the E story, Abimelek is the king and it happened in Gerar; in the J story in Genesis 12, the king is Pharaoh, and it happened in Egypt. There is undoubtedly a great similarity between the two stories. If these similarities were such as to give absolute proof that the thing could not have happened twice, but that it must be the same story told in different ways, that would be very strong evidence for distinct documents. It is interesting, though, that in Genesis 26 you again have the same course of events and there you find the name Jehovah used in the story so you have two parallels in J. Thus there are three parallels instead of two, and if one of them had the name Jehovah and two of them had the name God, it could be cited as strong evidence for three documents!--the J story, the E story and the P story. But unfortunately for the critics, instead of two of them having Elohim, two of them have Jehovah, and only one uses Elohim. That being the case, it is necessary, unless one will abandon the theory, to say that there are two parallel passages in the J document and one in E, instead of one in E and one in P and one in J. Of course you know that, according to the critics, the first J story tells what Abraham did in Egypt, then the E story tells what Abraham did in Gerar and then the P story tells what Isaac did in Gerar; as the account stands, it represents them as three distinct but similar events, which really occurred. Therefore it is a matter of judgment as to whether it is possible that all three events could have taken place, rather than an absolute certainty, that three such events could not possibly have taken place, and therefore it only happened once and there are three different accounts of it. But, if so, it would not fit in with the critical theory, because, as we have seen,

two of them would have to be in the J document and one in the E, instead of having one in each of the three documents! It could fit very nicely if two of them had the name Elohim and only one had the name Jehovah, but they cannot say that because only one of them uses Elohim in it, and the other two have Jehovah. So it does not fit together. And incidentally, in the one that they assign to the E document, contains the name Jehovah. We have already looked at that verse, "for the LORD had closed every womb in the house of Abimelek because of Sarah Abraham's wife." And here Addis has a footnote. He says, "For Hebrew Elohim. This verse is an addition by the editor who united the Elohist and Jehovistic documents. One says LORD instead of Elohim, which proves that the redactor misunderstands the Elohist document which he used, because he forgets that Abimelek had been instructed____?____ and leaves the impression that the barrenness was merely in the women."

One of the three stories uses the name Jehovah but only uses it once. The second one uses the name God several times and uses the name Jehovah once. And the third one uses the name Jehovah. So it does not fit together with the argument from divine names. That is a fine example of the type of alleged parallel where you have two contradictory stories which they say are the same event described differently, but we see that it does not really fit with the first argument--the argument from divine names. It does not fit well with it at all.

You would be interested in noticing an interesting footnote in Addis' book on the *Documents of the Hexateuch* in connection with the story of the birth of Isaac. In his section on "The Priesthood in History and Law," he claims there is a contradiction between two accounts of the birth of Isaac. In Genesis 17:17, you have the account in which God promised Abraham that he would have a son. And he says that Abraham fell on his face and laughed and said in his heart, "Shall a son be born to one that is a hundred years old and shall Sarah that is ninety years old bare?" He says there is a parallel to this in the J document, in the next chapter. There in verse 12 of chapter 18 you read, "And Sarah laughed within herself, saying, after I am withered shall I have pleasure? My lord being old also? And the LORD said to Abraham, Why then did Sarah laugh, saying, shall I indeed bear a child, now that I am old? You see how laughing is mentioned in what they considered to be part of a P document in Genesis 17, and in what they considered to be part of the J document in Genesis 18. And then in Genesis 21, you have a part of the E document. In verse 6 you read, "And Sarah said, God hath prepared laughter for me. Everyone that heareth shall laugh with me." That was right after the account of the birth of Isaac. The previous four verses are given to the P document, but that verse is given to the Jehovah document, or to the Elohist document. And so Addis has a footnote on page 217 of his second volume of this place in the P document. And in that footnote he says, "Laugh--[ ] the term Isaac." (you know in Hebrew Isaac means "he laughed,")

Abraham wondered at the mighty promise of God. We might say he was incredulous. And Sarah was incredulous. But after the child was born, Sarah laughed with joy. So you see the problem. Why was Isaac named Isaac? Was it because Sarah laughed out of incredulity as the verse says in the J document? Or because she laughed out of joy as the verse says which they give to the E document, or because Abraham laughed out

of wonder as the verse says which they give to the P document? Well, actually, is there any contradiction between them? Why did they call the child "he laughed?" Was it not a natural term because laughter seems to have been connected in so many ways with the account? It seemed absolutely impossible to have a child at their age. They laughed at the impossibility of it. Or at the wonder that God would do such a tremendous thing, and then when the child was born, they laughed again out of joy so they called his name Isaac. There are supposedly three accounts of the naming of Isaac, though only one of them actually says he was called Isaac. But they say there are three accounts of why he was called Isaac. Are there three accounts? Or it is simply that there are three different things connected with the word, all of which went together to suggest that the name would be quite appropriate? This is an example of how things are separated out into two or three different stories and then said to contradict each other. But we ask, is there really a contradiction? In some cases, like this one, there does not seem to be a contradiction at all. Where there seems to be a contradiction, as in the story that says Abraham went to Egypt and told a lie and the story that says he went to Gerar and told a lie, is there a contradiction, or are there really two distinct events? Could not Abraham have done this same thing more than once? The three references are taken from three different chapters. In the first case, in Genesis 17, the Lord gives a wonderful promise to Abraham. He says, "Sarah will have a child and I will bless him and he will be the founder of a great line." In chapter 18, God talks with Abraham and tells him that Sarah is going to have a child and Sarah is in the tent and hears Him and laughs from incredulity. Two chapters later it tells how the boy is born, and Sarah laughs with joy and calls his name Isaac. There are three distinct events. In each of the events, the word "laugh" is used, and they are all connected with Isaac, and in the end he is given the name, Isaac. The critics say that there are three distinct reasons for the name, and attempt to put them into three different documents. This is not so difficult in chapter 17, because in chapter 17 the name God is used many times and the story is given to the P document. In chapter 18 the name Jehovah is used many times and the story is given to the J document. But when they come to chapter 21 they find both names used, so they give the first verse to the J document, and the next three to the P document, and then the next one to the E document, and that is how they get the E story of the birth of Isaac. It is easy to see that there is a great deal of conjecture in all of this.

If I were to have two baskets and one had a lot of red slips in it and one had a lot of blue slips in it, I could say, "See, all the slips in this one are red and all the slips in that one are blue." There is proof that there are two distinct baskets: in one the slips are all red and in the other they are all blue. If you had examined fifty from each basket and found that all of these were red and that all of those were blue, you might be ready to make a hypothesis that all of those in this basket would probably turn out to be red and that all of those in that one would turn out to be blue. You would have two distinct bunches and you might theorize as to how this cam about. But if you had one big basket with a lot of slips in it, and someone said, "Some of these slips are red and some are blue; therefore originally there were two baskets, one

containing red slips and one containing blue ones, and they have come together here," that would be only theorizing. You say, "Look, I can take them out and put all the red ones here and all the blue ones there," but that would not prove it at all. I went through your church history papers and I put blue marks on the correct answers and red marks on the wrong answers, but I did not do all the blue at once and all the red at once. They did not come out of two distinct baskets. They all came out of the same basket. You could not take all the blue ones and say these are all seniors and all the red ones are juniors. If you did find that all the blue were of one class and all the red were of another, that would be a reason for saying that they originally came from two distinct groups, but we have to watch out on anything like this to make sure that we do not take a criterion and divide on the basis of it and then use that ~~for an argument for saying~~ that there was an original division. The danger of reasoning in a circle is very real.

The critics are assuming the facts that they are trying to prove. To advance knowledge we must look at facts without jumping to conclusions. Then we suggest various hypotheses and see how they fit with the facts. If we find one that fits with all the facts, we may conclude that it is the true one. The critics claim that their hypothesis fits with the fact but in this case they are reasoning in a circle.

These alleged passages can be divided into three types. We should look at each of them. Some need to be thought through very carefully. It is easy to get into a frame of mind that says two similar events could not possibly have occurred. Actually, events that are very similar occur much more frequently than we would expect. One of the most interesting illustrations of this is the case of the two events involving the Graf Spee. Probably most of you remember the second event, for it occurred less than a dozen years ago, during World War II. I, myself, remember reading about the first incident, which occurred in 1915, during World War I. At that time a German fleet, commanded by an admiral named Graf Spee, which in English would be Count Spee, had a great battle with an English fleet, near the Falkland Islands, in the Atlantic Ocean east of Brazil and Argentina. The German fleet was defeated, and its flagship went to the bottom of the ocean, carrying Graf Spee to a watery grave. A quarter of a century later, during World War II, the Germans built a so-called pocket battleship, which had all of the latest and most advanced techniques, and was thought to be unsinkable. A sizeable English fleet located it in the Atlantic Ocean near the Falkland Islands, and fought a great battle against it. There were heavy losses on both sides, and the Graf Spee was so severely damaged that it was impossible to repair it completely during the number of days that it was permitted to stay in a neutral port, so Hitler ordered the crew to take it out and sink it, to keep the British from being able to examine its advanced technological features. Thus Graf Spee sank into the ocean, in the same general area, as one of the most spectacular events of each of the two world wars. If these events were recorded in the Pentateuch, the critics would tell us that only one event had really happened, and these were really duplicate narratives from two different documents, one of which thought Graf Spee was a man, while the other thought Graf Spee was a ship.

The so-called parallel passage can be divided roughly into three types: the first consists of places where there are two or three

phrases or brief sentences which tell substantially the same thing, and the critics say that one is taken from one document and one from another, as in the instance where we read, "the Lord visited Sarah as he had promised and the Lord did unto Sarah as he had said." The critics divide this sentence and give half of it to the P document and half to the J. They do that sort of thing rather frequently in order to get a continuous narrative. But there is a problem. If it is to be taken as an argument for parallel passages, this should be done with every word that involves such a repetition. If that was done you could divide what any one says into many different documents. We all repeat ourselves frequently, and very often these are not exact repetitions, but there is a little difference. "The Lord visited her as he had promised and did unto her as he had said." There is a repetition, but there is a step forward in the narrative. That is often the case. Thus you might say, "there was a son born to Abraham, and Abraham named his first-born son Ishmael." Now there would be two sentences which would continue one right after the other in very reasonable fashion. Yet either one alone could make perfect sense. This type of parallel passage argument could be considered to be of the argument from continuous narrative. Any kind of writing could be divided up that way. Take the early part of the story of the flood as an instance. You look at the story of the flood as it is contained in the J document. And you read Genesis 7:12, a certain kind of rain fell on the earth for forty days and forty nights. According to Addis the next verse in the J document is v.17, "and the flood was forty days upon the earth." Could not these two be considered parallel? A torrent of rain fell on the earth, forty days and forty nights; and the flood was forty days upon the earth. If you want, you can divide it into two distinct documents. Verse 17 continues, "and the waters increased, and bare up the ark. And it was lifted up above the earth." You notice another repetition, "And the waters bear up the ark" and "it was lifted up above the earth." If you needed to make two documents, you could put "it bare up the ark" in one document and "it was lifted up above the earth" in the other document. Verse 22 is the next one he puts in J, "All in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life of all that was on the dry land died." He also puts verse 23 in J, "And he brought out every existing thing which was on the face of the ground." Again those two say the same thing. Even though they are quite different in terminology, verses 22 and 23 are exactly identical in thought, and yet they are both put into the J document. As you see, it is natural in speech to repeat. You may repeat with some new idea added, or you may simply repeat without any new idea. It is natural in either case. The purpose of the Scripture is not simply to give us a very brief mathematical statement of truth, while sparing words as much as possible. The purpose is to give us a vivid picture, and a realization of what happened. When you desire to give a vivid realization of the flood, you pour on your adjectives and you increase your statements so as to show its tremendousness. You repeat different aspects of it, over and over. You do not just say that every living creature died. You repeat it: "And all that was on the face of the ground died, and everything that had the breath of life in it was destroyed." You repeat it in order to stress its tremendous nature. In any sort of discussion it is natural to do that sort of thing. The fact that a thought is repeated in such a way that

each part could stand by itself is not really a valid argument for parallel passages, though it can be important in considering the argument for continuous narrative. But you notice there that it is not really a strong argument for continuous narrative, because you will find that in every sort of discussion. It is inevitable. Very little that has ever been written will fail to have a certain amount of this sort of repetition. In anything that is meant to make things vivid and living there is sure to be a great deal of it. You separate it into J and P documents and then even in J you still have this kind of repetition. I just opened here at the very beginning of J, "When no plant of the earth was yet in the earth and no herb of the field was yet sprung up..." You see how that could be divided: "No plant of the field was yet on the earth. No herb of the field had yet sprung up." Either one of them gives you substantially the whole idea. You could divide up these two documents that way. So this type of argument from parallel passages--the fact that you find two phrases or two sentences, which repeat almost or perhaps even exactly, the same idea, is not in itself much of an argument for a diversity of documents, though when you get into a certain frame of mind you can become tremendously convinced by it. Looked at in any logical way it is not in itself much of an argument.

In going through the material in the P document from Genesis 20 on you must have noticed how very little is assigned to the P document, aside from the list of the kings of Edom and one or two genealogies. To a very large extent the material in the P document is just a sentence or half a sentence, which can be taken out from a place without particularly disturbing the context.

The P document is very incomplete in that section. It does not give a very full story.

The second type of Parallel Passage is a type that is made up by combining phrases. Selecting an occasional phrase or a brief statement, they assign one to one document and one to another and claim to have two stories. This second type is where there is a combination. It takes a number of separate phrases and sentences, and claims to find two complete stories. There is such a number of instances where we find this claim that at first sight it appears extremely convincing. But in order for it to be actually convincing, it must go on to prove that the stories contradict one another. If two stories, thus fitted together, actually contradict one another, that would make a very strong argument. When you tell a story and you are not just telling it in order to give facts in the briefest possible way but in order to present an idea so that your hearers will really see the picture, you are inevitably going to repeat ideas. You are apt to give it in one sentence, and then in another sentence. You will probably describe a certain phase in one paragraph and then repeat it in another paragraph. The fact that someone can take the words of a story and rearrange them in such a way as to divide it into two complete stories does not necessarily prove there were really two stories told. There is usually some repetition in order to make the picture clear and vivid. The fact that the words can be rearranged in such a way as to tell the story twice does not, in itself, prove much. Of course, the presence of what is actually a real contradiction would point rather strongly against there having originally been only one story. Thus alleged contradiction, if found, is really the strongest argument.

The fact that you can divide a story in two by taking a phrase here and a phrase there, a sentence here and a sentence there, and thus make two stories out of it, each of which is fairly complete, does not in itself prove that there were originally two distinct documents. That is a statement that I can make with certainty and I feel very definitely that it can be proved, but I do not want you to take it on my words. I want you to think it through and look into evidence bearing on it. In the case of the flood it is what is done. They take a sentence here and a paragraph there, a paragraph here and a sentence there, two or three words here and two or three words there, and they propose to give us two complete stories of the flood. The thing I want to stress is that this in itself does not prove that there were originally two complete stories. As further evidence, if you take either of their accounts, you can still find considerable repetition. Repetition is an important part of any attempt to make something realistic and vivid or even to make an idea clear. I have probably repeated that idea four or five times in the last few minutes and you could say this a combination of four or five different documents, if you had a transcript of what I said this morning. You will find much repetition in any literature, particularly of those matters which one desires to stress, or which are important to make clear.

Now there is also something more that you will notice in connection with the flood. The early part of the story is quite complete in the J document, and is quite complete in the P document, but the end of the flood story is very abrupt in both documents.

Each of them has certain things that the other does not have. You will find great gaps in the end of your flood story and also in the middle of it. For instance, the sending out of the bird is told in one but there is no parallel to it in the other. You might think that could make a parallel by having two of the birds sent out in one story and one in the other. Since you have three birds sent out that would be an easy way to make a parallel, but they do not do it. They put the three birds into one account. The accounts are so similar that it is not very difficult to divide them, but there is a great difficulty in getting a full story at the end. In the middle and at the beginning you have no difficulty whatever, but in addition, you can take the early part of the flood story in each of them and divide it into two more documents. In fact, I think you probably could make six or seven different documents of the beginning of the flood. The reason is clear: The author was anxious to impress his readers with the tremendous nature of the flood, so he says that the fountains of the deep were opened, and he says the window of the heavens were opened, and he says the rains descended, and he says that the waters were raised up above the tops of the mountains, and he goes on to give phrase after phrase after phrase emphasizing the tremendous nature of the event. Now you can divide it up, put half of the phrases over here and half here until you have two documents, divide it again and make four or five documents, because he is stressing them. He stresses what Noah is to do: how he is to take the animals into the ark, exactly what animals he is to take, how they are to get into the ark, how he is to care for them, who is to go into the ark and how they are to be cared for, what will happen to those who do not go in. All of these things are stressed. The building of the ark is quite different. The manner of

building the ark is not stressed. Noah is told to do it, and he does it. But the wickedness of man before the flood, the tremendous nature of the outpouring of the waters, the rising of the waters, God's care for Noah in the early part of the flood---all that is stressed and stressed until you have no difficulty in getting two documents, but you might as well get five or six. Thus you see the artistry of the account--the way it builds up this vivid picture of the tremendous coming of the flood, and how the ark was lifted up upon the earth and all the long time they spent in it throughout the flood. But then the flood ends, and they walk out. It just stops. It ends, and they come out. There is no repetition there. It is not necessary. It would have been inartistic to have had such repetition at the end as you have at the beginning. [Two unclear sentences are here omitted.] So consequently, at the end you have difficulty in making even two complete stories. Each of them is quite incomplete toward the end. The story of the sacrifice is told in J, but not in P. There the story is told and that is all. There is no need of stressing, nor repeating. It is a fairly simple thing, easy to state once. This second type of parallel is something that you will find to quite an extent in any kind of literature. Certain aspects of the story have no need of being repeated and stressed, and these aspects are not repeated or stressed in that way. The real test is the question: Do the two contradict one another? That is the test. When you divide it, do you have two stories that contradict one another? Is there a real contradiction? Or is the contradiction introduced by the way you divide it? If there was a real contradiction there, which in some way escaped realization when the two were put together, then you would have a pretty strong argument for two different stories. This second type of parallel, that of combined stories, is one which we could find in quite a number of stories in the scripture. The flood is the outstanding one. It is the case where the most is made of it comes near the beginning, and it is considerably stressed in most of the arguments, but we notice that the alleged flood stories are not actually complete. In the P story, you simply have wickedness, but no account of where it came from. The J story has the story of the Fall. In the early part, you have these repetitions. In the middle the birds are only in the J account, not in the P account. The measurements of the ark are only in the P story, not in the J. The coming out of the ark is only in the P story. The sacrifice is only in the J story. There are certain elements in both, but quite a number of elements are only in one or only in the other.

There is another very interesting fact. In Mesopotamia a story of an ancient flood was discovered. It is contained in an old Mesopotamian epic which we call the Gilgamesh Epic. This is a name which I think is worth remembering in connection with Biblical material. Gilgamesh is an old Babylonian hero. His story has been brought into relationship with Old Testament studies in a number of interesting ways. One very interesting part of it is that after Gilgamesh's close friend, Enkidu, dies, Gilgamesh is anxious to find him. He seeks for some way of restoring Enkidu to life. During this search he finds the man who had been the hero of the flood, though his name is not Noah, but a Babylonian name. In the story this man had come through the flood and as a result has been given everlasting life. He lives at the mouth of the river, and there Gilgamesh finds him and he remarks on the fact that he does not

look like an old man at all, though he has lived many centuries. He asks how it came about and the man tells him the story of the flood. The story of the flood is imbedded in the Gilgamesh story. It is interesting to find that this story is very similar to the Biblical flood story. In fact, it is so similar that it is hard to doubt that there is a relationship between the stories, though it is filled with polytheistic elements, and it does not have the ethical features of the Biblical flood story. According to the Babylonian story, the flood did not come about because of the desire of a god to blot out the wickedness of the world, but because of the caprice of one god, and the other gods were quite indignant about what he had done. The whole purpose and meaning of it is very different from the Biblical story, but the details are very similar. In it one man and his family are saved out of the flood. He was given warning ahead of time, and he built a special boat in which to be delivered from the flood. It tells how they went into the boat when it began to rain. It describes a tremendous flood; they are lifted up about the waters; everything else on earth is destroyed. They are in this boat when the waters begin to subside and they wonder whether the flood is nearly over, so they send out a bird. They send out three birds, just like in the Bible, though they are different birds than in the Bible story. The three of them are sent out, one after the other; then the boat lands on a mountain. They come out from the boat, make a sacrifice, and they are given a promise that there will not be another flood. You see what a great many parallels there are to the Biblical story. [Question is asked.] AAM: Yes, he put the animals in too, and nothing was saved except what he put in. It is a remarkable parallel to the Biblical story. It is most interesting to see that it parallels most of the elements of the Biblical story which are in both the J and the P story. It parallels elements which they put in the P story and not in the J story. In order to get a full parallel to the Babylonian you need the J and the P stories together. That parallel to this Babylonian story is a very strong evidence against the reliability of the idea of dividing it. It became all the more so when the critics, after the discovery of the Babylonian story, proceeded to say that the Biblical story was derived from the Babylonian story! (Of course, the attitude of the gods is entirely different from the Biblical account. Also the names of the birds are different.)

Another interesting instance where this method of division is used by the critics is in the story of Joseph being sold into Egypt. I look here in Addis' presentation of the P document. Chapter 30 is almost entirely in the P document, but from chapter 37, according to Addis, the P documents contains only these words, "Now Jacob dwelt in the land where his father had sojourned in the land of Canaan. These are the generations of Jacob." Then he skips over to chapter 41, verse 46, "Now Joseph was 30 years old when he stood before Pharaoh, king of Egypt." How Joseph got down into Egypt or what happened to him there is not in the P document at all. It just jumps from Jacob right over into the time when Joseph is already in Egypt. The P document is very incomplete at that point. According to the critical theory, chapter 37 can be divided into two distinct stories of Joseph going down into Egypt, one of which is the E story, and the other is the J story. They give a verse to one and a verse to the other, a section to one and a section to the other. Thus

they claim to get two complete stories, supposedly the E story and the J story. Addis says, "These documents are independent in style, substance, and author. They have been welded together by an editor who made free use of these documents and added a little of his own from other sources." He compares the stories saying that in the Elohist story Joseph's brothers hate him because he tells tales and has dreams which predict his superiority over them, but according to the J story Joseph's brothers hate him because he is his father's favorite and because his father made him a long-sleeved robe such as princes wore. You see the contrast. In one case his brothers hate him because he tells tales and has dreams which predict his superiority, while in the other case his brothers hate him because he is his father's favorite and because his father made him a coat of many colors. But the question is:, Can this be one story which mentions these different reasons why the brothers hate him or are there two distinct stories? As Addis presents them, there seems to be a contradiction between them as to the reason why the brothers hate Joseph. But is there a conflict? Why could not they hate him for one reason and then go on to find new reasons to do so? I think you will find that when people do hate someone for any reason they find new reasons to do so and sometimes even completely forget the original cause. In the second place the J story tells how Joseph goes to visit his brothers who are with their flocks and they resolve to kill him, but Judah persuades them to sell him to a caravan of Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver, ~~while~~ the E story says that when Joseph went to visit his brothers who were with their flocks they resolved to kill him, and then put him into a cistern, and that Reuben, not Judah, persuades them not to kill, but merely to throw him into an empty cistern, and that he means to take him out secretly and give him safely back to his father, but meantime Joseph is stolen by Midianites instead of having been sold to them, and when Reuben returns he finds to his despair that Joseph is gone. See the contradiction? The J story has Judah, the E story has Reuben. In the J story, Judah persuades them to sell him; in the E story Reuben persuades them not to kill but to put him in the empty cistern from which he intends to take him out and then when he comes back he finds that he is gone. As the alleged two accounts now stand together, both of them are part of one story. Is there a contradiction between them? One point where there is an alleged contradiction is that Judah persuades them to sell him to a caravan of Ishmaelites, while according to the other story, Joseph is stolen by Midianites. One says Midianites and one says Ishmaelites. In one case he was stolen; in the other case they sold him. Student: Where do they get it that they stole him? AAM: That is a very good question. It is a little hard to follow [illegible] here, because he seems to change the text slightly at times. But [illegible] going to look at it in the English here. This is [illegible] "Then there passed by Midianite merchant[illegible] Joseph out of the pit, and [illegible] for twenty pieces of silver [illegible] That is the Authorized [illegible] according to Addis, the first verse, [illegible] merchantmen, and they drew" is from the E [illegible] and Addis puts Joseph in brackets, out of the [illegible] They stole him. Whereas the J document starts right [illegible] "and lifted up Joseph up out of the pit," that is his brothers

lifted him up out of the pit and sold Joseph for twenty pieces of silver--"And [illegible] Joseph into Egypt." Now according to the E [illegible] says, "they stole him." According to the E document [illegible] stolen and then after awhile, all of a sudden, [illegible] in Egypt, but in the J document they--I guess it would be [illegible]36--(Audis) considers verse 36 as being part of the J document. Verse 36 says the Midianites sold him into Egypt. He must surely have a mistake there because he considers verse 28, which speaks about the Ishmaelites as being from the E document. You see, though, how he gets the contradiction here. He takes half a verse apart from the rest and it says they drew--he says it means "they stole him." The other says the brothers lifted him up and sold him. And you get a contradiction out of that!? Of course, the place where the real difficulty comes, is in the fact that you have the words "Midianite" and "Ishmaelite" both introduced into it. On that we are certainly in ignorance. We do not have proof of the relationship between the Midianites and the Ishmaelites. But when you do not have proof of a thing like that, it is pretty hard to say you have a proof that it is wrong. And that, of course, is what they are implying. It is usually considered by conservatives that here "Midianites" and "Ishmaelites" must be two terms for the same thing. I think we can say that if the critics were right and these are two documents put together, you would have to say that the man who put them together considered Midianites and Ishmaelites to be the same, or else he introduced a freakish confusion into his stories. Supposing I were to say that we went up to Philadelphia and when we entered the Windy City, we found that there was a strong wind blowing off Lake Michigan? Now if I made that statement, you would know, of course, that was from two different documents. If I said I went up to Philadelphia and when we entered the city of Brotherly Love we found there was a big wind blowing off the Delaware, there would be no contradiction. One story could say we went to the City of Brotherly Love and the other story could say we went to Philadelphia. It would be two different ways of saying exactly the same thing. And if they were combined that way it would show that the man who combined them, considered that they said the same thing. And it is plain then that the man who combined these, if they were separate, considered them as the same thing. Mr. Horner had that difficulty facing him from some professor in the University of Delaware, and he did not have an answer. Then later on, as he was reading his devotions, he discovered a verse in I Kings where it says the Midianites were Ishmaelites.

There is other evidence in the Scripture which fits with the idea that the Midianites and the Ishmaelites are two different terms which could be interchangeable. It does not mean they are identical. It does not mean that, but that there are two related terms, as if someone would say in Europe that he saw a group of Faith Seminary students in the streets of Geneva because he looked around when he heard some Americans talking. You could call them either Faith Seminary students or Americans. The terms would not be identical, but they would refer to the same individuals. Similarly it is quite definite that the Midianites and the Ishmaelites could be a larger term and one that could be smaller included in it. Here the exact relationship is not clear. There are other cases in the Scripture which look in that direction, but there is no case

II.B. **The Argument from Continuous Narratives** [the contents of B from 1952 apparently were not recorded, so the following has been taken from the Pentateuch lectures given in 1981]

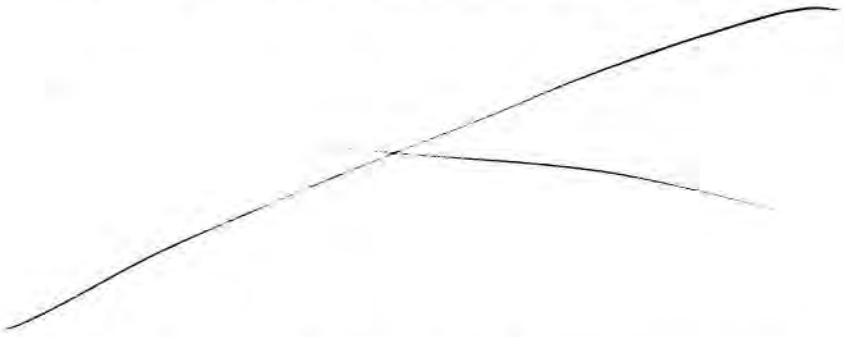
In the argument from continuous narrative they say that you have a continuous story right through and they divide it up and say, "Look, we have a continuous story." We look at it and say, "Do you really have a continuous story or is something actually missing?" At least it goes along smoothly to some extent and then you say, "And God did to Sarah as he promised at the appointed time which God had promised, then Abraham called the name of the son that was born to them, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac." After all, it would seem funny to say, God did as he promised and Abraham called the name Isaac. Why don't you explain that there was a child born? You might say, you can infer that. Why should you infer it? Why should you not state it when it is stated right there, instead of assuming that the needed statement belongs to another document.

For understanding this argument it would be helpful to know how Driver divides Genesis, and you will not find much variation in the views of other critics.

Genesis 1:1-2:4a is considered to be part of the P document, and chapter 2:4b-4:26 is considered by nearly all scholars to be part of the J document. Although some may call it J2 rather than J1, and some may call it S, the division is pretty well agreed upon, so we are justified in seeing whether this widely accepted view meets the test of the arguments which have been advanced for it.

We have dealt to some extent with the argument from Divine Names, perhaps more than its strength warrants, but much less than is warranted considering its great importance in the origination of the theory and its importance in the general discussion of the theory up to the present.

Now we are ready to look at this second argument, which is not one of the most important arguments, but which was frequently used by the critics in their original argument for the critical theory. Today they do not argue this position very much because they simply take it for



granted by assuming it. You do not hear much today about continuous narrative as an argument for the critical theory because they say that all scholars know it is a fact. I will read you a few quotes to show why that to this day, though not so much dwelt on as an argument, it is very important in critical discussion, because they assume it to be a fact that each of these documents is a complete and continuous narrative.

Yesterday I gave each of you a copy of this statement showing the arrangement of the documents as Driver presented it in his introduction. Why do we look at Driver, who wrote sixty years ago, instead of taking Pfeiffer (of Harvard) who wrote about twenty years ago? It is because Pfeiffer advances his theory of an S document, and I do not know of any other outstanding scholar who accepts it. Pfeiffer is considered a great authority, and his view is generally the same as Driver's. There are very few differences, but where there are differences, the scholars follow Driver rather than Pfeiffer. So when we look at the theory we can consider it as a unit and look at the form Driver gave, which is the form held by most critical students today. It would be very difficult to follow our discussion without having it before you (see next page). I wish you could have about five things before you this morning, but it is not feasible, so we will have to do the best we can.

You remember that Eichorn and Astruc divided Genesis into two documents, and said that each of them gives a complete story. They claimed that each of them can stand alone so that they do not need each other. They said the P document, which has the series of covenants that were made, and also has the genealogies, gives the main things in numerical order. They said it is absolutely complete, so we do not need the J document. They said the J document is almost complete, though not quite as complete as the P document. That was their view. There are certain difficulties which keep the J document from being considered complete.

Then the supplementary theory came along, and they said the J document is not complete at all. In fact, they said it is not actually a document. The supplementary theory held to one document, the foundation writing, the Elohist, and then to the insertion in it of the supplementation by Jehovist writings at a later time. Then they swung back, at the time of Graf-Wellhausen, to the document theory; when they took the Elohist and divided it up, you remember, and they considered the greater part of the material from Genesis 20 on as a second Elohist. See what that does to the continuity of the Elohist. It was originally considered to be the complete full story, a document which stands alone. Now they take most of the material in Genesis from chapter 20 on that was given to the Elohist and assign it to the second Elohist, and call what remains the P document. It is no longer complete by any means. Now most complete is J, which previously was questioned as to its being a complete continuous document. J is now the most complete thing that they claim to have; no more complete than it was before, but it is the most complete thing so far. P and E are far less complete. P starts with Genesis 1-2:4a because this section is one of the very beginning points of the whole theory. Someone may ask, why on earth do they make it 2:4a? Well, you can blame the Archbishop for that! There is no question that chapter 1 ought to run through the first three or four verses of chapter 2. Our present chapter division is ridiculous; we have six days in Genesis 1, then we have three verses telling of the seventh day, and then we go back and start again with the specific account of the creation of man. The first chapter really includes the next three or four verse!

This section is entirely given to P. It is continuous; it tells the story of creation rather fully. It does not give much detail about the creation of man, but it deals with most of the major elements in the creation. Then, what does the P document do after that? It immediately jumps to chapter 5. It gives practically the whole of chapter 5, omitting only one verse (29) which is given to J. All the rest of chapter 5 is given to P. In 5:29 he says, "and he called his name Noah, saying this one shall comfort us concerning our work and the toil of our hands, because of the ground which Jehovah has cursed. It has the name Jehovah in it, so they give it to the J document. Well, why not give the whole chapter to the J document, because you have the word Jehovah in it? Elohim is in the first verse, and in verse 24 Elohim is prominent. You might ask, if you have Elohim straight through chapter 6, why insert Jehovah all at once in verse 29? We would answer that this is a specific reference to redemption. Here Noah is being spoken of very specifically as the one through whom God promised the deliverer would come. He specifically says, "because of the ground which the Lord Jehovah has cursed." This relates directly to redemption, and the general name of God naturally seems much less appropriate right here than the specific personal name of Jehovah!

Of course the critics will take verse 29 out, saying it belongs to J, while the rest of the chapter is genealogy, and P is interested in genealogy. But notice what that does to the J document! The J document has 2:4 - 4:26. Verse 4:26 says that a son was born to Seth and he called him Enoch. Then men began to call on the name of Jehovah. Then the next verse in the J document is, "and he called his name Noah, saying this same shall comfort us." Certainly the J document is far from complete, jumping down all of a sudden from Seth to his great-great-great-great-great grandson, Noah. It is certainly quite a sharp jump. J is not a continuous document.

P told about the creation of the world in Genesis 1:1-24a. It describes the creation and it was good. Everything God looked at was good. Then it gives the list of all these men, and how they lived and died. It does not give detail except in the case of the one who walked with God and was not because God took him. It is a good picture except for the reference to death. You wonder, where does death come from? There is no mention when God created man that he was going to die. If you have the J portion it tells about the fall of man, but the P portion jumps ahead and tells about death, and does not mention the fall of man, which is how death came!

After chapter 5 the P document takes chapter 6:9-22, "These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man and perfect in his generation, and Noah walked with God and Noah begat three sons. The earth also was corrupt before God and the earth was filled with violence, and God looked upon the earth and behold it was corrupt."

Here is this wonderful earth which God had made and which He said was good, yet suddenly we read in P that God sees it and it is corrupt, it is filled with violence, and God decides to destroy it. What a decision on the part of God! What reason is there for this sudden change in the world? P does not give us any reason. But if you read the chapters that they say belong to J, they tell us about the fall of man and there you have the reason. Though they say there is a continuous document, the most vital feature of the whole history is taken out of one and given to the other, and you do not have in the P document any basis for

understanding how this wonderful world God made, all of a sudden becomes filled with violence. Similarly the J document jumps right from Seth to Noah, with no account of anyone between. All of a sudden we read that he called his name Noah. Who called whose name Noah? Neither document is at all complete at this point. These two arguments interlace, that of duplicate narratives and that of completeness.

After the story of the flood, chapter 10:1-7 is God's covenant with Noah. Then comes the generation of Noah's sons, which they assign to the P document. They say that P is interested in lists, genealogies, and enumerations. So naturally this goes to the P document. They assign the greater part of chapter 10 to P, though a section of it is given to the J document. The narrative about Nimrod going out and becoming a mighty hunter before the Lord is given to the J document, but the lists of the nations are given to P, which they say is interested enumerations and lists. J is interested in narrative, and this is an interesting narrative.

After this genealogy, the generations of Shem and Terah, it jumps in chapter 12. The beginning of 12 goes to J, but 12:4b is given to P, "Now Abram was seventy-five years old when he went forth from Haran, and Abram took Sara his wife and Lot his brother's son, and all the substance they had gathered and the slaves they had acquired in Haran and they went forth on their journey to the land of Canaan and they came to the land of Canaan." Then it skips to 13:6, "but the land could not support them dwelling together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together." Then 13:11b-12a, "So they separated from each other, Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan and Lot dwelt in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent towards Sodom." Notice how it skips the account of the trip down to Egypt and all the division between them as Abraham and Lot decide which part each of them would take of the land. Later on, in this book, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Addis makes this statement, "It is in the habitual practice of P to ignore all scandal in the families of the Patriarchs, who are to him men of ideal virtue. Thus he is silent about the fall of Adam, Noah's drunkenness, the curse of Canaan, Sarah's incredulous laugh, or of Abraham's deceit. He represents the parting of Abraham and Lot as the result of a friendly agreement. He is silent about the expulsion of Hagar and her son, and on the contrary, speaks of Isaac and Ishmael as bearing their father.

Jacob departs at the bidding of his who, like Rebekah, has been vexed with Esau's marriage with Canaanite women, and is determined to save Jacob from the same mistake, instead, of like J, representing Jacob as having defrauded Esau and fleeing from his vengeance.

When they say that P does not know anything of any dispute between Abraham and Lot, naturally it does not, if you give those portions to J. Their assumption is that each document is complete, and so they find the characteristic views of P and the characteristic views of J differ greatly, but they differ because they give some verses to one and some verse to the other. So neither document is really complete. It takes the two together to give the whole picture!

The E document begins with chapter 20. There are some who give a portion of chapter 15 to the E document, but most would begin the E document with chapter 20. The E document takes most of the Elohist material from 20 on, P has only two or three fairly long chapters, and most of it is just an occasional verse here and there -- just a tiny fragment taken to connect the thread by naming somebody. That is about

is the tiniest bit of a thread to connect the various chapters of J. When they call it a continuous narrative, you wonder, what kind of book it ever was. You can write a book that would be just a list of names, you can write a genealogy, or a list of people and just tell where they went, but P is much more than that! P has this long account of creation; it has a long account of the flood, it has a long account of the burial of Sarah. A few things like that are given at length. What sort of a document would that be, that had these few things given at length, and then just a brief word about the rest. The continuous document falls to pieces when you divide it up into the first and second Elohist. If you go through some of these others and notice how very slim is the material given to P, you must wonder why it should be given to P. Often the only reason that is evident is to connect it together in order to make it look like a continuous document. A very interesting example of this is chapter 21, which begins with the words, "And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and the Lord did unto Sarah as He had spoken, for Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the time set at which God had spoken to him." In chapter 21 they give verse 1a and 2a to J, and 1b and 2b to P, so J reads, "And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and Sarah conceived and bare Abraham his son, a son in his old age." They give the P document the last half of these two verses, And the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken at the set time at which God had spoken to him." They divide the two verses and give half to one and half to the other, and say there are complete parallel accounts. It says Jehovah in both halves of it? How can that be by divine names? In this case the divine names do not fit so they change them! That is what we find here in Addis' presentation of what he calls the "priestly history and law"; he changes it to "And God did to Sarah as he promised, at the appointed time which God had promised." We notice that God was in the last half of verse 2, so in order to get the complete thing Addis takes half of verse 1 and says, "And God," though the present text of the Pentateuch has Jehovah. Addis says that the editor put together a fragment of the J and a fragment of the P in one verse, verse 1, and naturally objected to a change of divine name in such close connection, and so the redactor (or editor) changed it.

As Mr Gueiros [student] points out, if you can follow Divine Names when it suits your purpose and throw them aside when it does not, it raises serious questions about the entire matter.

There are two men who have written on this whom you should not confuse. They are Addis, who is very strongly convinced of the critical theory, and O.T. Allis, who is very strongly convinced that it is entirely wrong. So the d and the l make a big difference in the two names!

[beginning of paragraph missing here] In chapter 36 the genealogy of Esau is largely given to P but there are words used that are not characteristic of the P document, so they say that a late redactor of the P document inserted those particular verses.

Chapter 37 begins, "Now Jacob dwelt in the land where his father had sojourned, in the land of Canaan, these are the generations of Jacob." That is chapter 37:1, 2a. As you continue in 37, you have that very interesting story of Joseph as a boy, and of his life with his brothers and his being sold into Egypt. They remove all of that from the P document, divide it between the J and the E documents, so the next verse from the P document is chapter 41-46. "Now Joseph was thirty years old

when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt." What sort of a continuous document! Joseph has not even been mentioned. Jacob was in view and all of a sudden we read that Joseph was thirty years old before he stood before Pharaoh! How did Joseph ever get down to Egypt, and how did he ever come to stand before Pharaoh! It certainly is very, very far from a complete document. And there they only insert what I just read from chapter forty-six, and then they jump to verse 6: "so they took their cattle and their substance which they had gathered in the land of Canaan, and went to Egypt, Jacob, and all his seed with him." The P gets most of the rest of that chapter because it lists the people who went down into Egypt.

These are some of the most striking instances of the many that could be cited to show how the P document, even according to the critical theory, is far from complete. P is very full in the book of Leviticus and Numbers. It tells what to do with the tabernacle, how to build the tabernacle and how to do the sacrifice. In all that it is very full, and it is very full of the genealogies. But of the narrative, they give it a little sentence here and a little sentence there, and that is all.

There have been individuals who have said that each of these stories is originally absolutely complete, and that certain parts of one were selected and that certain parts of the other were selected. If you say that, you are dropping the entire argument from continuous narrative, which was one of the four original arguments. If you hold to that line, then you expect that they have included everything from them, or practically everything, and therefore what is there should be complete.

Do you see the dilemma this line of argument leads them to? If you say, here are certain books and the redactor took what he wanted from this, what he wanted from that, he found the story of Joseph as a boy in P and the story of Joseph as a boy in J, and he took the story from J rather than P. And he made his selection of what he wanted to take, and he left out a lot of material in all of them. Well, if you say that, then you find two stories and they contradict each other, and you say this proves that they were different documents. What kind of redactor was he, that would put in two stories that contradict each other? Why didn't he correct one or the other? The critics generally assume that these documents are included almost absolutely complete. That is the assumption on which they worked, though occasionally they admit that a little has been omitted. The assumption on which they proceed is that we can tell the view held in these different documents by what is there, and that they simply put them together in a rather arbitrary fashion, anxious not to lose anything.

The scholars that I have contact with are among the very best, and so I can not speak for the masses. The scholars with whom I have contact, while holding firmly to the J,E,D,P, have a tendency to laugh at the Polychrome Bible, which was prepared by Professor Haupt of John Hopkins University. It was an attempt to print the Bible (some volumes in Hebrew, some in English) with the different documents in different types, so that you could see at a glance what they where. If properly done, such a thing could be an extremely useful tool for examining the basis of the theory and seeing whether it stands or falls. It is much harder to see it when they just give each document by itself, as they usually present it. Or in commentaries they say, "In verse so-and-so here we see plain signs of P; there is the phrase, "male and female"; it uses the name Elohim; we see special interest in genealogies, etc." They speak that way about

each verse separately, but they can not put it all together and examine it critically as easily as you could with the Polychrome Bible. I am not sure just how well that particular job was done, but I think the idea was an excellent one, to make the material available to test whether it was true or false. However, these people have reached the conclusion that it is true and are no longer interested in testing the data. They are convinced of the theory. That is human nature. Whatever view people take, their tendency is to see the argument for their side as very big and thus minimize the arguments against it, so as to not notice them much. But I feel that we advance the cause of the Lord in the end by getting an objective attitude that can see the real strength of arguments we do not agree with, and then we can try to understand the arguments with which we do not agree. And that we can find, we hope, stronger arguments to answer them, rather than brush things aside simply because we do not agree with them. I feel that in the end we serve the Lord more effectively if we try to get a really objective attitude. Of course the liberals talk of an objective attitude, an open mind, but actually most of them are extremely narrow. On things like this, their minds are made up, and they will not listen to anything else. I believe we advance the Lord's cause by seeing exactly what the evidence is; where we find strong points, let us recognize them; and then let us see if we can find evidences to show where they are wrong. When they advance weak points, let us show them what the facts are, to demonstrate that their argument is weak at that point.

If you talk with one of their graduates and ask him, "What makes you think there are these different documents?" He will probably say, "Look at the difference in style." Some will say, "It is as great as the difference between Chaucer and modern English. The teachers will not say that, but some of the students will. Nobody can truly say that it is as great as that! But they will say there is a great difference in style, and when you separate them you find that each has the complete story. So it is good to know just how incomplete each document is, and to be able to show points at which it is particularly incomplete. I would think that if we point out these things it might very well raise serious questions in their minds, whether the entire thing was not worthy of a more careful examination than they had ever given it before.

I would like to read a few statistics on this regarding the continuity of E. According to Driver's analysis (see pages "Driver's Analysis of Genesis"), of the 1,534 verses in Genesis he gives about 780 to J, and about 730 to P and E together (in other words, the original Elohist). And of the 730 which are assigned to P and E, nearly 200 are in the first nineteen chapters, and practically all of these are given to P. The remaining 550 verses are assigned to E. Subtract 200 from 730 and you get approximately 550. Driver gives just a little more than half of the total verses to J, a little less than half to P and E together. And of those in P and E about a forth of them are in Genesis 1-19. So in Genesis 20-50 there are about 550 verses given to E and P together, with only one-third to P. Thus, here we have the last thirty chapters with only 175 verses in them given to P. So P which was originally the foundation writing, and supposed to be the start of it with a distinctive and unmistakable, and the P and J supplements were added. Now P has been reduced to the smallest of the three documents. And most of the material of P is in a few chapters, and the rest of it is in tiny little fragments scattered throughout the book. Consequently, there will be several chapters

with just half a verse or a verse taken out and given to P.

If you go through either of these documents you will consistently find many places where the one assumes things told in the other without explanation. If this thread runs straight through to make a complete P document it raises a serious question. But is there evidence that this is a document, or is it an attempt to combine things to try and make something that will be continuous as complete as possible?

So much for a brief resume of this vital matter. Continuing with our discussion--we were looking last time at B and C. We did not yet spend much time on B because B and C are so connected that it is easier to look to some extent at them together (even though each of them is to some extent a distinct argument). Sometimes the same man would work on both, but as a rule it would be two different men. Then what Graf said brought the two together, and doing this, he strengthened both, by producing a systematized arrangement in which each seemed to spring from the other, and in that way each gave strength to the other. But the question is, Can either of them stand alone?

If you are dealing with ignorant people it may be more effective to just ridicule the critics, although they can just as well ridicule your view. This is not quite the same as to pick out the weak points and stress them, which can sometimes be so close in appearance to ridicule that it is hard to distinguish. One way to strengthen belief in the unity of the Pentateuch is to pick just a few weak points in the theory and go after them hammer and tongs--but I think you should have intelligence enough to be able to do that for yourself. I do not think it is necessary for me to take two or three hours here in simply pointing to demonstrative weak points and dwelling upon them. I am interested in giving you an understanding of the weak points of the theory, but when I mention them very briefly that should be sufficient. On the other hand, I am trying to go into the strong points of the theory more at length so that you will be able yourself to see just how strong or how lacking in strength each is. In other words, we want to study it--not just to convince you that it is wrong.

Dr. A.A. MacRae lectures / 1962+52 on Pentateuch

B. ***The Argument from Continuous Narratives.*** [the contents of B from 1952 apparently were not recorded, so the following has been taken from the Pentateuch lectures given in 1962]

In the argument from continuous narrative they say that you have a continuous story right through and they divide it up and say, "Look, we have a continuous story." We look at it and say, "Do you really have a continuous story or is something actually missing?" At least ~~it goes along~~ smoothly ~~to some extent~~ and then ~~you say,~~ "And God did to Sarah as he promised at the appointed time which God had promised, then Abraham called the name of the son that was born to them, whom Sarah bore to him, Isaac." After all, it would seem funny to say, God did as he promised and Abraham called the name Isaac. Why ~~don't you explain~~ that ~~there was a~~ child born? ~~You might say, you can infer that. Why should you infer it? Why should you not state it when it is stated right there, instead of assuming that the needed statement~~ belongs to another document.

~~For understanding this argument~~ It ~~would be~~ helpful to ~~know~~ how Driver divides Genesis, ~~and you will not find much variation in the views~~ of other critics.

Genesis 1:1-2:4a ~~is considered~~ to be part of the P document, ~~and chapter~~ 2:4b-4:26 is considered by nearly all scholars to be part of the J document. ~~Although~~ some ~~may~~ call it J2 rather than J1, and some ~~may~~ call it S_y, the division is pretty well agreed upon, ~~so we are justified in~~ seeing whether this widely accepted view meets the test of the arguments ~~which~~ have been advanced for it.

We have dealt to some extent with the argument from Divine Names, perhaps more than its strength warrants, but much less than is warranted ~~considering~~ its great importance in the origination of the theory.

and its importance in the general discussion of the theory up to the present. ¶ This is me

~~Now we are ready to look at this second argument, which is not one~~ of the most ~~important~~ arguments, ~~but which was~~ frequently used by the critics in their original ~~argument for the critical theory.~~ presentations. Today they do not argue this position ~~very~~ much, ~~because they~~ simply take it for granted ~~by~~ assuming it. ~~You do not hear much today about continuous narrative as an argument for the critical theory because they say that all scholars know it is a fact.~~ I will read you a few quotes to show why that ~~to this day,~~ though not so much ~~dwelt on~~ as an argument, it is very important ~~in critical discussion, because they~~ assume ~~it to be a fact~~ that each of these documents is a complete and continuous narrative.

Yesterday I gave each of you a copy of ~~this~~ statement showing the arrangement of the documents as Driver presented it in his introduction. ~~(Why do we~~ look at Driver, who wrote sixty years ago, ~~instead of taking~~ rather than at Rowe. Pfeiffer (of Harvard), who wrote about twenty years ago? ~~It is~~ because Pfeiffer advances his own theory of "an S document," and I do not know of any other outstanding scholar who ~~accepts it~~ follows him. Pfeiffer is considered a great authority, ~~and~~ His view is generally the same as Driver's. ~~There are very few differences, but where~~ Where there are differences, the scholars generally follow Driver rather than Pfeiffer, ~~So when we look at the theory~~ so we can consider ~~it~~ the theory as a unit and look at the form Driver gave it, which is the form held by most critical students today. It would be very difficult to follow our discussion without having it before you (see next page). I wish you could have about five things before you this morning, but it is not feasible, so we will have to do the best we can.

You remember that Eichorn and Astruc divided Genesis into two

documents, and said that each of them gives a complete story. They claimed that each of them can stand alone so that they do not need each other. They said the P document, which has the series of covenants that were made, and also has the genealogies, gives the main things in numerical order. They said it is absolutely complete, so we do not need the J document. They said the J document is almost complete, though not quite as complete as the P document. ~~That was their view.~~ There are certain ~~difficulties which keep the J document from being considered complete.~~

Then the supplementary theory came along, ~~and they~~ said the J document is not complete at all. In fact, they said it is not actually a document. The supplementary theory held to one document, the foundation writing, the Elohist, and then to the insertion in it of ~~the~~ supplementations by Jehovist writings at a later time. Then they swung back, ~~at the time of~~ Graf-Wellhausen, to the document theory, ~~when they took the~~ Elohist and ~~divided it up, you remember, and they considered~~ the greater part of ~~the~~ material from Genesis 20 on as a second Elohist. ~~See~~ what that does to the continuity of the Elohist. It was originally considered to be the complete ~~full~~ story, a document which stands alone. Now they take most of the material in Genesis from chapter 20 on that was given to the Elohist and assign it to the second Elohist, and call what remains the P document. It is no longer complete by any means. Now most complete is J, which previously ~~was questioned as to its being~~ a complete continuous document. J is now the most complete ~~thing~~ that they claim to have, ~~no more complete than it was before, but it is the most complete thing so far.~~ P and E are far less complete. P starts with Genesis 1-2:4a because this section is one of the very beginning points of the whole theory. Someone may ask, Why on earth do they make it 2:4a? Well,

you can blame the Archbishop for that! There is no question that chapter 1 ought to run through the first three or four verses of chapter 2. Our present chapter division is ridiculous; we have six days in Genesis 1, then we have three verses telling of the seventh day, and then we go back and start again with the specific account of the creation of man. The first chapter really includes the next three or four verse!

This section is entirely given to P. It is continuous; it tells the story of creation rather fully. It does not give much detail about the creation of man, but it deals with most of the major elements in the creation. Then, what does the P document do after that? It immediately jumps to chapter 5, and it gives practically the whole of chapter 5, omitting only one verse (29) which is given to J. All the rest of chapter 5 is given to P. In 5:29 he says, "and he called his name Noah, saying this one shall comfort us concerning our work and the toil of our hands, because of the ground which Jehovah has cursed. It has the name Jehovah in it, so they give it to the J document. Well, why not give the whole chapter to the J document, because you have the word Jehovah in it? Elohim is in the first verse, and in verse 24 Elohim is prominent! You might ask, if you have Elohim straight through chapter 6, why insert Jehovah all at once in verse 29? We would answer that this is a specific reference to redemption. Here Noah is being spoken of very specifically as the one through whom God promised the deliverer would come. He specifically says, "because of the ground which the Lord Jehovah has cursed." This relates directly to redemption, and the general name of God naturally seems much less appropriate right here than the specific personal name of Jehovah!

Of course the critics will take verse 29 out, saying it belongs to J,

while the rest of the chapter is genealogy, and P is interested in genealogy. But notice what that does to the J document! The J document has 2:4 - 4:26. Verse 4:26 says that a son was born to Seth and he called him Enoch. Then men began to call on the name of Jehovah. Then the next verse in the J document is, "and he called his name Noah, saying this same shall comfort us." ~~Certainly~~ The J document is far from complete, jumping down all of a sudden from Seth to his great-great-great-great-great grandson, Noah. It is certainly quite a sharp jump. J is not a continuous document.

P told about the creation of the world in Genesis 1:1-24a. ~~It described the creation~~ and said it was good. Everything God looked at was good. Then it gives the list of all these men, and how they lived and died. It does not give detail except in the case of the one who walked with God and was not because God took him. It is a good picture except for the reference to death. You wonder, where does death come from? There is no statement in its account of how man (cf. 1:26f.). The ~~When~~ God created man that ~~he~~ was going to die. ~~If you have the~~ J portion it tells about the fall of man, but the P portion jumps ahead and tells about death, ~~and~~ but does not mention the fall of man, which is how death came!

After chapter 5 the P document ~~takes chapter~~ had 6:9-22, "These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man and perfect in his generation, and Noah walked with God and Noah begat three sons. The earth also was corrupt before God and the earth was filled with violence, and God looked upon the earth and behold it was corrupt."

Here is this wonderful earth which God had made and which He said was good, yet suddenly we read in P that God sees it and it is corrupt, it is filled with violence, and God decides to destroy it. What a decision on

the part of God! What reason is there for this sudden change in the world? P does not give us any reason. But if you read the chapters that they say belong to J, they tell us about the fall of man and there you have the reason. Though they say ~~there~~ P is a ~~continuous~~ complete document, the most vital feature of the whole history is taken out of one and given to the other, and you do not have in the P document any basis for understanding how this wonderful world God made, ~~all of a sudden become~~ that should filled with violence. Similarly the J document jumps right from Seth to Noah, with no account of anyone between. All of a sudden we read that "he called his name Noah." Who called whose name Noah? Neither document is at all complete at this point. ~~These two arguments interlace, that of duplicate narratives and that of completeness.~~

After the story of the flood, chapter 10:1-7 is God's covenant with Noah. Then comes the generation of Noah's sons, which they assign to the P document. They say that P is interested in lists, genealogies, and enumerations. So naturally this goes to the P document. They assign the greater part of chapter 10 to P, though a section of it is given to the J document. The narrative about Nimrod going out and becoming a mighty hunter before the Lord is given to the J document, but the lists of the nations are given to P, which they say is interested in enumerations and lists. J is interested in narrative, and this is an interesting narrative.

After this genealogy (the generations of Shem and Terah), P ~~it~~ jumps in chapter 12. The beginning of 12 goes to J, but 12:4b is given to P, "Now Abram was seventy-five years old when he went forth from Haran, and Abram took Sara his wife and Lot his brother's son, and all the substance they had gathered and the slaves they had acquired in Haran and they

went forth on their journey to the land of Canaan and they came to the land of Canaan." Then it skips to 13:6, "but the land could not support them dwelling together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together." Then 13:11b-12a, "So they separated from each other, Abram dwelt in the land of Canaan and Lot dwelt in the cities of the plain, and pitched his tent towards Sodom." Notice how it skips the account of the trip down to Egypt and all the division between them as Abraham and Lot decide which part each of them would take of the land. Later on, in his book, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*, Addis makes this statement, "It is in the habitual practice of P to ignore all scandal in the families of the Patriarchs, who are to him men of ideal virtue. Thus he is silent about the fall of Adam, Noah's drunkenness, the curse of Canaan, Sarah's incredulous laugh, or of Abraham's deceit. He represents the parting of Abraham and Lot as the result of a friendly agreement. He is silent about the expulsion of Hagar and her son, and on the contrary, speaks of Isaac and Ishmael as burying their father.

Jacob departs at the bidding of his mother who, like Rebekah, has been vexed with Esau's marriage with Canaanite women, and is determined to save Jacob from the same mistake, instead of like J, representing Jacob as having defrauded Esau and fleeing from his vengeance.

They say that P does not know anything of any dispute between Abraham and Lot; of course it does not, if you give those portions to J! Their assumption is that each document is complete, and so they say the characteristic views of P and the characteristic views of J differ greatly, but they differ because they give some verses to one and some verse to the other! No neither of the alleged documents is really complete. It takes the two together to give the whole picture!

say that the

The E document begins with chapter 20. There are some who give a portion of chapter 15 to the E document, but most would begin the E document with chapter 20. The E document takes most of the Elohist material from 20 on, P has only two or three fairly long chapters, and most of it is just an occasional verse here and there -- just a few tiny fragments taken to connect the thread by naming somebody. That is about all there is to P until you get to the very last few chapters of Genesis. It is the tiniest bit of a thread to connect the various chapters of J. When they call it a continuous narrative, you wonder, what kind of book it ever was. You can write a book that would be just a list of names, you could can write a genealogy, or a list of people and just tell where they went; but P is much more than that! P has this long account of creation; it has a long account of the flood, it has a long account of the burial of Sarah. A few things like that are given at length. What sort of a document would that be, that had these few things given at length, and then just a brief words about the rest. The continuous document falls to pieces when you divide it up into the first and second Elohist. If you go through some of these others and notice how very slim is the material given to P, you must wonder why it should be given to P. Often the only reason that is evident is to connect it together in order to make it look like a continuous document. A very interesting example of this is chapter 21, which begins with the words, "And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and the Lord did unto Sarah as He had spoken, for Sarah conceived and bare Abraham a son in his old age, at the time set at which God had spoken to him." In chapter 21 they give verse 1a and 2a to J, and 1b and 2b to P, so J reads, "And the Lord visited Sarah as He had said, and Sarah conceived and bare Abraham his son, a son in his old age." They

give the P document the last half of these two verses: "And the Lord did unto Sarah as he had spoken at the set time at which God had spoken to him." They divide the two verses and give half to one and half to the other, and say there are complete parallel accounts. But it says Jehovah in both halves of it! Since here ~~How can that be by divine names? In this case~~ the divine names do not fit so they change them! That is what we find here in Addis' presentation of what he calls the "priestly history and law"; he changes it to "And God did to Sarah as he promised, at the appointed time which God had promised." We notice that God was in the last half of verse 2, so in order to get the complete thing Addis takes half of verse 1 and says, "And God," though the present text of the Pentateuch has Jehovah. Addis says that the editor put together a fragment of the J and a fragment of the P in one verse, verse 1, and naturally objected to a change of divine name in such close connection, and so the redactor (or editor) changed it.

As Mr Gueiros [student] points out, if you can follow Divine Names when it suits your purpose and throw them aside when it does not, it raises serious questions about the entire matter!

(There are two men who have written on this whom you should not confuse. ~~They are~~ One is Addis, who is very strongly convinced of the critical theory, and the other is ~~O.T.~~ Allis, who is very strongly convinced that it is entirely wrong. So the d and the l make a big difference in the two names!)

~~[beginning of paragraph missing here]~~ In chapter 36 the genealogy of Esau is largely given to P but there are words used that are not characteristic of the P document, so they say that a late redactor of the P document inserted those particular verses.

Chapter 37 begins, "Now Jacob dwelt in the land where his father had

that, you are dropping the entire argument from continuous narrative, which was one of the four original arguments. If you hold to that line, then you would expect that they would have included everything from them, or practically everything, and therefore what is there should be complete.

Do you see the dilemma this line of argument leads them to? If you say, here are certain books and the redactor took what he wanted from this, what he wanted from that, he found the story of Joseph as a boy in P and the story of Joseph as a boy in J, and he took the story from J rather than P. And he made his selection of what he wanted to take, and he left out a lot of material in all of them. Well, if you say that, then you find two stories and they contradict each other, and you say this proves that they were different documents. What kind of redactor was it ~~he~~, that would put in two stories that contradict each other? Why didn't he correct one or the other? The critics generally assume that these documents are included almost absolutely complete. That is the assumption on which they worked, though occasionally they admit that a little has been omitted. The assumption on which they proceed is that we can tell the view held in these different documents by what is there, and that they ~~simply~~ were put ~~them~~ together in a rather arbitrary fashion, anxious not to lose anything.

The scholars that I have had contact with are among the very best, ~~and~~ while they ~~so I can not speak for the masses. The scholars with whom I have contact, while~~ holding firmly to the J,E,D,P theory, they have a tendency to laugh at the Polychrome Bible, which was prepared by Professor Haupt of John Hopkins University. It was an attempt to print the Bible (some volumes in Hebrew and some in English) with the different documents in different types, so that you could see at a glance what they where. If properly done, such a

thing could be an extremely useful tool for examining the basis of the theory and seeing whether it stands or falls. It is much harder to ~~see it~~ judge when they just give each document by itself, as they usually present it. ~~Or~~ in their commentaries they say, "In verse so-and-so here we see plain signs of P; there is the phrase, 'male and female'; it uses the name Elohim; we see special interest in genealogies, etc." They speak that way about each verse separately, but they can not put it all together and examine it critically as easily as you could with the Polychrome Bible. I am not sure just how well that particular job was done, but I think the idea was an excellent one, to make the material available to test whether it was true or false. However, these people have reached the conclusion that it is true and are no longer interested in testing the data. They are convinced of the theory. That is human nature. Whatever view people take, their tendency is to see the argument for their side as very big and ~~thus~~ minimize the arguments against it, so as ~~to~~ not to notice them much. ~~But~~ If I feel that we advance the cause of the Lord in the end by getting an objective attitude that can see the real strength of arguments we do not agree with, and then ~~we can try to understand the arguments with which we do not agree. And that we~~ can find, ~~we hope,~~ stronger arguments to answer them, rather than brush things aside simply because we do not agree with them. I feel that in the end we serve the Lord more effectively if we try to get a really objective attitude. ~~Of course~~ The liberals talk about an objective attitude and an open mind, but actually most of them are extremely narrow. On things like this, their minds are made up, and they will not listen to anything else. I believe we advance the Lord's cause by seeing exactly what the evidence is; where we find strong points, let us recognize them; and then let us

see if we can find evidences to show where they are wrong. When they advance weak points, let us show them what the facts are, to demonstrate that their argument is weak at that point.

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175 verses in them given to P. So in general P which was originally called the foundation writing, and supposed to be the start of it with a distinctive and unmistakable style ~~and the P and J supplements were added.~~ Now P has now been reduced by the critics to the smallest of the three documents, and most of the material of P is in a few chapters, and the rest of it is in tiny little fragments scattered throughout the book. Consequently, there will be several chapters with just half a verse or a verse taken out and given to P.

If you go through either of these documents you will consistently find many places where ~~the~~ one assumes things told in the other without explanation. If this thread runs straight through to make a complete P document it raises a serious question. But is there evidence that this is a document, or is it an attempt to combine things to try and make something that will be continuous and as complete as possible!

So much for a brief resume of this vital matter. Continuing with our discussion--we were looking last time at B and C. We did not yet spend much time on B because B and C are so connected that it is easier to look to some extent at them together (even though each of them is to some extent a distinct argument). Sometimes the same man would work on both, but as a rule it would be two different men. Then what Graf said brought the two together, and doing this, he strengthened both, by producing a systematized arrangement in which each seemed to spring from the other, and in that way each gave strength to the other. But the question is, Can either of them stand alone?

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that it is hard to distinguish. One way to strengthen belief in the unity of the Pentateuch is to pick just a few weak points in the theory and go after them hammer and tongs--but I think you should have intelligence enough to be able to do that for yourself. I do not think it is necessary for me to take two or three hours here in simply pointing to demonstrative weak points and dwelling upon them. I am interested in giving you an understanding of the weak points of the theory, but when I mention them very briefly that should be sufficient. On the other hand, I am trying to go into the strong points of the theory more at length so that you will be able yourself to see just how strong or how lacking in strength each is. In other words, we want to study it--not just to convince you that it is wrong.

Insert at bottom of p. 7

B. The Argument from Continuous Narrative.

If this argument could be proved to be correct, it would be one of the strongest arguments for the Higher Criticism.

The Criticism began with the claim that the book of Genesis was produced by combining sections from two documents which could be distinguished by their use of differing names for God. This claim would be greatly strengthened if it could be shown that after the documents had been separated from one another by the use of this criterion each of them could be read continuously as a complete story without assuming any fact or idea contained in one or more of the other alleged documents. If this could be shown to be a fact, it would be a very strong argument for the truth of the theory.

We have dealt to some extent with the argument from divine names--perhaps more than its strength warrants, but much less than is warranted by its great part in the origination of the theory, and by the large place that it occupies in most discussions of the theory, even up to the present.

We shall examine the division into documents, as presented by Driver, who wrote sixty years ago, rather than that given by Prof. Pfeiffer of Harvard, who wrote about twenty years ago. Driver presented the theory quite fully, and his division is followed with little change by most of the later writers. Pfeiffer follows it quite generally, but makes a few changes, such as assigning parts of the P document to a suggested S document, but aside from this innovation, which few if any other critics have adopted, he generally follows Driver's division.

You remember that Astruc and Eichhorn declared that Genesis had been produced by combining two alleged documents, each of which, they claimed, presented the complete story. Their first document, which calls the deity "God," included Genesis 1 and many later sections, particularly genealogies and lists. Later critics call this alleged document P, since they say it was written from the viewpoint of the priests. They called their second document J, since it used the name "Jehovah" (which they now write as "Yahweh"). They said that each of these documents was complete in itself.

For many years the original documentary theory was largely superseded by the supplementary theory, which said there was originally one document--the one now called P, which they called E (for Elohist), and that the other material came from a series of supplements, inserted at various times. Eventually the supplementary theory was completely abandoned, being universally replaced by the Graf-Wellhausen theory, which held that the P document and the J document each contained the full story. Thus the claim that each document gives the entire story became important again.

The critics say that there are two complete stories of creation, the P story running from Gen. 1:1 to 2:4 and the J story being the rest of chapter 2.

Someone may ask: "Why on earth do they make the division at 2:4a instead of at the end of a chapter?" Well, you can blame the thirteenth-century archbishop who made the division into chapters. There can be no question that chapter 1 ought to include the first three and one-half verses of chapter 2. Chapter 1 describes the creation of the world. Then chapter 2 describes the creation of man in more detail. The critics say that these are two different accounts of the creation, but chapter 2 says nothing about the creation of light, of sun, moon and stars, of the animal world, etc. It is like the beginning of an atlas, which might start with a map of the world, followed by a map of North America. Section 1 describes the creation of the universe, and section 2 the creation of man. There is overlapping, but each contains much that is not in the other. Already at this point the idea of two complete parallel

accounts breaks down.

After Gen. 2:4a the P document jumps to chapter 5. All but one verse of chapter 5 is assigned to P. They say that P is particularly interested in genealogy, so they assign this chapter to P, but they assign v. 29 to J, as it contains the name Jehovah. This verse reads: [Now continue from A on p. 4 of the material you sent me, Substitute what I have typed above for the first two and one-half pages of that material. Then keep the material from A on p. 4, making the changes I have indicated but insert the following between the end of p. 7 and the beginning of p. 8:]

At an early time critics decided that a large part of the E document (which they now call P) really had a style more like that of J than that of Gen. 1. So beginning at Gen. 20 they called this material "the second Elohist" and eventually simply called it E. There are some who give a [Now continue with the second line on p. 8.]

I do not think you will find it hard to make the changes and insertions I have indicated, which, I believe, will tremendously improve this material.

It was a treat to see you when you came out. Do come again soon!

Cordially yours in Christ,

which definitely and clearly proves it. If there was, there would not be a problem.

I think he must have a mistake. He marks the first part of verse 28 as Elohist and he marks verse 36 as from the J document. I want to check that with some other critical book. He could easily could have made a mistake at that particular point. Moffatt's Bible has J in italics and P in regular print.

The critics agree substantially on what is P, but there distinctions between J and P often differ. Student: "Moffatt says that he tries to arrange the material in chronological order." AAM: " Yes. Moffatt does quite a bit of that sort of thing, but I do not think he does it really systematically. He introduces this critical theory at this very point, but after all, he says he is trying to give us a translation of the Bible."

note: PE 49-50 was on April 2, PE 63-64 was on April 16, but classes on April 8 and 9 are omitted (or PE 51-62) and presently mislocated.

See 1962

Put D. Arg. from Style here from 1962?

Many students have been taught by their professors when they were in school that all scientists believe that evolution is true, but on the details of what they think is true, at least what is true on a particular matter, there would probably be nine or ten different opinions, differing sharply from one another. Yet that sort of an argument has more weight with people than almost any other. People do not like to be thought of as different or as queer in any way. If they are told that all scholars agree, that is the greatest possible statement there can be, as far as the subconscious mind of most people is concerned, and that is what you will find in most of our universities, when anything is taught about the Bible. In almost every seminary in the world that is over fifty years old you will find it taught that the Higher Criticism is what all scholars believe, so it must be true. If a person does not believe it, he is a queer person with a peculiar attitude. Yet we should realize that "all the thinking people in the world" have at various times agreed on matters which have later been proven to be completely false. In the times of the Greeks there were those who believed that the sun was the center of the universe, but from the end of the Greek period until the time of Copernicus most of the world had given up the old Greek idea that the world is round--the idea which is reflected in the statements in the Old Testament--and assumed that the world was flat. During the Middle Ages all scholars agreed that the world was flat and that it was the center of the universe. All agreed on it, but that did not prove it. In almost any science you think of, in any branch of sociology, or in any branch of government, theory after theory has been accepted by all at one time and then proven to be utterly false. Actually, it does not make any difference, what the bulk of people think. The question is: what is thought by those who have access to the facts and have taken time to investigate? In the matter of evolution, what the half of one percent or less of scientists, who have really studied that matter, think is far more important than what is thought by all the rest of the scientists, who are not working that particular field. The important question is not, what does somebody think, but what are the facts. Yet this argument has a great effect upon people's minds and exerts tremendous influence. If you have been brought up to believe a certain thing, you are apt to hold

tenaciously to it, and to feel that it must be right. In matters involved in denominational differences, most people take a certain position because their parents did or because the people with whom they are associated do instead of bothering to look into the facts and examine them for themselves in the light of Scripture. But this was one of the great arguments, that all scholars agree. They said that all scholars agreed that the Pentateuch could be precisely divided between P, J, and E. The claim that all agree was a powerful argument. It had a great effect. I do not think that it is a reasonable argument. You cannot determine truth by counting noses.

I have been discussing, up to this point, the importance of the argument from the consensus of scholarship. Such an argument is less important than it seems to be, but has had a great influence. Now I want to show why it is not really a valid argument.

The first reason I want to give is:

A. ***This agreement has never been perfect.*** After Wellhausen there were still great scholars in Germany who held to the documentary theory and did not accept his theories. You remember that when Hupfeld presented the second Elohist, most scholars thought that this was a retrograde movement. "Why, here you have your clear division with one document using the name God right through; how can you take out this section of the E document from Genesis 20 to Exodus 10?" Of course, today it is agreed by all that the style of E is much nearer to that of J than it is to that of P. But for almost fifty years nearly all your scholars considered that this was a part of the same document as Genesis 1. And, there were a number of great and outstanding scholars who had held those views who continued to hold them after 1878, when Wellhausen wrote his book on the history of Israel in such a beautiful German style, and with such a forceful presentation, and such splendid reasoning. He was such an able writer that practically all of the younger scholars accepted his views, but there still remained older scholars for twenty years after that time who continued tenaciously to hold other views. I do not mean conservative scholars; there were conservative scholars and there will always continue to be, but I mean that among liberal scholars agreement on the exact details of the theory was not complete for twenty years, until the older scholars had died. Then in later years there were a few, but not a great many, who advanced other viewpoints and other theories. For thirty or forty years, the great bulk of scholars held to the theory almost exactly as Wellhausen presented it, but there never was a perfect consensus of scholarship because there always were some men who were liberal in their viewpoint who held to the principle of the documentary theory, but differed in important respects. Among the holders of the Wellhausen theory, the agreement is almost complete as to what constitutes the P document, but as to what is from J and what is from E there has always been variance of opinion. There have always been large sections about which the scholars have been greatly in disagreement as to whether they are from J or whether they are a part of P. Since they were narrative, and not enumerative, all agreed that they belonged to JE and not in P, but not as to whether they were from J or from E. Some would feel very strongly one way, and some would feel very strongly the other way. The consensus has not been complete; not all of the great liberal scholars have accept-

ed the Wellhausen theory and it has never been complete as to the distinction between J and E. There have always been vital differences among the scholars.

The agreement is not so perfect as they make out, though there is a very great agreement. There has been a very close agreement among the great majority of the scholars, but I am simply saying that the argument is not as strong as it is generally made out to be.

Dillmann held to the Supplementary theory rather than to the changes introduced by Wellhausen, and Dillmann continued to be one of the great critical scholars in Germany until about 1900. The consensus of scholarship argued in this fashion: The question is, is it possible to take this book and divide it up into the documents which originally existed separately? Then they say, "It must be possible because all these scholars agree on the details and they come to the same conclusion."

You cannot determine whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch or not by counting noses. You will find that a great number of scholars agree in saying that Moses did not write the Pentateuch. But that does not prove that he did not.

If you were to pick six different people here in this room, and you were to say, "Here is a hymn in the hymnal which says, 'Major D. W. Whittle, James McGraham.'" You used to think that meant that James McGraham wrote the music and Whittle wrote the words. Actually, it means that Whittle wrote part of it and McGraham wrote part of it, and they have been combined into one poem. Then I might say, McGraham writes in a very flowing style, with very beautiful English, but Whittle writes in choppy, jerky English. Now take all the flowing sections and take all the choppy sections, and put each group of sections together and see if you do not have two different poems. If I were to give this poem to six different people and say, ~~You~~ divide it up, and if each of them would work separately for an hour and they would then come back and we would find that they had made exactly the same divisions, that would be a rather good argument that there were such criteria in the poem, since different people acting independently would recognize them and find them. Then if all the rest who had not studied the matter would raise their hands and say whether they would agree or disagree, that would not prove anything one way or the other. If great thinkers working independently reach the same conclusion on a division, it is a ~~pretty~~ strong evidence for the criteria being what they say they are. That is the argument for consensus of scholarship, that all these great scholars agree that you can take out of the P document and the J and the E and show that the characteristics are there.

The consensus is not perfect and never was. That is our first point. Our second point is a little more complex than this one, but is worth noting: it is our contention that this consensus shows not the truth of the hypothesis but its most defensible form. ~~This is a somewhat complex~~ argument, but I think it is worth noting.

They started with the basis that Genesis 1 and Genesis 2 are distinct documents. Starting with that basis, or with the obvious facts that two different names of God were used; then going through it and trying to arrange it according to the names of God, you have your original law, the Elohim document going all through; thus claiming to find

a separate document; the E document. Then the second Elohist--a document that had a style now said to be more like J than like the former Elohist (later called P) even though for fifty years nearly all the critical scholars considered that it was part of the P document.

Given this starting point, what arrangement can you make? You take a certain verse and you say, "This verse has the name Jehovah in it, therefore it must be part of the J document. On the other hand, you say if you take this verse out of the passage, which is a P passage, it just does not make sense. Now what are you going to do? Are you going to take it out and have the passage make no sense? Or are you going to say that the word Jehovah was put in by a redactor? It is easy to see that you will have a consensus soon that the word Jehovah was put in by a redactor. There may be some discussion about it for awhile, but what has been done by hundreds of men, spending hundreds of hours, and working over every word of the Pentateuch, has been to determine the most defensible form of the theory. It is not that this is necessarily correct, but it is the attempt to construct something along these lines and they have probably constructed the best arrangement that can be worked out ~~along these lines~~, and yet we have found that it is far from perfect. Very far from perfect. So the consensus shows, not the truth of the hypothesis, but its most defensible form. The third consideration under V is:

C. ***Variation of Critical positions***

Critical positions varied widely until 1878 when Wellhausen's Development Theory fixed it in a definite form. You remember that before that we have the Supplementary Theory which Ewald presented and then he presented his Crystallization Theory ~~and~~ while others did not like ~~that~~. Some accepted Hupfeld's Theory and some tried to hold to the original Supplementary Theory. There was a great variety of critical theories during that period, even though the Supplementary Theory was the dominant theory for nearly fifty years. But positions varied greatly until 1878. Only then ~~began~~ did this great argument of Consensus of Scholarship, in 1878, and the reason for it is not simply that the most defensible system of having distinct documents had been worked out, but that it was united with the theory of evolution--with the idea that you could show progress from one document to the other--and thus account for the origin of the idea of ethical monotheism contained in the Bible. It was its union with the development theory which fit it into a definite form. After 1878 it was held much more widely than any critical theory had been held before ~~more~~ than all critical theories ~~together~~ were held ~~before~~, because there were added to it, not only those who were interested in trying to divide the Pentateuch into different documents, but also all of those who were interested in the evolutionary problem, in trying to account on a naturalistic basis for the coming into existence of the ideas of monotheism and of the Christian religion. Therefore there was this great number of people who knew nothing about the documentary division, but who were greatly concerned with showing that a naturalistic process could account for Christian ideas. So it was union of this theory with the developmental idea which caused its adoption in a definitely fixed and crystallized form which, from 1878 until about 1920, was the view held by the overwhelming majority of critical scholars. Even today it is the view to which practically all of them give lip

service, even though the consensus on its details is far less today than it was previously and leads us to point D.

D. Recent Archaeological studies

Recent archeological studies have forced such changes so as to violently disrupt the former critical unity.

As far back as 1929, when I first met Professor Albright in Jerusalem, I remember that on the very first day after I met him, he was discussing with me the attitude of German scholarship toward the Pentateuch, and he said, "There are now only two orthodox Wellhausenists in Germany, and they are not orthodox." In other words, while all the scholarly world today gives lip service to the Wellhausen Theory as they do to the Darwinian Theory of Evolution, the details of the Darwinian Theory of Evolution have been almost completely given up. The Wellhausen theory has not been given up to nearly as great an extent or changed nearly as much as the evolutionary theory has been, but at point after point, archaeological evidence has shown that parts of the material found do not fit the critical theory at all. During the past thirty years all first-hand scholars--men who do not simply take over from someone else, but who really study a matter themselves and have sufficient knowledge and background actually to work into the subject, even though holding to the Wellhausen theory as true, have been trying to fit this archaeological material in. So they say, "Yes, this material here in the P document is true, and must have come from a very early time." Of course, they would say, "we know that the P document was written at the time of the exile, so this material must have been passed down very accurately from the very earliest time." Someone else will say, "No, I do not believe that part, but here is another part that must be early."

In 1929, one day when I was riding down the Jordan Valley on horseback with Dr. Albright and Professor Jirku of the University of Breslau in Germany, they were discussing Genesis 14--a chapter which, according to the Wellhausen theory is late and not at all reliable--and one of them said, "You know, I do not think the Wellhausen theory is entirely correct about this chapter." Then he would refer to a number of verses that he was sure had come from the earliest times. "So," he said, "while the chapter as a whole is late, this portion is clearly early." But the other scholar would say, "I do not follow your reasoning there. Those points you mention I do not consider dependable at all; they are just later imaginings. But look at these other points. I am sure that these come from an early time and have been handed down correctly." Thus each of them was sure there was early material in the chapter, but one thought it was a certain section and the other thought it was a different section. Each was trying to reconstruct the Wellhausen theory to fit the archaeological evidence, while keeping to its main structure, and each of them was reconstructing it in a different way. Thus during the last thirty years the consensus has been greatly disrupted by the attempts of first-class scholars to fit in the archaeological material at various places. The great masses of so-called scholars, who are not really first-hand scholars, but those who simply take over the material taught them by others, keep on teaching the Wellhausen theory as established fact.

We have seen that the arguments for the Higher Criticism do not work

out consistently. ~~No one~~ None of them is adequate to prove the hypothesis that you have here a number of documents fit together, as the Graf-Wellhausen Theory claims. No one of them is adequate to prove it, nor do all of them together prove it. The whole approach of partition, which was so commonly applied to all ancient documents a century ago, is now given up except for this one book where it is still applied by the critics. They apply it to many portions of the Old Testament and also of the New Testament.

Actually, the reason it has remained in the study of the Pentateuch, is the fact that the Graf-Wellhausen Theory combined it with the idea of development. They claim that they can show through these documents how the biblical ideas came into existence; that there was one God and that Israel was His people, and that ~~there was one~~ God ~~who~~ had certain great ethical principles which He demanded. They claim that the evolution is visible before us through these documents, as we see the development from one document to the other. This was said to be especially true of the law, but it was claimed that it could also be seen in the historical documents and in the narrative portion. Thus, they claim that this offers an explanation on natural grounds for the existence of the Bible and of the religion of Israel.

But we have seen that the matter of partition is not proven, and we have seen varying weaknesses in the whole method. Of course, this does not disprove that there might have been such a method used. It would have been entirely conceivable that someone should have taken different documents and combined them together, though it is a bit strange that these different documents should exist and we should have no record of them. There is no evidence of their existence, but it is not inconceivable. There might have been such documents and they might have been combined. So even if there is not sufficient evidence to prove partition, that does not prove there was no partition.

You would be very foolish to believe something simply because you cannot prove the contrary, especially since you cannot divide any other ancient document and be sure of your division, unless you have evidence elsewhere regarding it. There is no instance that I know of where anything can be proven which parallels the critical theory of the union of these documents, and certainly not to the whole theory.

Yet, if you would divide it along these literary grounds and then could really see the development along historical and evolutionary lines, that would naturally constitute a strong argument for the reality of partition, so this is doubtless one of the principal motivating forces in leading people to accept the theory. More than that, it is one of the motivating forces which kept the theory intact for so many years. Previous to that new ones would come up with all sorts of variety of theories that as to the order of the documents, as to their arrangements, and as to the particular section they belong in. But once you have this development, you have something which is very appealing to the mind that is seeking a natural explanation of things. So it is important that we look at the arguments for development.

The critics claim that the documents, as arranged, show a development and that this development corresponds to the historical facts. Carpenter divides it into the development within the documents as regards to religious ideas and the development as regards religious

institutions. We will look first at the development regarding religious ideas.

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VI. ***The Developmental Hypothesis***

This is the argument for development. We have just been speaking of the great importance of this phase of the criticism.

A. ***Summary of the Argument for Development***

We do not need to spend much time on the Summary, because I have assigned you a good bit of reading about the argument for development --some recently and some awhile ago.

It is claimed that they can show development along these two lines--religious ideas and religious institutions--though religious ideas is the one most commonly understood or thought of. If proved, religious ideas is the one which would be the most vital of the two. The principal feature about development within the document with regard to religious ideas is the claim that in J and somewhat less in E, God is dealt with as is He were a man. In Genesis 2 and 3, we find that God fashioned man and that He breathed the breath of life into his nostrils. We find that God planted a garden and placed the man there. We find that God opened the side of the man and closed it after he had taken out a portion of his side. We find that He walked in the garden in the cool of the day. We find in Genesis 7 and 8 that He shut Noah into the ark. We find after the flood story that He smelled the sacrifice. We find in 11:5 that He comes down and sees what the children of men are doing. We find that in Exodus 4:24 He meets Moses and seeks to slay him. In Exodus 14:25 He takes off the chariot wheels of the Egyptians. These phrases are used to show God performing activities such as you would expect a person to perform, and using the terms such as would be used of a human being. They say that in P you do not find so much of that sort of thing. Driver says of P that its representations of God are less anthropomorphic than those of J or even of E. No angels are mentioned by him. Driver says that P does speak of God as "appearing to men" and "going up from men" at important moments of history, but that P gives no further description of God's appearance. Usually in P the revelation of God to men takes the form of simple speaking to them. Only in the supreme revelation on Sinai is He described as manifesting Himself in the form of fire and speaking with Moses as man to man in order that the people may recognize Him. This difference is claimed particularly between P and J. ~~Right here~~ we ask ourselves this question: What is the difference between P and J? What they assign to P consists mainly of tabular material, enumeration of statistics, and rules for sacrifice. They assign practically all the narrative material either to J or to E. The difference between J and P is a difference in type of material, so naturally there is that difference. How often would you expect to have anthropomorphic pictures or anthropomorphic expressions in a list of names, an enumeration of kings, or a list of requirements for sacrifice? It would not naturally occur in the type of material that they assign to P. Wherever you find anthropomorphic expressions, it is almost certain to be narrative.

At this point

Yes, *anthropomorphic* is "in the form of a man"; that is, it describes God as doing things like a man would do them. Anthropomorphic describes God as having the feelings a man would have, such as being happy, being

sad, or being grieved. Now where would you get these in genealogical tables, in lists of events, in enumeration of the dimensions of the tabernacle, or in accounts of the way in which the sacrifices were to be performed?

Numbers 6 has a long list of sacrifices that were given. Then chapter 7 tells about the offerings made by the princes of the different tribes. It tells you exactly what each gave, word for word. The same list is repeated a dozen times, almost word for word. It is the tabulation style. You notice that the list of the offerings of the different tribes is repeated twelve times. That is not the style of J or of E, but of P. It is enumeration or tabulation. The previous chapter gave the rules of the Nazarite--what he can eat and what he cannot eat--all the detailed ceremonial law. Then in chapter 6:22-27 we read, "And the Lord spoke unto Moses saying, Speak unto Aaron and unto his sons, saying, On this wise ye shall bless the children of Israel, saying unto them, The LORD bless thee, and keep thee. The LORD make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee. The LORD lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel and I will bless them." Now what could be more anthropomorphic than this? "The LORD make his face shine upon thee." "The LORD lift up his face upon thee and give thee peace." There is nothing more anthropomorphic anywhere in the Pentateuch than this. Yet the critics recognize this as part of the P document! I have not found a single book that suggests that it is not a part of the P document, though it is as anthropomorphic as anything there is anywhere in the Bible. I looked this morning at Addis. He has a footnote which says, "Although this is part of the P document, you note the style of this and it does not sound a bit like P. Probably it was taken from one of the Psalms in the P document." Then I looked at Gray, in the *International Critical Commentary*, and he says, "This is part of the P document, but it must have been taken from some other writing." He does not say it was incorporated from something else, but that it is part of the P document which is combined with the others.

If you are going to go through and say, "Let us take every place where it speaks of God in anthropomorphic language and put it out here, and take all the places where it does not and put it here, then just look at the progress." Here you have a document that has anthropomorphisms and here you have one that does not. You could go through the telephone directory and take all the numbers that have seven in them and put them on this side and take all those which do not and put them on that side, and say, "Just look at the sharp differentiation! All of these have seven in them and all these do not." Well, of course, that is not quite what they have done. They have taken the enumerated material and put it with P. They have taken the narrative material and put it in J or E. And when you get done with that, you naturally do not find anthropomorphisms to any great extent in P. But you do occasionally, as here, find something of that kind. ~~Well now~~, if you want, you can say, "Well then, where you find them, they do not belong in P, and when you do that, it is just exactly as I said: if you take all the numbers with sevens out and say they do not belong here and then say that there are no numbers here that have sevens in them." ~~It is reasoning in a circle. It is~~ reasoning in a circle, but the idea that you have a development in religious ideas is

one which rests upon taking the material of two different styles as far as J and P are concerned. But if you compare J and E the difference in style between J and E is very slight; the principal way to distinguish it is the difference between the use of divine names and that is not followed consistently. As you notice, there are sections of considerable length where no divine names occur, and in them other criteria have to be taken. The principal one is to try to get a complete story in each case and then to cut out of each words which are said to be characteristic of the other.

The usage of divine names is absolutely no use after the early part of Exodus. You see how wonderful the argument sounds. Take all the Jehovahs and put them over here and take the parts using God and put them here and you have two documents. As a matter of fact, out of the five books in the Pentateuch there are not more than one and a quarter in which this feature is of any use whatever. And in that one and a quarter the material from Genesis 20 on is practically all given to J or to E. So, as to dividing J and P, almost the only place where it is of much use is Genesis 1-20. Yet the general impression people have is that it is simply a matter of divine names and that on this as a wonderful clue you can divide it right up. Well, it does not work that way!

B. ***The Argument as Regards Religious Institutions***

This is where the development arguments seem to have their greatest strength, so it is important to remember and to understand.

The claim is that you have primitive ideas of God and then more advanced ideas of God and then still more advanced ideas of God, but when you examine your documents J, E, D, and P as to ideas of God you find that the difference between J and E is very, very difficult to prove, and D is exhortation. In exhortation narrative is ~~almost~~ lacking and there is not much occasion for anthropomorphisms. So the real argument rests on the difference between J and P, and everything else is incidental. As far as that is concerned, J is narrative and P is enumeration. That difference would inevitably bring such a difference as this. I am sure you would find far more anthropomorphisms in, let us say, Fox's Book of Martyrs than you would in the Constitution of the United States, for instance. Far more! The Constitution of the United States is a set of laws. You do not have narrative in the Constitution, describing men's relation to God, but you do have it in Fox's Book of Martyrs, so you will have far more anthropomorphisms and more anthropomorphic passages in Fox's Book of Martyrs than in the Constitution of the United States. There is a difference in subject matter.

~~The second argument~~ from Religious Institutions is the one upon which the real argument rests because here we have definite facts, and it is claimed that these facts show a development, and that this development corresponds to history: that you find that in the history of Israel it works out this way, that one of these documents reflects the way people did their institutions at one time, and another one reflects the way they did it at a later time. Many of the arguments in this area are quite involved, so that, while they might strengthen a person's belief in the theory after they have come to accept it, they are not much of a basis on which to build a theory. Actually the argument boils down primarily to two main institutions and the outworking of these two

institutions. As you have noticed, they are both specifically connected with sacrifice, the place of sacrifice, and the persons who performed the sacrifice.

I have assigned you material concerning sacrifice two or three different times, so you surely have the main ideas in mind. I assigned you a section in Carpenter, and I asked you to put great stress in your study on everything relating to the place of sacrifice. The other thing which Carpenter stressed was the change in the place of sacrifice, particularly in relation to asylum. You remember that Carpenter said, before the time of Josiah they had altars on the high places all over the land. And therefore it was unnecessary to have any particular place of asylum, that is, of refuge, a person who was in great danger could run to the altar and would be safe. Nobody could touch him. But once you destroyed all the altars except one, a person could not very well run all the length of Palestine to the altar in Jerusalem to get protection and therefore they then established cities of refuge at different places in the land, so that they would have a place to which to run for asylum. So it is really part of the argument on the place of sacrifice, that at the time of Josiah there was a change to provide cities of refuge, to make it possible for people to have a substitute for what the altar had provided for them. I am going to skim over very hastily the arguments that Carpenter gives about these religious institutions on page 82. Some of those mentioned are much more important than others. First, he says J and E have sacrifice by the heads of families. They can perform sacrifices, and they can do this at any place where God appears. We have Abram coming into the land, he is the head of the family, he sacrifices here and there and elsewhere, but usually he builds an altar establishing a place. It was not just anywhere. But, they say, "in P you do not have any record of sacrifice by heads of families before the time of Moses, nor do you have any record in P of sacrifice being here and there and wherever." That is an undeniable fact, because the critics assign to J and E all the places that mention sacrifice before the time of Moses. They are narrative--not tabulation, nor lists, so of course, P has no sacrifice before God established it. It seems rather peculiar that they would seriously give this argument, because, after all, according to their conception of P (if there was such a thing) surely P would not think that sacrifice just began out of nothing at Sinai and that before that there never was any sacrifice--it is just unbelievable that the P writers would ever have thought such a thing. If sacrifice was as vital as they considered it to be, or they would not have included their long lists of rules of sacrifice, they certainly would have considered that at the time of Abraham there would have been some kind of sacrifice. But they put all the accounts of sacrifice in J and E, and then say that P never mentions pre-Mosaic sacrifice. Well there is no occasion for it to do so. Sacrifice does not enter into enumerations and lists.

Then, concerning the place of sacrifice, we are told that J and E have sacrifice anywhere that God appears, but that D has sacrifice forbidden except at that one place that God designates, and that P assumes sacrifice at only one place. Now you should notice how, in most of these cases, the claim that there is progress between the documents boils down to where it is actually only in two documents that they claim to find progress! P does not say anything about sacrificing at one

place, but they say that P assumes sacrifice at one place. It just takes it for granted! Actually it is questionable that J and E say that you can sacrifice anywhere that God appears and D says you must sacrifice only in the place which God permits. Of course, as a matter of fact, D is Moses giving instruction to the people for entering Canaan, and when they go into Canaan, God could choose, if he desired, that in Canaan there should be one place where they should sacrifice, to show the unity of the people and to keep them together in their relation to Him. There would be no point in making such a regulation before that time. Why should you make a rule that you can ~~only~~ sacrifice in only one place when you are still in the wilderness? They are around the sanctuary. They are scattered here and there, but they have their headquarters where Moses is, and sacrifice is naturally in one place. That one place moves--the tabernacle may be here now and a week later it may be over there. In another week it has gone further, and so it keeps moving, and as it keeps moving, it is naturally in different places.

It is a very good rule, when any of the higher critics make a statement, not to accept that statement without looking up the facts and seeing whether they have correctly read the facts. Very often the argument simply disappears when you look at the facts. That is very frequently the case. In this case their argument is that sacrifice could be made anywhere that the Lord put His name--anywhere that God appeared. That is based on Exodus 20:24, which the earliest critics put in the J document, but which the Graf-Wellhausen theory and most of the subsequent views put in the E document. There in Exodus 20:24 we read, "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me, and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt-offerings, and thy peace-offerings, thy sheep, and thine oxen; in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee. And if thou wilt make me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of hewn stone; for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it." Does that say that they can sacrifice anywhere God appeared? It does not say that. Read the words exactly. It does not say you can make an altar any place where I record my name. It does not say that at all. He says,"in all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee." As the narrative stands, this is at Sinai in the beginning of the wilderness journey. God is prescribing what kind of an altar they shall make--it stands to reason that they are going to sacrifice to Him and they are going to sacrifice at different places because they are moving through the wilderness, camping here and there. When the people are all together and united under Moses' direction, there is no point in discussing whether they can sacrifice at one place or at many. Inevitably, it is at the one place, the head-quarters where Moses is, and that moves from one place to the next. Carpenter says about this that "The place, according to one conception, is as important as the person. The patriarchs of J and E felt no reserve in this matter: wherever the LORD or Elohim appeared." This view is embodied in the earliest legislative rule, Exodus 24. He says that this rule cannot possibly be lived in the period preceding the construction of the desert sanctuary, for it is announced as of universal application. It receives its historical interpretation only in connection with the usage of Israel in Canaan. But D lays down a very different principle. The Deuteronomic code opens in chapter 12 with the demand that all local

sanctuary shall be abolished and sacrifice restricted only to the single place which the LORD shall choose. Deuteronomy 12:5: "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 thou shalt come, and thither you shall bring your burnt offerings and your sacrifice." Carpenter continues, "The permission which is thus expressly granted in Exodus 24, is here withdrawn. Now does that fit the statement? The worshiper may only remember the LORD in a single spot. That which was legalized in Sinai is denounced in Moab." You see how he insisted that there is such a change. Yet it does not say what the critics say it does! If you take what it does say, or even what they said it says, in the context as the book stands, there is no contradiction whatever. It simply describes the wilderness situation!

I think that we can safely say that the book which Josiah found in the temple either was Deuteronomy or was the Pentateuch which included Deuteronomy. So Deuteronomy was available then. Of course the critics claim that it originated at that time and that the other had originated earlier and that there is a sharp contradiction between them.

The most difficult argument of the criticism--the strongest argument they have--is the argument from history.

The laws as they stand, are not what he says they are! It does not say that you can sacrifice anywhere that God places His name! It does not say that at all. There in the wilderness, the Lord tells Moses what to do. He describes the kind of altar to make, and in the course of describing it He says, "In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee." He is certainly not saying where they are to make altars! He is assuming that as they travel through the wilderness they will make altars at different places and He is saying that in all the places where He records His name He will come and bless them. He is not saying where you may build at all! But He is assuming that they will build in different places while going through the wilderness where it would be only reasonable to expect they would build them at various places. He is not saying whether they would be restricted to one place after they go into Canaan or not. As the picture stands here it is a picture of a united people with one altar. Even though the place of the altar moves there is always one altar. There is not a word in J or in E or in any other document to suggest that the Israelites, as a nation in the wilderness ever had two altars at the same time. Until the brazen altar was built they were all in one place. Until the brazen altar was built they would build an altar of earth or an altar of stone. It is assumed that there is one central place of sacrifice, whether it meant just one altar or two altars, there was one place of sacrifice.

When they came out of the garden they built an altar, and when Abraham came into the land they built an altar. They built altars at various places. As Abraham went about, if he was going to stay in one place for awhile, he would build an altar and make sacrifices. Cain and Abel made sacrifices. There is no reason to have a command to [illegible] altar only in a certain place until there is a large nation, [illegible] God in the midst of a heathen world, where [illegible] that they would forget God and be [illegible] was in order that they be [illegible] that the

[illegible] to keep the worship centralized in one place, in order [illegible] under control. It would not mean that it had to have been that way before that time.

Carpenter says the permission which is thus expressly granted Exodus 20 is here withdrawn. He argues that there is a certain [illegible] the types of sacrifice. You could spend quite [illegible] time trying to investigate this in detail, but I do not think that it is definite enough to be worth spending [illegible] time endeavoring to see if [illegible] argument or not. I do not think you would find [illegible] would be simple enough and clear enough to constitute [illegible] an argument.

Of course, the basic thing is the ministry at the sanctuary. Who was the priest? Carpenter says that there is no special priesthood in JE but that in D the priesthood is made up of the Levites. He says that Deuteronomy speaks constantly of the Levitical priests, but that in P the priesthood is limited to Aaron and his house. That is supposed to show the development. In J and E there is no special priesthood; in D there are the Levites; and in P there is Aaron. As far as the law is concerned it is true that the full detailed law of the setting apart of the priests is in P and that is exactly where you would expect it to be. There is no need for the great bulk of the people to be familiar with it. There is no need for Moses to give it in his exhortation. Why should Moses say that they must be sure that the priest is selected from the family of Aaron? That is a matter which is done at the headquarters. It is a matter that all the people would be familiar with. He might have chosen to talk about it, but he did not. He talked to them about their relations with the priests.

We want briefly to review what it is that we are talking about. It is very easy to place our attention on details to the point where we forget what the real question is: as the Pentateuch stands, does it make a reasonable unit? Does it sound like something which was written just as it is, that will give us a reasonable story? Or is it a collection of material, disagreeing with itself, contradicting itself, and showing that it very evidently is just a hodgepodge of stuff put together. Is it possible to divide it into original sources which were put together in this hodgepodge sort of arrangement? Or were the original sources put together in a clear, logical, reasonable arrangement? In such a case there would have to be so many changes in them that it is highly questionable whether anybody could ever tell what the original sources might have been. The claim is that there are such clear marks of contradiction between different sections, and of development and growth between different sections, that you can see that different documents were combined representing the ideas of different times. As it stands today, you have the story in Genesis. In this story you have the creation of the world and of man before Abraham, but most of the book is dealing with Abraham and his family--his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. In this account we find that they were given certain promises by God, that God had certain dealings with them, that they journeyed through the land of Palestine, that they sacrificed to God at various places. Now if we divide the story into two documents and put all the cases of sacrifice into one of them, then we find we now have two documents, in which one has no case of sacrifice, and it is said that

there is a contradiction, that in one account Abraham sacrificed and in the other account he did not sacrifice. Of course in that case it would be that way because he has put all the incidents involving sacrifice into one document. As a matter of fact, practically everything that is put into the P document is before Genesis 20, and it does not contain over a fifth of the whole story of the Patriarchs.

Then you go on to Exodus, and you find the story of how these people were in Egypt, and God called them out of Egypt, brought them out into the desert, and set them apart as a people for his own name. Yet you read that as He rescued them from Egypt and led them through the wilderness, they constantly rebelled against Him. He gradually developed a system by which He led them through the wilderness and into the Promised Land and showed them the sort of life He wanted them to live in the Promised Land. He gave them a very brief law at the beginning of the wilderness journey, in Exodus 20. In Exodus 20-23 He gave them a brief statement of the law which He wished them to observe. Then in Exodus 24, He made a solemn agreement with them, whereby this law was established and they promised to obey it and follow it. Then He invited Moses to come up into the mountain in order that He would give him further teaching on the details of the law for the people and now He told them how they should set up a detailed system of religious life with the tabernacle. He gave a very full and exact description of all the little details of His building, which were to represent certain great truths about God and His relation to man. Then we read how they built the tabernacle, and most of the details are repeated. Then we read that after he was back in the tabernacle the Lord spoke to him and gave him very full directions as to the exact details of the way in which the priests were to perform their offerings, how the priests should examine people with certain diseases and what they would do in the various festivals. Then Leviticus and Numbers tell about events on the wilderness journey and present details of laws which would have to be remembered by the priests, because nobody else would be expected to remember them. Then Deuteronomy gives Moses' farewell address, spoken just before they would enter Canaan, in which he urges the people to obey the law and stresses some of those aspects that would be most important for them to have in mind when they would enter Canaan. This is a general summary of the picture.

There were three main groups of law. A short presentation of the Ten Commandments was followed by a brief repetition of the testimonies and ordinances that God had given at Sinai at the beginning of the establishment of their religious life. There were also detailed instructions for the priests in carrying out certain parts of the law that required very precise and detailed direction.

There would not be much point in giving the entering class at the Seminary a long lecture exhorting them to follow exactly the right arrangements in marching in to receive their diplomas when they would graduate, telling them in what order they should come in and where they should stand, and so forth. I have been told all that a dozen times and have never remembered it yet. Just before the occasion I always have to ask just how it should be done. Then I do it as I have been told and make no effort to remember it for the next year. It is important that some people have regulations in mind so that they can administer and explain them

at the proper time. And consequently it is not necessary for the great mass of people to know the great bulk of the law, but there are other laws that all the people must know. So we have the three different legal sections. If these three legal sections are arranged in a particular way one can show progress between them. The Book of the Covenant, which is quite brief, stresses matters that it was vital for people to have in mind at the beginning of their covenant relation with God. It involves two types of things. One type involves great eternal truths and eternal laws about their deeds and actions and their relation to God which is vital and should be remembered at all times. This would naturally include a glimpse of their future life in the Promised Land to which God is going to bring them. It would also include emphasis on some matters which ~~was~~ were particularly important for them to have an idea about then, even if they might be more relevant to a later time.

There was a second group, consisting of detailed law that the people could not be expected to remember. Many full and precise details should be known by the priests and could be learned by the people on occasions when they were vital. The priests would be carrying them out constantly. They would have the book before them and could check on the relevant portions of it as needed, and soon would come to know it thoroughly. Then, just before they would go into the Promised Land, there would be laws which would be half-way between the two. I do not know if half-way is a good way to say it, it is definitely between them, but it is not altogether a matter of degree.

The law in the book of Deuteronomy is more like the law of the Covenant than like the laws of the priests. It has very little ~~of details~~ and specifications about the laws that were not necessary for most of the people to know. The law that the people as a whole should know is greatly amplified beyond what was given at the very beginning of their relation to God. In addition it is filled with exhortation. All sorts of arguments are presented, dealing with God's relation to His people in the past and to His promises for the future. He stresses the terrible results of disobedience and the wonderful results of truly following God. There is all sorts of hortatory material, exhorting the people to follow God, now that the wilderness journey is behind them and Canaan just ahead. There is a difference because Canaan is right at hand. If you take the first of these as more or less detailed, and the last as quite a bit more detailed, and then the middle one as extremely detailed, you might show a progression from the simple to the complex. Then, if you compare them, you find that the progress from the simple to the complex applies to a great many details of the laws and to a great many aspects that were only touched on in the Book of the Covenant. Here they are elaborated upon and stressed and driven home with fuller details given in Leviticus or in certain sections of the Covenant. So there can be said to be a progression, but it is not a progression which is the least bit inconsistent with the arrangement of the book as it stands and does not in any way require that the book originated in a different way. The critics assume that the J and E documents were written at the time of Jehoshaphat or a little later, and then combined, and then the D document was composed at the time of Josiah, and the P document at the time of the return from exile. If you assume a development like that, you can use it to try to show a development in the religious attitude of the

people. As far as religious ideas are concerned, the difference relates principally to the narrative, because in the law you do not have much opportunity to find anthropomorphism anyway. It is in the narrative which is given to J that anthropomorphism naturally occurs, so alleged development of ideas of God is almost entirely due to the fact that narrative will naturally contain more such details on it. And exhortations naturally have more than the detailed presentation of ordinances and regulations.

It is claimed that the religious institutions developed with these three laws, that there are striking changes and contradictions among them, and that these changes and contradictions correspond to the actual historical development as it occurred, as knowledge of it can be gleaned from statements in the historical books.

The claim is made that pre-Mosaic sacrifice was observed by J and E and that there is no sacrifice in P, but we notice that this argument is based entirely on the fact that practically all of the narrative material is in J and E. As to the place of sacrifice, the claim is made that in J and E sacrifice was permitted wherever God appeared, but we look at the verse in the Bible and we do not find any such statement. The verse is dealing with the question--what kind of altar it is permissible to make, rather than with the place where it will be. Here God is not describing the specific arrangement of the tabernacle service, but giving general regulations at the beginning of Israelite history. He stresses that it is all right to make an altar of earth, but if you make an altar of stone it must be of unused stone. There must not be hewn stone in the altar that you make. To what does this law apply? It would seem to be given at the beginning of their religious history to meet a certain situation, in opposition to the type of those altars which the Canaanites and Egyptians had. There was to be a difference.

We do not fully know what made it so vital for them to have these regulations about the type of altar they were to make, whenever they were to make altars. When were they to do it? Well, there was a period of a few months before the tabernacle was built. When the tabernacle was finished, were all the sacrifices on the brazen altar? Or were there other altars on which the sacrifices for this great number of people were to be performed? With the people wandering through the wilderness, they would naturally be at the central headquarters where Moses and Aaron were supervising. The question of where you are to build altars is not something that the people needed to worry about at the time. It could have been conceivable that God would tell the people that every head of a family was to build an altar for his family and to sacrifice on it. In such a case you would expect a certain regulation of the type of sacrifice they were to give. We find nothing of the kind in JE at all! In the law here in JE "an altar of stone was to be built" and if you make an altar of stone it is to be of undressed stone, not of stone that is chiseled down. The way the regulation was given it seems to be given not for each individual, but what is to be expected of the nation as a whole. Now, of course, even in later times the nation would be torn with wars, the people would be scattered, so there were particular reasons why it was necessary to guard the building of altars in particular places. It might then be a matter of providing that people in such circumstances would recall what kind of an altar was described. So it might be valuable

for them or not, we cannot say, but we can guess as to what purpose might be involved. But you notice it does not say that all the different tribes are to go out in the wilderness a slight distance from the main encampment and build their own altars. There is no suggestion of any such thing. It is establishing the type of altar which may be built. In the midst of this statement as to the type of altar which was to be built, it says "in every place where I record my name I will bless thee." To say that this statement proves that it was the meaning of this law that people could build an altar anywhere they wanted we are certainly reading something into it that is not in the command in Exodus 22 or in Exodus 20:24. Yet notice what Carpenter says of Deuteronomy 12:5 which says, "in the place which the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put His name there. There you will burn your burnt offerings and sacrifices." He says, "The permission which is expressly granted in Exodus 20:24 is here taken away." "Expressly granted!" Is God specially granting, when He says, "An altar of earth thou shalt make unto me and shalt sacrifice thereon thy burnt offering and thy peace offering and thy sheep and thine ox; in every place where I have caused my name to be remembered I will come unto thee and I will bless thee"? Does that express to them a permission to make altars wherever He appears? Certainly that is reading a great deal into the statement! He interprets it utterly differently from what the statement actually says! That is a very important point in this whole matter. In the parallel passages, you will find two or three cases where you have forms which seem very similar and which look like parallel passages, yet coincidences happen in life. When people have certain characteristics these characteristics are apt to work themselves out in much the same way in different circumstances. But then you have a good many other cases, where there is an alleged parallel, where you find on close examination that it is no parallel at all, but something that is not there is read into it. Here in the case of the law--let us watch closely whether the alleged contradiction is actually there. Actually, it sounds altogether different from the impression you get from what he says. There is not law given, and there is not permission expressly granted here. Only by a certain twisting of ideas might what he says be derived from this verse. Now, how about P? They say that P assumes sacrifice in only one place. Really, P does not say you can sacrifice anywhere you want, and neither does J or E. Here are three laws of which one says, as they are about to go into Canaan: do not sacrifice here and here and all over the land; bring your sacrifices to the place which God designates--which He sets forth as the place where you are to sacrifice. You have that in one and not in the other two, so you say you see a progress. You say that the first one permits it everywhere, when it does not at all; that the second restricts it, and that the third one takes this restriction for granted. You see how the alleged progress of three reduces itself entirely to a matter of an emphasis on unity of an altar in one law and the fact that there is a statement which can be twisted in such a way as to give an impression which might be thought to be different.

AAM: "Yes, Deuteronomy 12:5. It is very important to remember that chapter--Deuteronomy 12. I am not so particular that you remember that it is verse 5, but you certainly should remember Exodus 20:24. Deuteronomy 12 is the chapter which stresses in more than one verse the

order that there is to be one center of worship in the land to which they are coming. That is expressed in this chapter."

Many of the critical books on Deuteronomy make you think that the stipulation that they sacrifice at one place is the whole purpose of the book of Deuteronomy. Actually, you find little if any reference to it outside of this chapter. But you do find in this chapter several exhortations from Moses to the people that after they come into the land of Canaan, they are not to establish tribal altars. The strongest argument of the critics is the argument from history. There were sacrifices at different places; but as Mr. Mazurek pointed out, we do have, on the other hand, very strong evidence there that there was a great feeling that Jerusalem is the place to worship. Jeroboam wanted to stop this feeling, and he was long before the time of Josiah!

The argument from history is a very involved one. We will have to go over it a bit hurriedly, though it is very important. Right now I want to look further on this question of alleged development within the document. You notice there that as far as the place of sacrifice is concerned, the evidence of the alleged one, two, three, and four developments from simple to complex is really non-existent. As far as such a development is concerned, you only have one of them stressing something that the others did not stress. It is quite natural that Moses would stress something when they went into Canaan which there would have been no point in stressing forty years earlier, before they went into Canaan. There are a number of matters which related to the claim that the worship was not centralized before the time of Josiah. One of them is the claim that before that time a fugitive could run to one of the altars and be safe, but that since Deuteronomy took it away this possibility was necessary to provide something else, and that consequently, Deuteronomy provided Cities of Refuge, scattered through the land. It was impossible that every man who might be in great danger of his life, to run all the way to Jerusalem, unless he happened to be in that neighborhood. The critics say that cities of refuge were established to take the place of the asylum which had been provided by the various altars.

Another argument is based on the regulations allowing the Levites to come to Jerusalem, and saying how they are to be treated. Some critics say that the Levites had been conducting these altars all through the land and now they are being deprived of their livelihood and so they are being given a chance to go to Jerusalem to serve there. As the teaching of the Scripture stands, the service of the main sanctuary is in the hands of the Levites, but there are other Levites who live in cities which are set apart for them throughout the land. It would seem quite reasonable, as they approached Canaan, that Moses might say what would happen if some of the Levites would like to come to the main headquarters, and enter into the service of the sanctuary there as all of them had been doing to some extent during the wilderness journey.

The cities of refuge are mentioned in a number of places, in the book of Deuteronomy and also in Numbers. Of course, the critics assume that the statements in Numbers belong to the P document. The cities of refuge are already in E and are simply continued in P. One wonders why they would continue in P if they were already established, though of course, that might suggest the need. In the Book of the Covenant there

and P have them? Does this prove then that there must be a development?

There are cities of refuge in D and P and none in JE. How does that prove that the cities of refuge are introduced because the altars are taken away? Is there some other reason why the cities of refuge are introduced? Is it strange when God made an original covenant with the people at Sinai He did not specify in that law that they were to have

There are cities of refuge in D and P and none in JE. How does that prove that the cities of refuge are introduced because the altars are taken away? Is there some other reason why the cities of refuge are introduced? Is it strange when God made an original covenant with the people at Sinai He did not specify in that law that they were to have cities of refuge in Canaan? Why do they need them? They were camped in the wilderness, all in one central place. If difficulties came up it was easy to appeal to Moses. It was easy to run to the central sanctuary if necessary, to the headquarters where Moses and the leaders were. We can be sure that if a man came running there in fear of his life, the leaders of the people would protect him until they had investigated the case. There was no need of cities of refuge. There would have been no point in telling people, forty years before they would go into Canaan that they were going to have cities of refuge there. When they were going through the wilderness, there was no need to mention it. The first mention of the cities of refuge comes at the very end of the book of Numbers, when the people had finished the wilderness journey and were encamped in the plains of Moab across the Jordan from Jericho. There God gave Moses commands telling how the land was to be divided after it was conquered, and in connection with this division, He said that in this land they should set aside six cities of refuge. It is a part of the general direction for the arrangement of the land, given just the year before the conquest begins. In Deuteronomy, when Moses exhorts the people to obey the law, it is then very reasonable for him to explain to them the meaning of the cities of refuge. Their position in the Pentateuch is perfectly reasonable as it stands. There is no such thing there as progress from simple to complex to more complex and to still more complex. There are cities of refuge in D and P and none in JE. Why should there be any in JE?

Student: Why is there one place where it says there are to be three cities of refuge and another place where it says there are to be six?

AAM: The original command in Numbers 35 says, "When you pass over Jordan into the land of Canaan, then shall ye build six cities of refuge." Then in Deuteronomy, Moses says, "When the LORD your God shall cut off the nations whose lands the LORD gives you, you shall separate three cities for you in the midst of the land. Divide your land into three parts. The manslayer may flee hither." How does there come to be three here when previously it said there were to be six? Well, in Numbers 35 it says they are to be six cities of refuge and just before that in Numbers 32 it told how the two and a half tribes asked for the land on that side of the Jordan River. At the end of Numbers you read how Moses set apart three cities on the east of Jordan for cities of refuge, and then he said when they conquered the rest of Canaan, west of the Jordan, they should set apart three cities there. So you have your number six all along, but you have three of them designated immediately and then the further command needs only to have regard to the new three. A perfectly reasonable arrangement. But the critics say, "One account has three and one has six, so there is a development! Actually, it is six all along; three of them assigned in land already conquered, and the other three to be set apart in the land that was not yet conquered.

Do the cities of refuge replace the altars? The only statement JE has ~~on~~ it is ~~a statement~~ that says that a man who has murdered someone

three of them assigned in land already conquered, and the other three to be set apart in the land that was not yet conquered.

Do the cities of refuge replace the altars? The only statement JE has on it is a statement that says that a man who has murdered someone else may be taken even from the altar of God, you shall not shew mercy upon him! Carpenter says on page twenty six that the law in Exodus 21:14 recognizes such a protection in the altar, although the conditions under which it may be claimed are carefully guarded, that the existence of local sanctuaries gave ample possibilities through the land, but that when they were declared illegal, it was necessary to provide some substitute. The old law is dropped without reserve, but a new law takes its place. ~~Well, now~~, what is the old law that is dropped without reserve? It is Exodus 21:14, right in the Book of the Covenant. Now what does He say in Exodus 21:14? He says, "He that smites a man so that he dies, shall be put to death and if a man lie not in wait but God delivered him into his hand, then I will appoint thee a place whether he shall flee." It does not say, flee to the altar. He says, "I will appoint thee a place, whither he shall flee. But if a man comes presumptuously upon his neighbor to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from thine altars, that he may die." Carpenter says that the first law recognizes such a perfection in the altar, but this is not what the Bible says. If a man kills a man accidentally, "then I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee." I will appoint thee a place. Why does He say, "I will appoint thee a place" if what He means is, "wherever there is an altar, he can flee to it?" Why does He say, "I will appoint thee a place?" That fits better with the idea that God is already intending to provide cities of refuge. He does not explain it fully forty years ahead of time, but simple makes reference to the principle. Does it fit with the idea that it means that wherever you build an altar, that is the place I am going to appoint?

"But if a man comes presumptuously upon his neighbor to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die." Does that necessarily mean that God's altar is the place that He will appoint or does it mean that no matter what a man tries to do to protect himself, even if he goes up and puts his arms around God's altar and clings to it, you are to tear him away from that without hesitation, because he is a murderer who deserves to die? It does not say that God has made a rule, but wherever there is an altar, that is the place of refuge or trial. The law is given for the cities of refuge. A person comes in to this city and may stay there for a number of years and be safe. It is a reasonable arrangement, given when they enter the land, according to the Bible as it stands. A person kills somebody accidentally, and provision is made for his safety from the avenger of blood.

In this country in the early days, if a person killed someone accidentally, that person's brother would kill him, and then his cousin would kill the person that killed him, and we have had blood feuds in which hundreds of people have been killed in this country. They have them among the Arabs today. God wanted to prevent that sort of thing in Israel. He says if a man commits a murder, the law is to deal with him, but if a man kills someone accidentally, he is to be protected so that no relative can kill him, and so that no one will start a blood feud. According to the critics, the regular rule during all the centuries before Josiah's time was: if a man killed someone accidentally, he could run to

the altar and hang on to it for ten or fifteen years, until the relatives of the man who was killed, forgot their enmity against him and it became safe to leave. This would not really provide much of an asylum! The Bible tells about two or three cases where an endangered man fled to the altar in Jerusalem, but we do not find any case where it protected such a refugee, and there is not even one case in the Scripture where there is an account of anyone running for safety to any other altar except the one in Jerusalem. In one of these few cases we read that Solomon said, "Tear him down from the altar and kill him."

Thus this important part of the critical theory does not have any real foundation. The scripture nowhere says that the altars at the high places throughout the land provided asylum. There is no such statement anywhere. But the critics assume that it was a national law. Notice how Carpenter [?] says it, "The old law is dropped without a word, but a new law takes its place." He does not say the old law is changed, just "dropped." This would be very easy to do since there was not any such law to drop.

We are now discussing the argument about people who will perform the sacrifice and about the place where the sacrifice will be performed. There are a great many other cases where the critics claim that there is development within the documents and that there is a progressive development through a series of them. (We noticed that in these it is not said that there is progress through a series.) We shall now look at several of the many alleged examples. To begin, take the case of slaves, which is mentioned by Carpenter on page fifty, where he says, "A parallel phenomenon may be observed in the laws affecting the slavery of Israelites. The first code, Exodus 21:1-6, permits a Hebrew after six years of service to contract for life-long service and places the ceremony of formal enslavement under religious sanction. Before Israel has left Sinai, however," (here he is speaking ironically), "in the next year this arrangement is passively abrogated. In Leviticus 25:39-42 it is laid down that no Israelite shall sell himself to another. Temporary slavery may indeed last to the Jubilee. But the poor brother is entitled then to liberty for himself and his family. For instance, in Exodus 21:4 the wife and children remain in possession of the land on the express ground that their freedom was a divine gift and could not be alienated by slavery for life. That is the exalted view of the second year after the Exodus. But in the end of the wandering, thirty-eight years later, Moses returned to his earlier scheme and in Deuteronomy 15:12 the period of bondage of every Israelite is quietly abandoned, and the process of voluntary enslavement in the seventh year is again instituted. It cannot be said that the intervening law had been tried without success, for it is expressly designed, Leviticus 25:2 [seems to be the wrong reference]. Yet it is wholly ignored when Moses makes his final address and an arrangement entirely inconsistent with it is reinforced.

AAM

You notice how he is here taking the idea of the Bible as it stands. And on the basis of that he is trying to show that it is absurd. Actually his idea would be that you have the first one in Exodus 21:1-6 and the second stage in Deuteronomy 15:12, and then the third stage in Leviticus 25:39-42, with development between the three. Now let us look at them beginning with the first one, Exodus 21:1-6. Notice what it says, "Now these are the judgments which thou shalt set before them. If thou buy

an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself. If he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master has given him a wife, and she has born him sons or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children, I will not go out free; then his master shall bring him unto the judges" [It says "the judges" in the Authorized Version, but the Hebrew word is Elohim, simply God.] "then his master shall bring him unto the door post and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl and he shall serve him forever." ~~Now~~ that is the commandment given in Exodus 21. But Carpenter says of it, "The first commandment permits a Hebrew after six years of service to contract for life-long servitude and places the ceremony of formal enslavement under religious sanction. Before Israel has left Sinai, however, in the next year, this arrangement is abrogated. In Leviticus 25:39-42, it is laid down that no Israelite shall sell himself to another. Temporary slavery may indeed last the Jubilee. But the poor brother is entitled then to liberty to himself and his family on the express ground that their freedom will be a divine gift and could not be alienated by slavery for life. And he has impressed there [unclear], but in Exodus 21, the wife and children remain in possession of the master." Next let us read this third account according to his arrangement, which as the Bible stands was given in the next year as the law book for the priests. In Leviticus 25:39-42 we read, "And if thy brother who dwelleth by thee hath become poor, and be sold unto thee; thou shalt not compel him to serve as a slave; But as an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee. And then shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return. For they are my servants, whom I brought forth out of the land of Egypt. They shall not be sold as slaves." This is Leviticus from the priestly law. Do we find a direct contradiction between this and the law given a year before in Exodus 21:1-6? Are the two dealing with exactly the same thing, and do the statements contradict each other? You notice that Carpenter says the first one permits the Hebrew after six years service to contract for life-long services, and he says that the second one says that no Israelite shall sell himself to another. Temporary slavery may indeed last to the Jubilee. You notice the difference. The first is on slavery. The second one says he may not sell himself to another. In the second one temporary slavery may last to the Jubilee. So you notice how much more advanced, ~~and~~ progressive, ~~how much more~~ moderate the conditions are in this law than the other, because, after all, this is the P document, the last one according to the critics, and the others are first. But do you notice the first one says that if a Hebrew slave is sold unto you, it does not say where he comes from, does it? "But if you buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve." It does not say where he comes from. The other one says, "If your brother by you be waxen poor and be sold unto him." Is a Hebrew identical with an Israelite? You see, one says, "if your brother that dwells by you is waxen poor and is sold to you," while the other one says, "if you buy a Hebrew servant." Is a Hebrew the same as an Israelite? Was anyone ever called a Hebrew who was not a descendent of Israel?

Student: I thought I heard that there was a race who were known as Hebrews before Abraham and his descendants settled in Canaan.

AAM: There is Babylonian evidence in cuneiform tablets of people called Habiru, which may perhaps be the same as Hebrew. They are found in a number of different areas and it probably is the same thing as Hebrew. We find in the Bible a reference to Abraham the Hebrew, showing that Hebrew was a term which could be used to describe Abraham. Abraham was not a descendant of Israel. If Hebrew means a descendant of Israel it could hardly be applied to Israel's grandfather. Many descendants of Abraham were not Israelites. There were all the descendants of Ishmael and also the descendants of Esau. Why would you call Abraham "the Hebrew" if Hebrew meant anybody descended from Abraham? Hebrew seems to designate Abraham as one of a group of people. We do not know a great deal about it. But this use in the Bible suggests very clearly that the words "Hebrew" and "Israelite" are not originally identical. An Israelite is a descendant of Jacob or Israel, and Hebrew is a term which could be applied to Jacob's grandfather. Then we have this archaeological evidence of the discovery of this reference to these Habiru, who are very likely the same people as the Hebrews. We cannot prove it but there is much to suggest it. The term is clearly much wider than Israelite. One says: "if you buy a Hebrew servant." The other says: "if your brother by waxes poor and is sold to you, you shall not compel him to serve as a bondservant."

One concerns either the whole group of Israelites or, more likely, a larger group, who serve other people. The one is dealing with people who are very definitely called "your brethren." They are people who live near you, in the same area. To say that the second one is an amelioration of the first takes a great deal for granted. The second one is dealing with people right in your neighborhood while the first is dealing with a much larger group.

More important than that, the first says that a man after six years of service can contract for life-long servitude, while the second says that no Israelite shall sell himself to another. Does this say no Israelite shall sell himself to another? If your brother that dwells by you waxes poor and is sold to you, you shall not compel him to serve as a bondservant, but as a hired servant that sojourns with you, shall he be with you and serve you till the years of jubilee. It certainly does not say that he cannot sell himself as a servant nor that he is not obligated to remain as a servant. So Carpenter's statement here is a flat contradiction to the statements in Leviticus. Then he claims to show progress from the earlier more primitive situation in which he can put himself into life-long enslavement, but if he does not do that, when he comes out after six years his wife and children stay with the master in contrast with the more advanced mode in which he only has temporary service till the year of jubilee. In one case, after six years he can sell himself into life-long enslavement, while in the other case he is enslaved only to the year of jubilee. The factual statement is true, but supposing I were to say, "Here is a primitive law. Under this law a man can only be a slave for six years unless he voluntarily continues it. Under this other law, so much more advanced, so much kinder in fact, a person is released after half a century. After all, what is the year of Jubilee? It is the fiftieth year."

There is no progress in this law from the simple to the complex. There is no progress in these laws, from the brutal and severe to the more kindly and the more advanced. There is a law given in the covenant code, given to all the people whereby they know what would happen after six years: that a Hebrew who is sold into slavery is not their property permanently, but that after six years he goes out free. But if during that time he has married a woman who belongs to his master he cannot take her out with him. He may prefer to stay with her and in that case he would enter into permanent relationship and serve the master forever. That word "forever" is not an exact translation. It means "indefinitely." It does not say anything about eternity. It is not a proof that he serves for eternity. There is nothing of the kind stated here. The law is given to tell these people what is to happen every six years, so that the people will know and understand the situation. In Leviticus, the priests are given the laws that are detailed and complex and need to be applied by the experts and do not need to be known by all the people. It is very important that the experts know what happens once in every fifty years. Then, shortly before that time, maybe ten years before, maybe five years before, certainly at least one or two before, they would issue a proclamation, and remind the people of what is to happen once in fifty years, so that when the Jubilee years comes, they act upon it. It would not even occur when they were in the wilderness. The law for the Jubilee is important for the priests to know, but there is no special point in the people knowing it. For me to give you very full instructions now as to the nature of the celebration which we would hold here at Faith Seminary on the fiftieth anniversary of when it was founded, would be rather silly. But to tell you what to do on commencement day would be quite different.

AAM [answers question on release of servants]: After the sixth year a man who has entered into this enslavement or has been purchased by somebody else, has married a woman who belongs to the master, and they have children can at the end of six years have the right to go out but not to take her and the children with him. If he says, "I would like to stay," then, he can stay, but at the end of the fiftieth year, they will all go out. At the end of that time no permanent slavery is contemplated at all. In the other countries at this time, people getting into debt became slaves permanently and completely lost their identity. The law here given to the Israelites makes permanent slavery for the Hebrews impossible, and when they come into a situation where they have sold themselves into slavery, it is limited, and after six years they can come out, but if they find themselves in a situation where they would like to stay longer, they may stay, but at the end of fifty years there is a completely new start.

They shall not be sold as bondmen. That would certainly mean that they would not enter a permanent situation where they could be sold out of the country as slaves. Notice what he says just before that. Just before, he says that if he is sold to you, well then he has been sold as a bondman, has he not? He might have said in verse 39, "if your brother waxeth poor he shall not be sold unto you." But he does not say that. He says, "If he waxeth poor and is sold to you..." He does not say, "You shall not receive him as a bondservant." He says, "you shall not compel him to serve as a bondservant but as a hired servant and as a

sojourner, and he shall be with you and shall serve you until the year of Jubilee." Evidently then, he was expected to stay there and to do service, but he was to be treated as you would treat an employee rather than as a slave. In Babylonia and Egypt a man could kill his slave if he felt so inclined; he could sell him out of the country if he felt so inclined. There was to be no such relationship as that in Israel. We must interpret 42 in light of 39 and 40. (Unless, of course, they are taken as belonging to separate documents which have been brought together without realizing the alleged contradiction!) Carpenter claims that here there is a progress from the simple to the complex, from brutal, primitive treatment to a more advanced religious idea, but actually there is nothing of the kind. First there is the law that tells the things that everyone should know because they apply constantly and then there is the law that tells what should occur once in every fifty years. It is important that the officials have this second material, so that they can read it in the book when the time comes and know exactly what is required and carry it out. That is the difference between these two.

What did Carpenter say about the command in Deuteronomy, the one that is supposed to belong to a stage between the other laws? He says, "In Deuteronomy 15:12 the theory that every Israelite is the Lord's bondman is quietly abandoned and the process of religious enslavement in the seventh year is again legitimized." Actually, Deuteronomy 15:12 contains substantially the same law as was given in Exodus 21:1-6. Exodus 21 contains the law that was given to the people as they began their relation to God and it would be followed in the wilderness; then when they were about to go into the land of Canaan, the Lord repeated it, in order that they would have it in mind and stress it, as they went into the land. God has Moses repeat it in Deuteronomy between these two occasions. God gave the detailed law for the statute books of the priests. In Deuteronomy 15:12 He gave the order that, "If thy brother, a Hebrew man or a Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year, thou shalt let him go free from thee and when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him away empty. Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy flock and out of the floor and out of thine winepress, of that wherewith the LORD hath blessed thee thou shalt give unto him and thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt and the LORD thy God redeemed thee, therefore, I command thee this thing today. And it shall be, if he say unto thee, I will not go away from thee; because he loveth thee and thine house, because he is well with thee, then thou shalt take an awl, and thrust it through his ear unto the door and he shall be thy servant forever. And also unto thy maidservant thou shalt do likewise not seem hard unto thee, when thou sendest him away from [illegible] he hath been worth a double hired servant [illegible] years and the LORD thy God shall [illegible]. Here is substantially [illegible] repeat[illegible] and [illegible] progression in three steps. Quite [illegible] is not a law dealing with what happens [illegible] dealing with the law of Jubilee. Carpenter [illegible]s it as if the theory that every Israelite is the Lord's bondman

is quietly abandoned, but this not the case. It is [illegible] Jubilee that all the Israelites are [illegible] and therefore there is not to be a permanent [illegible] living in slavery to others. He reminds [illegible] were slaves in Egypt and orders them [illegible] that those who would be temporary slaves for [illegible] a different reason given for the priests to follow.

In this case, Carpenter claims that there is a sharp contradiction; he says that the law established at one time is thus completely abrogated a year later and then brought back again thirty years later. It is much more reasonable and logical to think that he is quite wrong. The passages do not show any such progress as he claims. They are dealing with two different things, related to each other, but certainly not identical.

At the end of the last hour we were speaking of the matter of asylum. In that case the critics say that before the Deuteronomic law, the LORD's altar was the place of asylum, and that when the Deuteronomic law was given six places were designated as cities of refuge to which they could flee, and this arrangement is continued in the P law. You notice that there are here two steps, not three. They say that the steps correspond to the change of place of the altar; that where there were altars everywhere, there was no need of a place of asylum. This claim that the altar was a place of asylum rests upon Exodus 21:13, 14, back in the Book of the Covenant. He claims that in the original situation there were altars scattered throughout the land, and that they were places where the people could go for protection. But see what the law really says in Exodus 21:13,14, starting with verse 12, "He that smiteth a man, so that he die, shall be surely put to death. And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand; then I will appoint thee a place to which he shall flee. But if a man come presumptuously upon his neighbor, to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die."

Does this law say that in the first code the altars of God scattered up and down through the land are the places of asylum, so there is no need of any other? It does not say anything of the kind! God says, "I will appoint thee a place whither he shall flee." This was at least thirty-eight years before they would enter the land. There would have been no point in giving details about the cities of refuge at least thirty-eight years ahead of time. God says, "I will appoint thee a place." If He meant the altar, why did He not say so? Does it say a man should wait for God to lower him into his hands, then he shall flee to the altar and there be safe? It does not say anything of the kind; anyway, that would be rather ridiculous! How can a man hang on that altar for the next ten years? How will he live there, hanging onto that altar? There would be no point in it at all unless an arrangement was made so that there would be a place around the altar where one could live. This would not fill the need of asylum at all. God said, "I am going to appoint a place." It stands to reason that it will be a place that fills the need, and, of course, what was done by providing cities of refuge. You notice that He said, "But if a man comes presumptuously upon his neighbor to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him away from mine altar, that he may die." How does this mean that the place God is going to appoint is the altar? All it means is that if a person is in this situation, even if he

should be hanging on to the altar--that sacred place where you would think it would be utterly wicked to injure anybody--why you can just grab them away from the altar without hesitation. The altar of God is not going to protect a murderer.

Ordinarily somebody would say, "Oh, my! what can we do? Here is this murderer. He has his arms around the altar of God. We cannot hurt him when he is there!" Then his friend should say, "That is true; we certainly cannot touch him when he is there. Let us go back fifty yards and wait. You can be sure that inside of three days he will be away from there!"

Suppose that two persons became very angry at each other, and one killed the other. He would naturally look for the nearest protection he could find. If he happened to be near the altar, that would be a natural thing to think of. But Scripture nowhere says that God ever appointed an altar as a place of refuge. It only said that God would appoint a place. It does not say anything about altars scattered through the land. The idea that the statement, "Thou shalt take him away from my altar" shows development had occurred is entirely fictitious! It is read into the statement, and that is the case with most of the alleged developments within the documents. In most cases the differences among them are easily explained when we think of the situation under which they were given. Thus, the simple brief presentation is natural at the time of the first presentation of God's law, at the very beginning of the covenant, where it is simply necessary to drive home to their minds a few commands that they need to observe then, and a few important principles to follow permanently, without it being necessary to go into detail so far ahead of entering Canaan. Then, in Deuteronomy, as they neared the promised land, it was reasonable to go more into detail. Soon they will not all be together as they have been in the past, where they could immediately be reached. They will be scattered through the land, so it is good to go into more detail and drive the commands into their minds.

What the critics call the P document, is really the law for the priests. This detailed law is written in a book. People do not have to remember it; they can refer to it when it is necessary. Therefore it is naturally more detailed.

Actually you find little differences among the laws, and these little differences are often simply a matter of terminology.

There is naturally a difference between the brief presentations in Moses' addresses in Deuteronomy and the more legislative style of the Law book of the Priests. There are also some cases where a law was given in a form which was very appropriate for the people living in the wilderness, but where a change is needed to fit the conditions of Canaan, which they are so soon to enter.

Most of the Israelites had disobeyed God and had died in the wilderness. A new generation was about to enter Canaan. This new generation had not heard the law given. Now they are going into Canaan, it is important to have more detail.

This law in Exodus is that God will appoint a place where a man may flee who has killed a man accidently. He is going to appoint a place for him. We find in Numbers and in Deuteronomy that the cities of refuge are appointed for that purpose. Then it continues, "But if a man comes presumptuously upon his neighbor to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from mine altar that he may die." The critics claim that the matter

of asylum for people who have killed someone else accidentally was previously taken care of by the altars scattered throughout the land. Later on in the history, as Mr. Aufforth [student] has pointed out, there are some incidents where people fled and took hold of the horns of the altar, but not one of those is a case of a man who had killed someone else accidentally, and therefore would be entitled to go to the city of refuge. Consequently, they give no evidence that the matter of asylum for someone who kills accidentally was supposed to be taken care of by the altar. But a man who was in danger of his life and was looking for a place to hide, where he could be safe, might naturally think, "if I go and take hold of God's altar, nobody would do such a wicked, impious thing as to injure me when I am there," so he runs and grabs hold of the altar. Here God says that even if a person is hanging onto His altar, if he is a murderer, you can take him away from there and kill him. In the few incidents where similar events are mentioned, they do not involve someone who has killed someone accidentally. And the people who fled to it for safety and are dragged from it were not considered safe there. So it was not felt that it was a place to which had a right to come and be saved. It would not fill that need anyway. If you are going to stay ten years to be safe, you cannot hang onto an altar for ten years. You need a city where you can move about, to get some exercise and to have some way of earning your living. So the altar was not a satisfactory place of asylum! And it does not say anywhere that God said that a person who had killed someone accidentally may flee to my altar and cling to it. And it does not say in those two instances that those people knew of any law that the altar was a place of protection. These people who were in danger simply grabbed the first device they could think of and ran to the altar.

We read in I Kings 1:50 that Adonijah feared Solomon because they had been going to make Adonijah king and David had made Solomon king. So Adonijah feared because of Solomon and went and caught hold on the horns of the altar. He was not a man who had killed someone accidentally, and needed to go to the city of refuge. It was an entirely different situation. He caught hold of the horns of the altar and it was said Solomon, "Behold Adonijah feared King Solomon. He has caught hold on the horns of the altar, saying, Let Solomon swear to me today he will not slay his servant with the sword." And Solomon said, "I will not swear this way at all. If he shows himself a worthy man, there shall not a hair of his head fall to the ground, but if wickedness shall be found in him, he shall die." So Solomon would not swear not to hurt him and had him brought down from the altar, and he came and bowed to King Solomon, and Solomon said, "Go to your house," and he did. Solomon refused to make him any promise. The man was simply in a panicky position and said, "I will not leave here until Solomon swears not to hurt me." Well, he could not hang onto the alter indefinitely.

I think it is a natural idea which would occur to anybody. We find in the next chapter (1 Kings 2:28), that tidings came to Joab "and Joab fled to the tabernacle of the LORD, and caught hold of the horns of the altar. And it was told King Solomon that Joab was fled to the altar." He was in the tabernacle of the LORD, hanging to the altar. Then Solomon said, "Go, fall upon him." So he was killed, hanging to the altar.

These people simply got panicky and said, "I will go and grab this

altar and hang on to it and I will be safe. But Solomon did not think so. Solomon took one away from the altar by force, let him go for awhile and killed him later. The other one he had grabbed and killed right at the altar. It would be an easy idea to occur to somebody that he might be safe in that place, but there is no evidence of such an asylum here.

The idea that the asylum was established to be at the altars scattered throughout the land, is entirely without foundation. It is not what the law says in Exodus 21 at all, and there is no evidence in the historical account that anybody ever considered that one was safe and could not be touched because he was hanging on the altar.

As they stand in the Bible, the assumed contradictions to a very large extent consist of reading into the passage something that is not there, or of assuming something. The argument from silence enters into it very strongly. Perhaps it would be good right here to look at the matter of the argument from silence. In some cases it is one of the strongest arguments against something to say that it rests only on an argument from silence, but in other cases the arguments from silence may be a very strong. It all depends on what the situation is. The question is not, are you building an argument on the fact that something is not mentioned? The question is, are you building an argument on the fact that something is not mentioned which would not necessarily be mentioned, or are you building an argument upon the non-mention of something of which we can say that it would be very strange indeed for it not to be mentioned? For instance, if you have an account of a young fellow going to college some time in the middle forties of this century--suppose that two centuries from now you were to read three chapters telling of his experiences in college at that time and in that account you found no reference whatever to the war or to the draft, then you could probably conclude that the account is not true. It would be extremely unlikely that anyone would go through college between 1942 and 1948, and have the account not mention the war, the draft, and the coming back of the GI's into the college classes. The war would affect his life in so many important ways that it would be strange indeed if the account of his experiences made no mention of it. So you could easily say, "Either the stories we read elsewhere that a great war occurred during the decade are false, or else this account is; it must be one or the other." On the other hand, there are many things which might not be mentioned at all. An account of a fellow's experience in college might not mention the Kefauver investigation or the steel strike. It might not make any mention of a strike during that period. That would not prove there were no strikes in America at that time. If you read the account of many a young fellow in college, you would not know there was such a thing as a church in the United States. Yet this would not prove that there were not churches in the United States. You see, the question is, is it more or less required by the situation that some reference be made to it? Was it so vital a part of the background that it could hardly be overlooked? You might read Marco Polo's long journal about his trip to China and say that there was no printing in China at the time because he did not refer to printing at all. Yet you do find him referring to the use of paper money. This excited him tremendously! But he did not notice that this money was printed! To us, printing is far more important than paper money, but his interest was the other way. An argument from

silence may be a tremendously important argument or it may be an argument of no validity whatever. It depends on the situation, whether mention of something in the situation is normally to be expected, or even almost certainly to be expected.

These claims of development within the documents rest to a very large extent upon arguments from silence or upon inferences about things which are not stated in the documents at all. As we looked at a number of cases we saw how that is true.

There is one more subject that is extremely important, that we will not take much time on now, which is the matter of the priesthood. According to the critics, as you know, it began without any established priesthood. They say that in the earliest documents any head of a family could act as a priest. Of course, as the Bible stands, no one has any objections to that. No one has any objections to saying that in the time of Abraham, the head of a family could perform sacrifice and act as a priest. The Bible says nothing to the contrary anywhere. But the Bible tells how at Sinai, in order to establish an orderly system in the religion of Israel, God laid it down that the activities of the priesthood should be confined to a particular family, and Aaron and his sons were to be the priests, with one of them as the high priest and the rest performing the service. That was the work of the priest. The rest of the tribe of Levi had service in connection with the sanctuary and various other types of religious service and were scattered throughout the land of Israel as God's representatives for these different types of religious service. The critics say that the early document represents the law about the time of Jehoshaphat, and that then any head of a family could offer sacrifice. They say there was then no restriction but that at the time of Josiah the book of Deuteronomy restricted the priesthood to one tribe and consequently at that time there are many references to the Levitical priests (literally, "the priests-the Levites"--a very common term in the book of Deuteronomy). Then they say that at this time the priesthood had become restricted to the tribe of Levi, and that when you come to the P document you find a new system with the priesthood restricted still further to one family, the family of Aaron. So, they say, you have a progress in the document from priesthood of anybody who was the head of a family to a priesthood restricted to one tribe and then to priesthood restricted to one family. But look at Deuteronomy 10:6,7. There you will find that the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera and there Aaron died and was buried, and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. Here in Deuteronomy there is a recognition of the importance of Aaron and of Eleazar his son, who ministered in the priest's office in his stead. Of course, the critics could say that this is an interpolation in the book of Deuteronomy of a part of the actual P document and that its recognition of the priesthood as connected with the family of Aaron really belongs to the P document and was inserted into Deuteronomy later on so as to bring it into harmony. As you see, this whole argument is entirely an argument from silence.

In Exodus 20-24, where God tells the people what they are to do, lays down certain general rules about sacrifice, and lays down certain general rules about sacrifice, He gives the people, as His people, the

general requirements, there was no need of stressing who would do the sacrificing. There would be no particular point in it. There certainly is no statement there that any head of a family can do it!

The so-called P document gives the laws for the priests, which God gave Moses and had written down and tabulated. When these laws were given, they included God's order that Moses should set his brother and his brother's family apart for the priest's office. It was not necessary to tell this to the people in advance, while they were under Moses' direction. It was not necessary to say to them, "You will have to keep the priesthood restricted to the ones God will designate when He is making the covenant." It would stand to reason that He would designate how He wanted it. So He sets Aaron and his sons apart and lays it down very strictly that the priesthood is restricted to them. When you come to Deuteronomy and the people are ready to go into the land, the priesthood is already definitely established in Aaron and his family, so it is not important or necessary that Moses should urge the people in his farewell address as to who is to be priest. There should then be no special point in that. There is a point in his urging them about the place of sacrifice and there is a point in stressing priests and the Levitical tribe in general. This is very briefly done. There is no specific statement, "be sure you keep the priesthood restricted to the family of Aaron." At this time the people are accustomed to having the priesthood confined to the ones designated by God, and they all know about Korah's rebellion in the wilderness when a large number of men insisted they could be priests as well as Aaron, and came with censors to offer sacrifice and God destroyed the whole group. Everyone knew that. It was already driven home to their minds. There was no particular need of stressing it again in his farewell address. When President Washington gave his farewell address to the American nation, he warned against any entangling alliance with Europe and he urged various things which he thought important for the future welfare of the nation, but he did not urge us to be sure always to have the election of the president on the second Tuesday after the second Monday of November and to be sure that only native-born citizens be elected to that position and to be sure that he be over the particular age and so on. These things are laid down in the Constitution. When there is an election it is important to look them up, find out what they are, and act upon them. But there was no special point in urging the people as a whole to observe these things. That sort of thing must be studied out by the officials of the election, and the people as a whole can look them up any time they want to. So the argument that there is a development in the document with regard to the person who performs sacrifice is entirely an argument that rests upon silence, and it is not the type of silence that makes a reliable argument, so there was no necessity of mentioning it in any of these documents.

If the people do their sacrifice in the one place as designated, it would stand to reason that they would come to the ones designated to carry it out. If the people were performing sacrifice all over the land then it might have been of more importance to stress to them who the designated ones were.

Once you have one given, it is not a proof that the other did not exist if it is not mentioned.

I hope that is sufficient discussion of the Evidence of Development

within the Documents.

When it comes to details the critics have no hesitation in taking a section and saying, "This fits the intermediate idea of D, so it belongs to D. This fits the early ideas of J, so it belongs to J." Thus they rearrange the material to a very large extent according to their idea of development. Even so, you do not find such evidence of development in the documents as the critics claim is there. The phenomena are mostly such as fit naturally into the idea of the Pentateuch as it stands. At first the brief covenant is given to the people, establishing their permanent relationship with God. Then they are given the detailed regulations for the priests (to ~~keep handy~~) ~~for~~ study ~~and for~~ carrying ~~out~~ out, and for looking up details for particular needs. Then, forty years later, a farewell address is given by Moses in which he stresses those things he thought were necessary for the people as they would go into the land.

I do not mean to say that we can tell what Moses would necessarily have to stress in them. I do not mean that by any means. It might very well be that Moses would think something to be particularly important that we would not consider very important, and therefore would stress it greatly in his farewell address. What I am saying is that in a farewell address Moses did not have to go over the whole law. He did not have to read the whole constitution all over again. That was not his purpose. He told them when they went into the land to read certain laws, and commanded them to read these laws at frequent intervals. Moses gave an exhortation just before his death in order to urge upon the people those things which he thought were important to stress to them at that time. Under those circumstances if he left something out it might only prove that he did not consider it particularly important at that time to stress the point. We may think that if we were in that place we would have stressed it. A difference of opinion as to what should be stressed ~~again~~ in a farewell address (out of all) that was ~~already~~ available in the law the people ~~already~~ had, is altogether different from saying, "unless Moses did this, they did not have it then, so that law must have been given at a later time." Do you see the point? We have no right to say, "Moses did not mention this, therefore it did not exist," unless it is something which under the circumstances he absolutely would have had to stress. Otherwise, there is no reason why we can build such an argument from silence.

Student question [unclear]: "Was the Pentateuch...?" A.A.M: The law of the covenant was given in Exodus 23 and the people accept the covenant in chapter 24, and the worship begins. Moses takes the blood and sprinkles it on the people (Ex.24:8). A sacrifice is made. Then you notice verse 5. He sent young men of the children of Israel who offered burnt offerings and sacrificed for the people. No one had yet been designated. Moses simply called on people to do this. Then in verse 9 Moses and Aaron and two of Aaron's sons and seventy elders of the people go up to have the ceremony of the ratification of the Covenant. That immediately puts Aaron and his sons in positions of great importance. Then in chapter 25 in the mountain, God tells Moses to prepare the tabernacle. After He gives the instructions about preparing the tabernacle, in chapters 25 to 27, God says to him, "Take unto thee Aaron thy brother and his sons with him from among the children of Israel that he may minister unto me in the priest's office" (Ex.28:11). He tells how

Aaron is to be consecrated.

We are apt to overlook an important consideration. Many people think that all of God's laws are equal. If you break one, you break it all. There is an element of truth in this, but yet there is also a great danger of misunderstanding. Not all of God's law is equally important. A person may break some comparatively minor element of God's law but do it in such a way and showing such a spirit that it marks that man out as far more hostile to God than someone who in ignorance or carelessness breaks a very important part of God's law. The attitude is far more important than a particular injunction. If we are anxious to carry out the commandments, this is altogether different from being careless about them and not bothering. The law of God is given with various purposes in mind. If God commands that a person is not to commit murder and a person does, this is an entirely different, ordinarily speaking, than a man who cooks a kid goat in it's mother's milk.

A command is given in Exodus, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk." Why was that given? It was because of certain Canaanite practices. To seethe a kid in its mother's milk might mark that person as following Canaanite religious practices and moving in the direction of heathenism of the time. So it might be very vital! For one of us today to seethe a kid in its mother's milk would certainly not involve any connection on our part with Canaanite religious practice and it is extremely unlikely that it would now represent any real departure from the service of God on the part of an orthodox Jew. Yet that is one of the most important laws in the view of orthodox Jews today. They are more interested in it than in most of the weighty matters of the law, and consequently never eat meat and milk at the same meal, since, for all they know, the meat might be from one kid and the milk might be from it's mother, and so they would break the law against seething a kind in its mother's milk. If a Jewish family anywhere is at all orthodox, if they have meat, they do not serve butter. They are very careful to keep them apart. This is one of the outstanding features of orthodox Jewish life today. We do not see moral importance in it today, but it had great moral importance then, because it represented a big step in the direction of Canaanite religion. Thus the importance of laws and circumstances may vary. Some of the law is based upon the moral law, and is vital. There are things that are always wrong no matter what the situation. You should not do them. There are others which concern the organization of God's people for efficient progress in His work, for the carrying on of what He desires to be done; these may be very important at one time and may be very unimportant at another time or under other circumstances.

Student question: [unclear] AAM: Yes, there is moral law and there is ceremonial law which has the purpose of driving home to people's minds and setting before them the ideas that God wants them to have. There are also certain regulations about how to carry this out. Under certain circumstances and in certain situations, you can not carry these things out! If you are indifferent and pay no attention to His commandment, it is an attitude of defiance against God.

Thus when they put the ark on a cart instead of carrying it the way God had stipulated, it was a very serious matter. The ark was being brought back to the people. It was a time of all times when they should have put God's word in a primary position and say, "How are we to do

this? What is God's regulation? Instead they just stuck it on a cart and started to carry it along a bumpy road and when the ark began to fall over Uzzah put out his hand to hold it and the Lord struck Uzzah dead. It does not mean that Uzzah was a worse sinner than the other men around, but it does mean that God wanted to give them an object lesson about carrying out His commands exactly as he had given them. The manner in which they were to carry the ark was not a moral principle; it was a matter of their attitude toward His law for that time. Under ordinary established situations it was vital to carry out the ceremonial law to drive the thoughts home to the people's minds. It was far more important to get the thought into their minds than it was to carry them out in exact ways. The exact way was vital when it could be done reasonably. When there were unusual situations there was no reason why there could not be modifications to fit the circumstance. We have to think of the purpose of it all. Some people have the idea that God is a terrible ogre who wants to make everything just as difficult for us as is possible and so he lays down a thousand regulations and we just have to watch our step. If we accidentally step a little too far this way or that way we bring ourselves into terrible danger. This is quite wrong; it is not God's purpose at all. God is a loving father, who is anxious to help his people and to lead them. So He lays down regulations for their well being: regulations as to how they are to learn what he wants them to know, and how it is to be driven home to their minds and hearts. If a person carelessly and defiantly casts this aside, he is in rebellion against God. He deserves punishment. But if a man is trying to serve the Lord and finds there are particular emergency situations which require a different application, he is showing his love to God by trying to work it out in a way that will fit the situation. This is very important to remember. We are apt to make this error about the law, and we are very apt to make it about doctrine too, thinking that all doctrine is equally important; that if you are wrong about one particular point it means you are wrong about the whole system! There is no such teaching anywhere in God's word. God wants us to study very carefully those doctrines in His word which are very important for our salvation and for our growth in grace. There are other doctrines which are very important for our encouragement, help, and strengthening, and we miss a tremendous blessing if we do not get their correct understanding from God. There are other matters which are solely a matter of curiosity as far as our practical life is concerned. It is for us to emphasize what God says. To say I am not interested is an act of wickedness to God. But God does not want us to get terribly concerned about matters which do not affect our lives but are purely a matter of curiosity. He wants us to that which is conducive to the advancement of His kingdom here. Dr. Robert Dick Wilson used to say, "The Lord did not call you to explain all the mysteries of the universe. He calls you to go out and preach the gospel." That is what He has left us here to do; it is to preach the gospel that He has given as His means of salvation, not to explain all the mysteries of the universe. The more we can understand of the mysteries of the universe from what He has given in His word, the more affectively we can preach the gospel, but there is a point at which it ceases to be practical and becomes purely a matter of satisfying curiosity. When we reach that point we become "unprofitable servants." A correct understanding of this

is very vital!

The claim that there is such a progress in these documents as the critics say does not fit with the facts.

There is progress, yes. But it is a progress of taking things and rearranging them in certain ways to get that progress. By taking the Levitical law, which is given right after the first covenant, and putting it at the end you get a progress to some extent from the simple to more complex, but it is a progress that is natural under the circumstance and does not show an evolution or progression. And when you look at the particular elements in it you find that in most cases they are quite obvious, and it is easy to see why it should be more fully given in one place than in another. When they say that a provision made here was abrogated there, you usually find there really was not a provision made at all. They claim that it says a person can sacrifice anywhere he wants to, or anywhere God appeared, but it says nothing of the kind anywhere. It tells what kind of an alter to make and then that where God records His name, He will come and bless them. Incidentally, it does not say anywhere in the scripture that for all time there is one place where sacrifice may be done. Jerusalem is not mentioned in Deuteronomy as the place where sacrifice was to be made. Not all all. It says that God will designate a place out of their tribes which will be the place to which they are to come from all over to perform sacrifice. There is nothing in that contradictory to the idea that He might have it in one place and then later change it to another place, which is of course the way scripture represents it as having been done.

3. *The Evidence From History*

We are still dealing with this matter of development. For the argument from history, I gave you two references in which it is very clearly stated, one in Gray and one in Carpenter.

The argument from history has no relationship to most of the alleged evidences of development. As far as I know, there is no evidence from history that there were cities of refuge prior to the time of Josiah. Yet I do not think anyone advances that as proof they did not exist. Actually, we do not have enough historical material to show whether they existed or not before this time or not. The Old Testament is our only source for the history of ancient Israel; so the claim that the historical development corresponds to the progress of the documents is an srgument which touches on the idea of development at very few points, yet on those few points it touches rather sharply it is really the strongest argument of the critics. Yet it is an argument which, even if completely proven, would affect the matter at too few points to really be a great evidence for the truth of the critical theory. That is to say, if the others are not proven it goes like this: suppose that somebody said, "All lawyers are honest," how could you prove it? Suppose he says, "Look here, I know a lawyer, and he is so honest that when he picked up a purse on the streeet that had a hundred dollars in it, he did not put it in his pocket but he put an add in the paper for someone to come and prove that it belonged to them."

What have you proved? You have proved that one lawyer is honest, but you have not proved anything about the rest of them. If you take all these different points in the documents and claim that at two or three particular points the history corresponds, then that could cast

considerable doubt on the reliability of the scripture at those particular points, but there are not many of them and they are points at which we have seen that the development within the documents is not as the critics claim it is. On many other points, where they claim that there is development, there is absolutely no evidence from history. It is the strongest argument of the critics but it is one which touches very few points. That is very vital to have in mind.

The argument from history cannot be applied to many points because we do not have evidence. Somebody might say, "Since 1900 it has been customary to have the President always come from the west, and before 1900 he always came from the east. If you made that statement it would be quite easy to disprove it, because we could just look it up and see where were the presidents had come from. But if somebody were to say, it used to be, prior to 1800, that the mayors of towns in America were always men of independent means, I do not know if anybody here would be able to say whether that was true or not. You would have to go and do some searching, but you would probably find no statement. We have thousands of documents dealing with the eighteenth century, so we could study through those documents and look for evidence on this, and probably we would find it. But on the Biblical history all the evidence we have is what is in the Old Testament. There is nothing else. So, if somebody wants to make a statement that the border between the tribe of Ephraim and Manasseh would fluctuate, you can not prove it one way or the other. We just do not have the evidence. We know what border was established at the time of Joshua, but we do not know whether it occasionaly moved a little this way or that. As to practically all these alleged developments of documents, we just have no proof. There are two point at which there is considerable evidence, but even if these two were proven it would not be sufficient to prove the whole critical theory.

Here are two points on which we have evidence; their argument rests on the place of sacrifice and the person who sacrifices. They would say that in the time of Solomon they ran to the alter for asylum. The argument from history, as Gray and Carpenter would put it, is that you you find the life of the people corresponded to the law of JE up to the time of Josiah, and thereafter it corresponded to the laws of D, up to the return from exile, and then it corresponded to the law of P. How are you going to prove that? The only evidence is the evidence from the historical statements of the Old Testament. If you take any historical statements that disagree with this theory and say they were written later and are not genuine, then you have only a little left which seems rather strongly to fit with it. It applies only to two points. It is the stongest claim of the critics, but it only rests upon these two points: the place of sacrifice and the person performing it. If this were proven, it might be an argument against Mosaic authorship, but it certainly would not be sufficient to prove the whole critical theory.

As to the place of sacrifice, it is very important to realize the teaching of the document. They say that Exodus 20:24 means you sacrifice anywhere that God appears, but that is not what it says. Deuteronomy 12 has a number of statements that you are to bring your sacrifice to the place God will designate out of all your tribes. It does not say there will be one place designated permanently. It does suggest that at least for long periods there will be one place. Yet many of the

Deuteronomy, and in P there is no mention of it. Carpenter discusses this (pp. 132-134) and gives instances to show that this Deuteronomic idea was absolutely unknown before the time of Deuteronomy. It is rather strong to say it was absolutely unknown. It is easy to prove that it was not observed, but that does not prove that the law did not exist.

We have been looking at the alleged development within documents, and have seen that there are many features about which ~~this~~ the claim is made that there is a development among the documents, but that, in most cases, when the documents are carefully examined, the alleged development either disappears or it seems to be easily explainable by the situation, if we take the Bible as it stands. The way the critical position is stated, they give you the impression that you find a primitive situation in J, one slightly more advanced in E, and then in D a great step forward in spirituality and complexity, followed by another step forward in P. Actuall there are few cases, if any, in which they can show four steps that are arranged this way in a logical progression. In practically every case where there is any change of importance, it is only between two of the documents; it is not between four of them, or as a rule, even in three. Very often the alleged changes prove to be the result of a misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the text.

As the scripture stands the account claims to be first a presentation of the brief covenant that God makes with the people, stressing important rules of permanent validity, for their lives, but including among them certain particular points that would be vital in their immediate life in the wilderness. This is followed by a presentation of a long set of laws, intended not for all the people to be familiar with in every detail, but for the priests to have available for consultation when points come up. It is natural that most of the details of the system of worship are included in this set. Then there is the book of Deuteronomy, which is an exhortation to the people, at the end of the wilderness journey, to obey the law, and a repetition of those laws which are vital for all the people to keep in mind. Certain changes are made in view of the fact that they are about to enter Canaan. This is the system as it stands in the Bible. Naturally there are changes among these three laws, because of the different purposes. Thus something may be given in brief terms in the Law of the Covenant and its details explained more fully in the laws for the the priests. Then in Deuteronomy there is naturally much that is between the two: that is to say, it may be given to the people more fully in the repetition of the law where they are urged to obey things they have been familiar with for forty years. In the first presentation all that was necessary was to present the principle, which would be presented more fully in the priest's law, which could include fuller detail for application in comparatively infrequent circumstances. So you naturally have in D more details than in JE and yet much less detail than in P.

In most cases the critical theory of a development proves to be based upon reading something into the text or upon alleged change which is perfectly explained by the situation.

The two instances where the critics place their greatest stress, and at which they seem to have the strongest point, relate to the place of sacrifice and the person who sacrifices. We have looked rather fully into the law in connection with both of these, and we have seen that in

the book as it stands there is not really such a development as the critics claim. Since this is so, there is no great point in trying to see whether the history follows the development which the critics claim! Yet as the critics usually present the argument, it is turned around the other way!

There are a good many detailed points at which we could look, but I think it is more important, in our last few hours, to get this basic fact clearly in mind. You were assigned at two different times Carpenter and Gray on the Evidence From History. Now I want to be sure you have the situation exactly in mind as far as the argument goes. Carpenter and Gray say that the early document, JE, says that any family head can sacrifice anywhere he wants to. They say that the next document, D, says that sacrifice must be changed that it can only be at one place, and restricts the people who can perform the sacrifice to one tribe, the Levites. Then they say that the P document assumes that sacrifice is permitted only in one place (so there is no further step on this point). Actually it does not say anything about it, one way or the other. As to the person who makes the sacrifice, they say that the P document makes a further restriction, not letting every Levite sacrifice but now limiting it to the family of Aaron. So, they say, there is this progress between the three documents. Then, they say, when you look at the history, you find that it corresponds to this situation--that in the history, prior to the time of Josiah when D was written, the law of JE was followed: they sacrificed anywhere they wanted to. The sacrifice was performed by any head of a family. Then they say, at the time of Deuteronomy they began restricting sacrifice to the Levites and they said it must all be in Jerusalem, and then, from that time on, it is all in Jerusalem and done by the Levites until the time of the exile when the P document was written, according to the critics. After that they continue having it only in Jerusalem and say that it comes to be restricted to the family of Aaron.

As far as the last two periods of this theory are concerned, there is not much historical evidence. When the small groups of people came back from exile they naturally clustered around Jerusalem and sacrifice would naturally be at Jerusalem. Even if at that time there had been sacrifice in other places round about, the little evidence Scripture gives of the full details of the history would hardly be expected to tell us about it. Also, between the time of Josiah and the time of the exile, we have comparatively little information about this. There are a few striking events described in that period, but aside from them we do not have any great amount of historical material.

The great bulk of our historical material deals with the time before Josiah, so the critics go all through this material before Josiah, of which we have a great deal, and they say that in this you often find people sacrificing at different places and not just in Jerusalem and that this shows that the law of Deuteronomy was not yet given. They also say that you will find all kinds of people performing sacrifices then and that this proves that the idea of an Aaronic priesthood, or even of a Levitical priesthood, had not yet been established--that all sorts of people did it before that time. But out of the historical material in the Bible about that long period of history before Josiah, after the time in the wilderness, out of that long stretch of material, they pick out various materials which they say show that this law was not known. As Gray and

Carpenter present it, it sounds like a very strong argument. If you take their starting point, it is a strong argument.

Before looking into the historical evidence alleged by the critics to show that there is a change, I want to take a minute to look at historical evidence in the Bible as it stands, which as we shall see, fits with the claim of the Pentateuch. Now I shall speak particularly about the place of sacrifice. As the Bible stands, it claims that a general command is given in Exodus 20:23. Of course at that time, all sacrifice is under Moses' direction. It was not important at that time to give the people details about the sacrifice which would be forty years later in Jerusalem, or about the location. Then in Deuteronomy as they are about to go into the land, he says to the people, "When you get into the land, you are not to sacrifice all over the land but," he says, " unto the place the Lord shall choose out of all your tribes, there shall ye come and there ye shall bring your burnt offerings." Deuteronomy 12 is the only chapter that deals with this subject. Is this chapter, Deuteronomy 12, laying down a great vital important moral law, that is the most vital thing in the book of Deuteronomy? Was the book given in the time of Josiah to establish a system whereby all other altars are done away with? Or is Deuteronomy in this one chapter stressing a point which is not its main point at all--the point that it is God's will for good order that the religious life be under unified direction and consequently that the sacrificial services be concentrated in one place which the Lord will choose? When is this system to be set up? We do not find that the chapter says that this is to be set up immediately. It says that this system is to be established "when the Lord your God shall give you peace over your enemies round about"--that is, when they were established in the land. As presented here it is not a moral law or a great vital principle. It is a vital part of God's plan--an instrument for preserving unity among His people during the long period of time when they would be apt to forget Him and go in many different ways. It is not the main thing in Deuteronomy at all, but it is an important regulation for the good of the people. Limiting sacrifice to one place is a means of keeping unity among them. Turn to Deuteronomy 27 and read the command that as soon as the people come into the land, they are to go to a place in central Palestine where there are two high hills, Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim. There, at Mt. Ebal and Mt. Gerizim, they are to put up stones and plaster these stones and write on them the words of this law. Then he says in Deuteronomy 27:6, "Thou shalt build the altar of the LORD thy God of whole stones and thou shalt offer burnt offerings thereon unto the LORD thy God. And thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there and rejoice before the LORD thy God and thou shalt write upon the stone all the words of this law very plainly." Thus in chapter 27 of the book of Deuteronomy there is an explicit command for the making of an altar at Mt. Ebal, many miles from Jerusalem, and for offering peace-offerings and burnt-offerings there. So you see that Deuteronomy does not really order this great step of doing away with altars all through the land and establishing one in Jerusalem. On the contrary, it orders the establishment of an altar, and its use for sacrifice at another place altogether. See how that fits with the history. As the history stands, God gives a regulation for the situation after the people have become established in the land and have established peace with their enemies

round about. It is a rule for the normal conduct of the religious life of the land, that it is to be unified with one headquarters where the sacrifices are to be made, but right in the same book in which this command is given, there is also a specific command that this involves making sacrifice at another place immediately after they go into the land. This shows clearly that the purpose of the book of Deuteronomy was not to lay down a great vital rule of life for the people, to be followed under normal circumstances, subject to change under abnormal circumstances such as those of their first entrance into the land and the beginning of their conquest.

Carpenter and Gray and all the other critics say that Josiah was terribly excited because they had sacrificed in different places throughout the land, and now they had discovered a book which says sacrifice is only to be done in one place. But do you find that in the Bible? You turn to the Bible and you find that when the book was brought before him, Josiah said, "Great wrath has been upon our nation because we have neglected the laws and the ordinances and the testimonies of this Book." Seeing the idolatry, wickedness, and sin of the people, he set out to make a change in the whole nation so that they should bow before God and should carry out the various services that he had ordered. As part of his revival he destroyed the high places that were scattered throughout the land. This had a place in his activity, but it was a comparatively small place and by no means its main feature. It is not stressed as a main feature in that chapter.

We shall look at Driver's Commentary on Deuteronomy. Here is what he says about chapter 27. He says that in this chapter the discourse of Moses is interrupted. He says that it is hardly possible that the chapter can form a part of the book of Deuteronomy. He says that it must be from some other source. Now that is purely imaginary. It does not fit with the theory, so take it out. But there is no evidence for taking it out! There is no reason why it should be taken out except that it does not fit their theory. As it stands, the book of Deuteronomy has chapter 27 at this place where it fits very logically with the progress of the book! Moses is stressing the fact that the people should obey the law of God, and orders a procedure, as soon as they get into the land, to stress the law in the minds of the people as soon as they begin their conquest. He says they are to do it at Mr. Ebal, a good place in the center of Palestine, to which they would come in the beginning of the conquest, and he says they are to offer sacrifices there!

Addis prints the D document separately. In the book of Deuteronomy he changes his type quite frequently. He says that the additions by later writings of the Deuteronomic school are to be printed in italics, and puts most of chapter 27 in italic type. When he comes to verses 5-7, which say that they are to build this altar and sacrifice peace-offerings there, he puts an E around it, because, according to their theory, the E document allows sacrifice anywhere that the Lord would establish His name. Therefore, he says, this passage must come from the E document. But see how unreasonable it is to make such a claim here. The critics claim that the primary purpose of the book of Deuteronomy was to do away with all the alters throughout the land and substitute centralized worship in one place. Yet they say that the writer, or some later scribe, wrote a section that contradicts that purpose. Was it

interpolated by someone who disagreed with the writer of the book? When did the man live? How could such an interpolation get into the D document? It could hardly have been put there by one of the J or E writers who, according to the theory, lived at a much earlier time, long before the time when the D document was written! That is absolutely impossible! Here the theory of interpolation clearly does not work.

The opposite of interpolation is to assume that additions were made to an original JE document by later writers. That would mean that an early JE document, consisting of chapter 27 (or just of verses 5-7) was the nucleus around which the book of Deuteronomy was composed.

The next four paragraphs were unclear on the tape: [We can see that this is ridiculous, because according to the critics the whole purpose of the author of Deuternomy was to make them sacrifice in one place, and he would hardly include something that orders them to sacrifice at a different place. If he had done so he certainly would have changed it. They answer this by saying that whenever there is a difficulty in JE, because of a thought that they say is more advanced, they claim a later change. Well, surely, they would have changed this if it were inserted into Deuteronomy!

Addis says that verses 5-7 introduce an element much older than the time of the author who wrote Deuteronomy, who could hardly on his own initiative have recommended an alter of sacrifice on Mount Ebal.

Dillman and others say that we have here a fragment of the E document. How could a fragment of the E document get in here? Also, it is exhortation--the very attitude of Deuteronomy. It takes the law and by exhortation drives it home to the people's hearts. This is the style of Deuteronomy, as the critics insist, and the style of this very chapter.

That is, if a man would set up stones, inscribed with the law, that would be the Deuteronomic idea of sacrifices. And if we have 1-8 in its present form describing the style and spirit of Deuteronomy, and the directions in 11:1-3 to the Israelites to give the blessings on Mount Gerizim and cursings on Mount Ebal. And then later on [lastly in 14:26 ??] a still later writer, not of the Deuteronomic school, described the Levites who were according to t] the thirteenth to bless [as] pronounce twelve curses. So this is a non-Deuteronomist who wrote the last part of it and a Deuteronomist who wrote the middle part of it and he took a fragment of JE, which has not been preserved in its proper place in JE and contradicted the whole idea of Deuteronomy, and he put it here in the middle of this chapter. In other words you have to resort to all kinds of twists to try to give any reasonable explanation for how it could come about that this command would sharply contradict what the critics say is the main purpose of Deuteronomy, that it would be included here in the book of Deuteronomy in a section whose whole viewpoint and attitude is utterly typical of the Deuteronomic style.]

There is no reasonable explanation of it from the critical viewpoint, but it fits right in with the natural interpretation of the Pentateuch as it stands: that the major law is given in the Book of the Covenant in Exodus 20:23, that at that time they are to sacrifice where the Lord records His name and there He will bless them, and that it is important that they make their altars the way that He describes them. Then, when they approach the land of Palestine, they are told that after they are in

the land and the Lord has given them peace from their enemies, they are not to sacrifice in various places but are to bring their sacrifices to the place that the Lord will select. It is a matter of good order, so that during the long periods of peace when they are apt to drift into indifference, the direction of the religious life may be unified. This is not part of the moral law, about a definite matter of tremendous importance to be observe at all times, but it is an arrangement for the conduct of the nation during the period of peace and ordinary life.

The critics say that the law here in Deuteronomy was not even known until the time of Josiah. They say that before that we find people sacrificing all over. They say that the people are sacrificing at all kinds of places, and that all kinds of people are sacrificing, and therefore that the law of Deuteronomy was not yet even known.

As to the idea that only Levites should sacrifice, they say that if you go through all the historical accounts from the beginning of Joshua to the time of Josiah, you find that everywhere Levites are mentioned that the mention of Levites was inserted at a later time--at the time of the P document. If you take out the references to the Levites, then you will find that there will be left no case prior to the exile when the sacrifice was done by Levites! They say it was done by just anybody. All references to the Levites up to the time of Deuteronomy are said to be late insertions. But look at the history as it stands, and you will find that there is a section in the book of Joshua which tells us that when the people in Joshua's time got the idea that this command of Deuteronomy 12 was going to be disregarded by a section of the people, they almost had a great war about it. That is contained in Joshua. It is an element of the history which fits very closely with the idea that the Pentateuch was written when it says it was, rather than that this idea did not come into existence until the time of Josiah. In Joshua 22, you find that after most of the conquest had been completed Joshua called the people whose inheritance was in Trans-Jordan. You remember that they had left their families in Trans-Jordan, where they had established their homes. Moses had said to these two and one-half tribes, "If we give you land in Trans-Jordan, you must go over and help conquer the rest of Canaan," and they agreed to do it. Now in Joshua 22, when the great conquest was finished, Joshua called the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh and told them that they were now free to go back across the Jordan to their homes. He ordered them to take diligent heed to follow the commandments of the Lord, and he blessed them and they went away. Then after they had gone, word soon came back that they were building a great altar in Trans-Jordan at the place where the children of Israel had crossed. Then in verse 12 we read that when the children of Israel heard of it, the whole congregation of the children of Israel gathered themselves together to go up to war against them. The children of Israel said the children of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, "What is this, that you are building an altar over there? This is contrary to God's will. You are rebelling against God. You will bring great misery upon the whole nation by doing such a thing. We cannot permit it." Then the people of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh answered and said, "We want to follow the Lord. If we have built an altar in order to make burnt-offerings and meat offering, let the Lord himself punish us for it. We have no such idea in mind. We will build a large altar over here as a

monument to show our unity with the people and to remind us of what the Lord has done so that when our people see it in years to come it will remind them of their relation to God, and of the fact that to perform sacrifice they must go over to the place God has established. In verse 29 they say, "God forbid that we should rebel against the Lord and turn this day from following the Lord, to build an altar for burnt-offerings, for meat-offerings, for sacrifices, because the altar of the Lord our God is before his tabernacle." So chapter 22 of Joshua is a long description of an historical event, in which there was almost a war between the two sections of the people, because one misunderstood the other and thought that the other was starting out to disobey the law of Deuteronomy 12, to establish a permanent altar where they would perform sacrifices apart from the rest of Israel. As the history stands it has this whole chapter here which stresses the fact that this law was known at the beginning and that this was God's will for an orderly procedure in the conduct of the religious life, after the Lord had given them peace from their enemies round about, and established them in safety in the land.

We can see that these two passages in Deuteronomy which do not fit at all with the critical theory, from the viewpoint of their theory, have to be expunged, cannot be considered as interpolations because earlier writers cannot interpolate into a later book.

According to their theory, an earlier passage contradicting the book of Deuteronomy has been inserted in Deuteronomy and changed to fit the Deuteronomic style. Also if their theory is correct, here in Joshua a whole important incident in the history of the people has to be utterly expunged and decided to be purely imaginary and made up hundreds of years after the time of the conquest.

Of course, they would say that it is a story that was made up by somebody who wanted to set forth the Deuteronomic theory and so made up this story. And that is the difficulty with the whole critical position. If you would take certain documents as they stand, and say, "Look at them. You see this development. You see how it fits history." That is one thing. Now a step removed from that. If you take a Bible and you divide it into sections and you take out a verse here and verse there and a few verses here and a chapter here and you make up documents and then you say, "Look at this document. You see the progression. You see the evolution. You see how it fits." Then when you have to take some verses out of the their context, change a few words here and there, cut out a sentence from elsewhere, and then mix them around in order to make them fit your theory, it shows that actually you are twisting facts to fit a theory rather than making a theory to explain facts as they stand. In any field of study we have to make theories, but the important thing is that we take the facts as they are and find the theory that explains the facts, rather than twist facts around to fit the theory.

This chapter shows that the law of Deuteronomy, that there should be one place of sacrifice, was already known.

[Unclear student's question]:

AAM: No, I do not think so, because in chapter 22 they built an altar, and the others said, "You are going to sacrifice contrary to God's will." Then they said, "The LORD forbid that we are making an altar of sacrifice. We are just making an altar for a monument and for a memorial." The law

was not against building altars. The law was against sacrificing. You would naturally think of an altar as a place for sacrifice, but it would be necessarily be one. Right in Deuteronomy we found that Moses commanded them to build an altar at Ebal, because it was God's will to have them sacrifice where He directed them under the conditions He chose. Under normal peaceful conditions, when the Lord has given them peace throughout the land, then it was God's will, in order to preserve the unity of the nation, that they should have one central headquarters where all the sacrifice would be done. It is a matter of general welfare of the people, during times of peace.

There is no place in Deuteronomy that says that they are only to sacrifice in Jerusalem! Not once! It says, "the place the LORD your God shall choose out of all your tribes." It does not say where it is to be. Then, after they went into the land, the sacrifice was done at Shiloh for a long time. That was then the place that the Lord showed them out of all their tribes. Then, after Shiloh was destroyed, they were under Philistine domination. With Philistine oppression came a very tenuous existence for their nation. They were not at peace and there were several decades in which the worship of God was carried on under great difficulties. At that time Samuel went about sacrificing in various sections of the land, as he went directing the religious life of the people. He did this instead of trying to get them to come together in one central place, as would be the normal procedure. Under those circumstances the normal procedure could not be carried out. In a time of war and oppression, the vital thing was not, "You are to sacrifice at this place." The important thing was, "You are to remember God and do the things He wants and when you have peace over your enemies and a normal condition of life, then the religion is to be centralized in the one place in order to have a unified religious life of the land. It is likely that later the Jews misunderstood the law, as they misunderstood many things, and so came to feel that sacrifice must always be at Jerusalem. So in 70 A.D. when Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews were scattered throughout the world, they quit sacrificing and so left out a tremendous part of the Lord's commands and of their law that they read through in their synagogues. This is the great center of their lives--especially the five books of Moses. And yet, think how much of the five books of Moses consists of precise detail about sacrifice, and they do not do it at all, because the temple at Jerusalem has been destroyed! It was not God's plan that they should not sacrifice unless they had the temple. There is no such law. It is set down as the orderly procedure that when they are established in the land and God has given peace over their enemies around them, then the religious life is to be centralized and the sacrifice is to be in one place. It was Shiloh originally, and then later moved to Jerusalem.

Joshua 8:30 says, "Then Joshua built an altar unto the LORD God of Israel in Mt. Ebal, as Moses the servant of the Lord commanded the children of Israel as it is written in the book of the law of Moses--all of whole stones over which no man hath laid any iron and offered thereon burnt offerings unto the Lord and sacrificed peace offerings, and he wrote upon the stones a copy of the law of Moses which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel." And it goes on to tell how they read the curses and the blessings and, that is the command that is given in

Deuteronomy, and to read the curses and the blessings upon Mt. Ebal. We are told in Joshua how it was carried out. Of course the critics say that this is not a part of the original JE book, but of a later edition by a Deuteronomic editor. It includes the building of an altar and the offering of peace offerings and burnt offerings on that altar, which is contrary to what they claim is the basic purpose of the book of Deuteronomy.

Christ has come and all the sacrifice is fulfilled in Him.

Thus the Jews, through a misunderstanding, are ignoring about a fourth of the law, though they make that law the central thing in their lives. That misunderstanding of the Jews is part of God's plan. It is a wonderful indication of the fact that after the death of Christ the Jewish sacrifices have ceased. Here are the Jews denying that Christ is the fulfillment of the sacrifice and yet not carrying out the law, "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin." They do not do it because Jerusalem is trodden down of the Gentiles, but nowhere in the Bible does it say that you must sacrifice at Jerusalem. It is their misunderstanding. Here the critics have a similar misunderstanding.

The last part of Deuteronomy contradicts the theory of the critics and here Joshua reinforces that matter.

There is a book by John Garstang, a British archaeologist, on *The Foundations of Bible History: Joshua, Judges.* In that book he looks at portions of Joshua and Judges that the critics assign to JE and shows how these have been corroborated at point after point most marvelously by archaeological evidence. In the preface to the book he says, "I have only dealt with the earlier portions of Joshua and Judges--the JE portions." He goes on to say of the portions that are in P, "Strangely they also contain some passages which fit with archaeology, but I have not gone into it in this book."

The basic style of Deuteronomy is exhortation: "Obey the law." That is the Deuteronomic style. Chapter 27 of Deuteronomy is definitely Deuteronomic style, and this part in Joshua tells of the carrying out of the exhortation. It is clearly Deuteronomic, and yet it contradicts what they say is a basic law of Deuteronomy. It would take two or three hours to look at all the points at which the critics say the Deuteronomic law is broken before the time of Josiah, but I do not think it is necessary that we spend a lot of time closely examining all of those particular points, if we have the basic principle in mind. In either case, the law is not as the critics say it is, and also there is nothing contradictory to the Pentateuchal law in having sacrifice at different places during times of upheaval or disturbance. The Pentateuch gives the law for the general situation in times of peace. We have evidence in the historical books, first of this place in Joshua where there was almost a war because they wrongly thought that some of the tribes were going to set up a separate altar for sacrifice. Then there is a long period when all the sacrifice is done at Shiloh. Then, after the Philistines come, there is terrible confusion for quite a while, but then David establishes the central place in Jerusalem. Jerusalem was not really made the central place until Solomon had built the temple. The old habits of the time of confusion persisted for awhile. Then, after the division of the kingdom there were altars springing up here and there. Many of the best kings of Judah were trying to get the great principles

of law carried out. These kings are criticized by the higher critics for not having tried to enforce unity of worship, and they all say this is due to Deuteronomic additions. But what they do not mention is the fact that the great reform of doing away with the altars was not produced by Josiah but by Hezekiah! Hezekiah did away with the altars, and then, during the period of Hezekiah's son, Manasseh, when wickedness was triumphant and paganism reigned and the followers of God were persecuted, then naturally, if they were going to have sacrifice at all, they had to develop the separate places again. And when Josiah brought back the law in full, he reestablished the normal situation of having sacrifice in one place. He did away with high places where there was idolatry. In the case of Hezekiah, they say, "Well, that is a later statement which is not right!" But that is in the history as it stands. The critics say that the history gives two theories, and they say, "The history fits our theory, but it does not fit this." However, their theory is based on misunderstanding of the Pentateuch. The way they say the Scripture stands is not the way it stands at all. Just take it as it stands and you will find that the history fits. Of course it does not fit their imaginary statements, because that is not the way the Scripture stands.

The evidence for partition is the first place of concentration. If there is no evidence for partition, there is really no need to go further. But if there is evidence for partition, or if it is assumed that there is evidence for partition, then the next question that comes up is one which was very vital in the establishment of the Wellhausen theory: Do these documents as they stand show a development from one to the other along evolutionary and Hegelian lines? Do they show a progress from the simple to the complex--from primitive ideas of God to more advanced ideas?--from primitive attitudes toward certain religious institutions to more regularized and systematized and perhaps less spiritual attitudes on religious institutions?--Is there such a progress among the documents?

We have looked rather fully at the evidence as to progress among the documents, and we have seen that while there are cases where there are differences between the documents, in most cases these differences are readily explained in view of the way the documents stand in the Bible and their relation to one another. In some cases we do not know the reason for the difference but it is not necessary to say the reason must be a development as there are many other possibilities as to what the reason might be in these particular cases. But in the case of the points on which the critics lay so much stress, saying that they clearly prove that there is a development, we have seen that most of these concern the place of sacrifice or the person who performs the sacrifice. We have noticed that actually there is not such a contradiction or difference between them as the critics claim. This claim about the position of the JE document is read into the text; it simply is not there. The claim they make about the D document says that the D document is strictly for the purpose of getting a change made so that sacrifice would be in only one place, but in fact there is only one chapter in the book of Deuteronomy that deals with this, and it is not the main purpose of the book at all. Even there it is not given in such a way as to make it necessary to say that there is a change. It is explicitly stated that

when you are at peace in the land and God has given you victory over your enemies round about, then you are not to have places for sacrifice all over the land but you are to come to the place which the Lord will choose out of all your tribes. Under normal circumstances there is to be a unity which is to be made easier to observe by the fact of having one place of sacrifice. Then as to the other matter, of persons who sacrifice, the D document frequently refers to the Levitical priests. Of course, this implies that the priests are of the tribe of Levi, and JE nowhere says they are not of the tribe of Levi. In the P document it is explicitly laid down who the priests are and how they are to be selected, but that does not prove that either the D document or the JE document disagree with the P document in this regard. It was a matter with which the priestly legislation naturally dealt. It was not necessary to tell all the people to be sure that the priests are selected from the tribe of Levi and that they belong to the family of Aaron. The people did not vote on who the priest would be. The priesthood was hereditary. Regulations for it are laid down in the handbook of the priests and do not need to be repeated to the people. On these two points on which they lay so much stress, the differences can be readily understood in view of the relation of the documents as they stand in the Pentateuch, and the assumption that there is a progress among them rests largely upon inference from things which are not stated there--in other words, to a large extent on an unwarranted argument from silence. As we have seen, the critics bring their strongest argument in connection with this matter of the development hypothesis. They say, "Here we have the development among the documents." If there is not a development among the documents there is no need to go further. But they say, "We have the development among the documents and this proves that these documents, which have this development among them, were written in this particular order, from the simple to the complex, and this is proved by the fact that in the history of Israel the actions of the people correspond with the development idea." So the development idea is greatly strengthened by saying, "Look at the history and you will see its development. But we noticed previously that if you look at the history you should look at all of it, and if you look at the history as it stands, you find that it sharply contradicts this critical theory. In the history as it stands the book of Joshua tells how the people, at the very beginning of their time in Canaan, felt that it was so important that an altar for sacrifice for the two and a half tribes not be established as separate from the rest that they were ready to go to war over it. In other words, it was their understanding that the formal procedure was to have one place to which all the tribes were to bring their sacrifice. We also noticed that when they came into the land one of their first acts was to establish an altar on Mount Ebal and to sacrifice there. Not that they were going to keep on having sacrifice there, but that on this one great occasion, they would do so, and this very act was commanded in the book of Deuteronomy. Thus the very book which the critics say was written for the purpose of doing away with having altars at different places commands a sacrifice on a particular occasion at a different altar. The critics try to get around it by saying it is an interpolation. But this argument does not work. If it were an interpolation it would have to be an interpolation by people who lived and died, if the critical

viewpoint is right, long before the book of Deuteronomy was written. They try to get around this by saying that it is a JE fragment which is not included in the main JE book, but a JE fragment which a Deuteronomic writer enlarged upon, and then later on someone else inserted it into Deuteronomy. If this were true, he would have had to be a pretty stupid fellow not to realize that it sharply contradicted the teaching and purpose of Deuteronomy, if its teaching and purpose is what the critics say. But if you take the book as it stands you see that its teaching and purpose is not what the critics say it is at all, and that it is not a book written for the purpose of establishing a new system, and making people think that Moses had given these orders hundreds of years before, while actually establishing a new system to do away with sacrifice throughout the land and cause that it all be confined to the one place in Jerusalem. Actually it does not fit with that idea at all.

The argument from history, as the critics make it, is an argument which can be made to sound very strong, but the thing to remember, as you read it, is that it rests upon the assumption that there is such a development among the documents. It rests upon the assumption that the documents show the sharp contradictions or strong changes which the critics claim are there, and we have seen that there is no such thing. The historical evidence they present lacks any evidence that after the time of Josiah sacrifice was all in one place. It is only evidence that there was sacrifice at other places prior to that time. Also, it is not proved that it was only Levites who sacrificed in Joshua's time and then Aaron's descendants at a still later time. We have very little evidence on these matters from those periods. Very little evidence at all. The great bulk of our historical material deals with events before the time of Josiah. In the course of that material there are many cases where sacrifice is performed at another place than at Jerusalem. They say that this proves that Deuteronomy could not have been in existence at that time, but as we have noticed, it does not if you interpret Deuteronomy correctly.

Next I want to glance very rapidly at a few of these instances they give. It would be interesting to take a good bit of time on them but that is not necessary for a true understanding of the matter, and anyway we do not have the time. I may go a little rapidly over some of this material, so get what you can of it. As I said, it is not primary. The primary thing is the understanding, but I want you to get a general idea of the situation.

Here I would like to make a suggestion. There is a book which is well worth studying on this matter of Pentateuchal criticism. It is James Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament*. Let me say two things about James Orr's book. One is this: it is unnecessarily concessive at certain points. He was a great professor in Scotland, living and writing at the time when the criticism had already pretty largely been accepted throughout Great Britain. The whole atmosphere was one of considering anybody as rather incompetent who did not accept it, but Orr gives excellent arguments against it. In the course of his discussion he makes certain concession which I think are due to the feeling of being more or less alone. As far as I can see, they are not concessions which strengthen his argument, and I do not think they are necessary. Yet they are not great, though unnecessary concessions to the critics do

occur at a few points. The other matter is this: I have known people who have come here who had taken a course in Pentateuch at some other institution before they came and who told me that they have studied Orr's book all through, and when I have discussed the Pentateuch with them I have found they did not know the first principles of what documentary interpretation was--what the theory was or the main principles given. Thus it is entirely possible for a person to study Orr through and get nothing out of it. I think Orr takes a little too much for granted for the ordinary student. It is not my opinion that there is much use putting Orr's book in the hands of a man who does not know anything about the Documentary Theory, but it is my opinion that if a person has had an introduction to it, such as you have had, and will then go on and study Orr, he will find it tremendously profitable. The vital ideas and points which we have dealt with in this course would be driven home to your mind from the way Orr deals with some of them and touches others. And I think you would find that he brings out many additional details that are extremely helpful and valuable. I wish it were possible for most of you to study Orr now, after finishing the course, rather than during the course, and certainly not in advance. For that reason I have been thinking in the last two or three days that I should suggest that if any of you would like to study Orr's book this summer and take an examination on it, we could give one hour of elective credit for it. I think that would be about the amount of work that it would require. It would be very valuable to drive home to your mind the vital points and to get additional worthwhile details that you could not get in a course of the length of this one.

Book title

A Short Intro to the Pentateuch (1949)

At this point I ~~might~~ mention another book, one by Professor Aalders, a professor at the Free University of Amsterdam. ~~I forget the exact title, but it~~ which deals with the authorship of the Pentateuch. It came out about a year ago. It is published by the Inter-Varsity Fellowship of Great Britain and distributed by them in the United States. In this book **Professor Aalders has taken up the various arguments on the Pentateuch. I have not looked over his material very fully, but glancing at it I got** the impression he had done a very good job with some of these arguments. There is some very fine material in the book. He is a very fine Christian man and a very fine scholar. I met him years ago in Scotland. I looked into some of the chapters of Aalders' book and found some very good material and I imagine the rest is also very good, but I was sorry to find that in the middle of the book he devoted a chapter to what he called "Amosaica and Postmosaica," in which he took up some of those old arguments made before the criticism ever developed, and said that some of the statements could not be by Moses. But I believe they could be by Moses! I do not see any proof that they are not. They are not matters which, like the criticism, involve a complete rearrangement; they are matters of individual statements which could conceivably be interpolations. I do not think it is necessary to consider that they are. Anyway, they are isolated statements which do not prove anything about the rest of the book. If they could not be by Moses, these individual statements, of which there are not many, could be insertions at a later date, though I see no reason to think that they are. One of the two he puts most stress upon is the statement, "Now the man Moses was very great in the eyes of Pharaoh and in the eyes of his house." He says,

"Nobody but a terrifically egotistical man could have written a statement like this. Therefore Moses could not have written this. It must be later." The other statement is, "Now Moses was meek above all the people on the face of the earth." He says that Moses would have been terribly conceited to write this, so this must be by someone at a later time. He says that Moses could not have written those two statements, but I do not agree with him at all. I believe that "Moses was very great in the eyes of the Pharaoh and his servants" is a statement which explains why Moses could come right into the palace and see Pharaoh. If I were to go down to Washington and say, "I would like to tell President ~~Truman~~ what he should do about something or other," perhaps after fifty tries I could get past the third guard, but I probably would never get past the fourth, and it would be even more so in the case of Pharaoh's palace. It would be far harder to get to him. If you wrote a letter in advance and told what you wanted to see him about, and explained it at full extent, you might possibly get one interview with the President, but you certainly could not go in and see him day after day about a matter. Certainly not unless you were considered sufficiently important that it was unavoidable to take you through the White House. A friend of mine has a cousin who was a prominent man in New York, who was asked by President Roosevelt to see him, and Roosevelt said, "Now anytime there is anything that you think it is vital to get in touch with me about, just give me a phone call, night or day, anytime at all." He said, "I will give the switchboard people word to put you right through to me any time, night or day. I know that you would not do it unless it really was extremely urgent." As far as I know the man never called Roosevelt.

According to Exodus, Moses goes into Pharaoh's palace and talks with him over and over. This could not happen unless Pharaoh and his officers had a very great feeling of Moses' importance. The sentence is necessary, otherwise the story would not make sense. It does not say that Moses is great; it says Moses was great in the eyes of Pharaoh. If I were to start telling you how I had dropped in and seen Truman every month for the last twelve months, you would not believe me unless I could make some statement to prove that he considered me important enough to give me that attention. So there is no reason in the world for us to reject this statement.

About the other one, that Moses was very meek, Moses was in a situation there where any ordinary man would have stood up and fought with these people who were criticizing him for the woman he had married. Anybody else would have stood up and fought. "You may not like the color of her skin, but she is the one I love and I have married her and it is between me and the Lord whom I have married and none of your affair whatever." But Moses did not do that! Moses kept quiet, and the Lord intervened. The Lord called them out and rebuked them severely for having criticized Moses for the color of the skin of the woman whom he had married. So under the circumstances, the statement is necessary, "The man Moses was very meek." There is no reason in the world why Moses, knowing how his pride had been the cause of condemnation by the Lord, and knowing that he had his faults as others do, should not explain that in this particular incident he had shown a very unusual attitude, that he had stood by quietly as hardly anybody else would have done.

If you do not want to say Moses could have done that, you might say

it was an interpolation someone else put in at a later time. He could hardly understand how Moses could have submitted to their criticisms, so he put in a footnote and said, "Now the man Moses was very meek." It is just a matter of one sentence, but on the basis of those two sentences and a few others which are much less important than those two, Aalders says that Moses could not have written them, so he says that the Pentateuch was probably written sometime between the time of Saul and the time of Solomon. In my opinion, these two chapters give very silly arguments for a position which utterly destroys the whole stand for the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. If you take those two chapters out, I believe that Aalders' book would be very excellent. The rest of it is very useful, but I cannot recommend it without giving a discussion of those two chapters.

Aalders recognizes that the great majority of the Pentateuch is Mosaic, but he says that the Pentateuch, in its present form, is much later, perhaps in the days of Saul. On this I think his logic is ridiculous. The impression I got was that he would think that there might be large sections which were written by Moses and others interpolated by a later writer, but that the book in the form in which we have it now is from a later time.

Orr has some very fine discussion of the particular points which we are dealing with now. The critics say, "Here is somebody who sacrifices in one place and somebody in another place and somebody in another and somebody in yet another--how could there be a law that sacrifice is to be only at one place?" Well, as we have noticed, this law is not a great moral principle that sacrifice is to be at one place. The law is, "You are to worship the Lord; you are to serve Him; you are to follow Him. When the Lord has given you peace in your land and you are established normally, you are to have a unity and to make your sacrifice at one place." That was the law. Let us briefly glance then at some of these cases. Just to summarize a few of them, which can be omitted from full discussion. The first one is that whenever you find the root from which the word altar is taken--altar is the place of sacrifice, but does not always mean sacrifice. The word [ ] means "to kill," and usually "to kill for sacrifice," but not always. This can be proved conclusively. It is not a questionable matter, though it may be one which is not realized. It may not be realized because dozens and dozens of times the word [ ] is used of sacrifice, and there are comparatively few times where it does not mean sacrifice, but just "kill." One of these few is so absolutely clear that it settled the matter beyond the peradventure of a doubt. It is in this very chapter, Deuteronomy 12, where we are told two or three times that they are to bring their sacrifice to the place the Lord their God shall choose out of all your tribes. They are given this command, but in verse 21 it says, "If the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to put His name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock which the Lord hath given thee and I have commanded thee and thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after." That is to say, they were to make their sacrifices at the place established, but they did not have to bring all their cattle there to sacrifice. They brought there what they would sacrifice. Normally, if you lived near it, you would bring all your cattle there and you would kill it sacrificially. The priest might

get a small section of it, but most of it, which was a sacrifice, you could bring home. But if you are too far away, you do not have bring it all in there and carry it all back again; you can kill it at the place where you like, but he continues in verse 23, "only be sure that thou eat not the blood." In verse 21, "if the place is too far then thou shalt kill of thy herd and thy flock as I have commanded thee and eat it in thy gates," the word there translated "kill" is this word, used this way right in this chapter--the chapter that has the command about the one place of sacrifice. The word is used for killing meat, apart from sacrifice; that shows that the word [ ] does not necessarily mean "sacrifice," It means "to kill" an animal, and ordinarily the killing is done for sacrifice, but not necessarily. It may be killing in accordance with the proper ritual, which is to let the blood out and not eat of the blood.

One of the instances which the critics make much of concerns Saul. You remember that he was in battle and they had had a great victory and they were all terribly hungry and tired and the people began killing animals and just eating them and Saul stopped it. He had them put a stone there, and when they killed the animals they put the neck over the stone and let the blood drain out and they say that he sacrificed there. He sacrificed there, out in the place where they were having battle. There is not a problem in this connection, because the word [ ] does not have to mean "sacrifice" and there is nothing whatever said in the context about it being a sacrifice. They were wanting food and the thing was that he told them to follow this command here in Deuteronomy 12:21 and not to simply kill the animal but to kill it the way God had ordered, which was to let the blood drain out so that they did not eat it with the blood. That was contrary to the Mosaic law that you never could eat meat with the blood still in it.

I do not have the reference to Saul written here. It is in I Samuel, in connection with one of his early battles. I imagine that most of you remember the story. At least I hope you know enough of Old Testament history to recognize it. The word [ ] does not always mean "sacrifice." We read in I Kings that Adonijah went out with some friends who were going to make Adonijah king while David was still living, though very weak. They took Adonijah out and sacrificed oxen, sheep and everything. But it does not mean sacrifice; it means that they had a big barbecue feast. They took the animals out with them and they killed them there. We can be sure that they killed them in the proper way, letting the blood flow out. Yet this was not a sacrifice; it was a feast, and it does not mean sacrifice at all. Other similar cases certainly do not prove anything about the law. Many are actions of men who were not models in any sense, such as Micaiah and his image. There are actions of Saul for which he was rebuked. There are various actions which we cannot take as proving whether the law was in existence. There are also some cases of commands of God given under various exceptional circumstances, such as, in Judges, in the time when they were subject to their enemies and the angel of God came and told them to make a sacrifice. Then there is the event at the threshing floor, where God stopped the pestilence and David purchased the threshing floor and made a sacrifice. That was not a place designated specifically to be the place of sacrifice, though it may very well be the place where Solomon built the temple later on. Yet, after removal of all of these, there are some

real difficulties, especially in connection with Samuel, Solomon, and the attitude of the righteous kings and prophets. All these are great difficulties for those who accept the critical theory that there is a hard and fast law in Deuteronomy that it is utterly wrong to sacrifice anywhere except in the place which God has designated as the one place out of all the tribes. Yet if you take Deuteronomy as it stands, with only one chapter dealing with it, and even that chapter presenting it as something to be done after the Lord gives them peace from their enemies, and with an exception right in the book of Deuteronomy itself, you see that it is God's command to the people that they sacrifice and that the important thing is their relationship to God. The sacrifice is evidence of the relationship to God and under normal conditions it is to be centralized in one place, but to give up the sacrifice altogether for lack of proper place to have it, is like a person saying, "I will not read my Bible because there is no sound church in this community!" Certainly a person should be a member of a sound church, but a person should never give up reading his Bible because no church in his community is sound. We must not be ridiculous. The Lord wants us to have our relationship to Him. He wants us to have it under the proper conditions and regulations if that can be done, but if circumstances prevent it, that is no reason to do away with the major things of the law. When they were under the Philistine subjection and it was impossible to have a unified system, Samuel went about and had his sacrifices in different places in the land. He made a circuit. Then the people from the area would come to one place and express their faith in God there and have their sacrifice. Then Samuel would go on to the next place. Under the circumstances it was a reasonable way to do it, since the temple at Shiloh had been destroyed and they were subject to the Philistines for a good many years. In this situation it was not possible to try to have one place of sacrifice; they must either do away with sacrifice, or do the sensible thing and have them in places that were convenient for the people, with Samuel going about from one place to another. Thus the people might not readily and quickly get back to the realization of the one proper place.

Instead of rebuking Solomon and saying he should not sacrifice at Gibeon, which is a high place, but only in the designated place, the Lord appeared to him at night and said, "What shall I give you? What do you want?" It was Solomon's desire to serve the Lord. When he asked for wisdom, the Lord was pleased. This was immediately after he sacrificed at the great high place at Gibeon! So Solomon was not disobeying God then. Solomon was carrying on the custom which had become established during the previous time of upheaval, and they had not yet re-established the system they had before.

Solomon established the temple at Jerusalem, and it became the center. Now the critics say that the law of the place of sacrifice and the law of the person of sacrifice are both proven to be non-existent by the fact that Solomon performed sacrifices at Gibeon. He would not have performed them at Gibeon if Deuteronomy had already been written. He would have had the priest perform them. It says, "The king went to Gibeon to sacrifice there for that was the great high place. A thousand burnt offerings did Solomon offer upon that altar." You can just imagine Solomon picking a thousand cattle and lifting up each one onto the altar and cutting its throat, and sacrificing a thousand sacrifices. He must

have had a mighty strong arm to do all that. It is very clear that it does not mean that Solomon performed the sacrifice. Solomon offered them; it means that Solomon gave the sacrifice. Thus you can speak of anybody making a sacrifice. You do not mean that person does the offering. It does not say whether he did or did not. But when they offered a thousand, you can be quite sure he did not. When we have the command given that the sacrifices are to be performed by the priests, it is not the least bit out of the way to consider that what Solomon did was to say to the priests, "Here are these sacrifices for you to sacrifice." Solomon would not do it himself; the priests were set apart for that purpose. It was normal for the priests to do it. God enforced this when Uzziah tried to take over the priestly function and went into the temple to offer incense himself. The Lord smote him with leprosy. The Lord would enforce those regulations against any man who would say, "I am going to do this; I am going to take over the priesthood." But if a man overlooked the law or neglected it or did not realize his error and went ahead and made a sacrifice, the Lord would probably bring to his attention the fact that that was not the way He wanted it done.

Now in the case of Saul, he was definitely expecting Samuel, who was in charge of the religious life. Saul had no right to step into the control of the priesthood. The king was never meant to be head of the church. The Bible tells about the great victory of the Philistines, and after that victory there is no further mention of Shiloh. Then Jeremiah refers to the terrible way in which Shiloh had been destroyed. We have looked at the general principles relating to the persons who perform the sacrifices, and to the place where the sacrifice is to be performed. Dr. George A. Barton, who wrote the book *Archaeology and the Bible*, has written an article in which he says that archaeology has proven the once separate existence of the great documents JE, D, and P. I wrote him a letter in which I said, "Dr. Barton, I was much interested in your statement. I wonder if you would mind telling me what the proof is?" He answered, "The proof is that we have not found archaeological evidence of the existence of the great institution of the P document." Well, what does he mean by that? What are they? What are the great institutions which we do not find? We have not found the high priest's robe. We have not found the breastplate of the high priest. We have not found the altar of incense. We have not found the things that were in the temple. These were carried off to Babylon. Later they were brought back and then they were carried off by the Romans. That is proof?

He made a statement showing a strong prejudice. The evidence he gave was not any evidence at all, but merely a dogmatic statement.

The critics say that Deuteronomy was written for the purpose of enforcing worship at one place. Here there is a great difficulty--a difficulty which Orr handles very nicely in his book. The early critics held this view, and it is very clearly given in the Hastings Dictionary of the Bible. It says there that the majority of the critics believe that this book of the law which has been the result of a pious fraud perpetuated by the priest with the intention of deceiving Josiah into the belief that the reforms they desired were expressly commanded by God. That is the theory as the criticism presented it a hundred years ago. Then the majority of the critics believed this book of the law to have been the result of a pious fraud to make the king believe that the

reforms they desired were the express command of God as revealed to Moses. That is what Wellhausen believed. It is the situation in the founding of the Wellhausen theory, that Deuteronomy was written by the priests in Jerusalem who were anxious to get all the sacrifice centered there so they would get all the income, and that therefore they wrote this book pretending that Moses had commanded sacrifice to be only in one place and then hid the book in the temple and pretended to find it and brought it out. When Josiah saw it he tore his clothes and said, "Great suffering has come to our nation because that we have disobeyed this law." That is the view which the critics originally held. From the historical view, it is a very simple thing. Deuteronomy takes a step forward, and here is the reason for it. The priests wanted an addition to their income, so they wrote this book to present this law and they put it in the temple. But later, after people began examining the idea, they said, "That does not seem reasonable. For one thing, you look at the book and you find that Josiah's great reforms have comparatively little to do with having one place of sacrifice, though it does enter in. That is only one thing in it. At these high places there probably were all kinds of heathenism, and there was no proper control over them. Some of them may have been places of real worship of God, but many of them had probably fallen into all kinds of wicked, evil, and immoral practices. The emphasis is not simply on the removal of the high places, but on the fact that Deuteronomy urges a greatly improved ethical standard for the nation. There was a great lifting of the moral and religious tone of the nation. It is hard to think that a book with the high ethical standards of Deuteronomy, a book that gave a very great impetus to better ethical and religious life, was written by people who were intentionally presenting a fraud and pretending that it was written by someone long before, who hid it in the temple and brought it out and pretended it was an old book! Although people were not authorities on old books in those days, as they are today, it is very difficult to see how they would have been deceived, when it was just newly written, without it being rather obvious from the book that it actually was a recent production. You would think that there would have been people who suffered or lost possessions on account of the king's reform, in whose interest it would have been to have pointed to the book and said, "This is a fraud! This is no book that came from Moses." So naturally the later tendency among most of the critics has been to give up this idea of a pious fraud. Yet if the pious fraud idea is given up, the historical difficulty becomes greater. There is another article that describes the finding of this book of the law in the temple as a fortuitous occurrence, and says that there is no foundation for the suggestion that the priest himself had written the book and the story of its finding was a fabrication. It says that the account is straight forward and natural. It is now generally agreed by the critics that the book may have been written in the day of Manasseh or in the early part of the reign of Josiah. So now you have two ideas: the book was put in there by the people who wrote it in order to pawn it off on the king, so they hid it in order to find it again. Many of the critics say that it was a definite fraud, "a pious fraud." They definitely say that they tried to make it look like an old book and tried to make the people think it actually came from Moses and thus they palmed it off on the king. This presents tremendous moral difficulty. It

is pretty difficult to believe such a thing actually happened. But if that did not happen, where did the book come from? And how did it get into the temple? And how did these people come to think it was an old book if it was just written by someone else and got in there in some accidental way? That is pretty hard to believe too. And how did the book come to be written to give these new ideas, as they claim they were, if it was just written by someone who had no thought of it being palmed off on the king with the pretense that it was an old book? You see there is a great difficulty either way! The theory is not a satisfactory theory. Its most satisfactory form is to think of it as a pious fraud, but it runs into a great moral difficulty. It is hard to think that people could thus have written the book of Deuteronomy, one of the loftiest books ever written, as most people admit. So now most of the critics try to figure out how the Deuteronomic school of writers wrote all this diversity of beautiful material and how they combined and joined it all, and then in some way it got into the temple. Most of them say it was written just at Josiah's time, though many of them say it was written long before it got in there. And how did this one chapter get into it that dealt with trying to unify the worship? Thus they get into problems that are practically impossible problems. So the very simple idea that it was put in the temple in order to get this thing across of sacrifice in one place, when you work into its detail, just does not work out! And I doubt if you will find many critics today that believe that, but they cannot explain in any satisfactory way how it got there. The usual attitude of critics today is that this book was written in the northern kingdom, and not from the southern kingdom at all! They say that all sorts of things in it reflect the ideas of the northern kingdom. But the northern kingdom had been destroyed sixty years before the time of Josiah. How did it come to get in the temple and be discovered if it was never known before, and palmed off on the people as something written by Moses?

Student question on the destruction of the alters previously: [unclear] A.A.A: Well, yes, Josiah did it after the book was discovered, but I think Mr. Myers is probably referring to the fact that Hezekiah had done the same thing at an earlier time.

We should point out the fact that, according to the historical statements, Hezekiah destroyed the altars nearly one hundred years before Josiah's time. Of course, they were rebuilt in the time of Manasseh. When believers were persecuted, new altars were built and later some came to be used in connection with all kings of wickedness. As soon as there would again be a good king, it would be possible once more to have the unity that had existed under Hezekiah. The critics try to say that Hezekiah's reform could not actually have happened, but the Scripture tells how the same thing had happened under Hezekiah a hundred years before when he destroyed the high places. So Josiah's reform was not a new thing, the result of a new book being written. The book of Deuteronomy, and in fact the whole Pentateuch, was known all through.

Now I will conclude with a very quick summary. There are features in the book of Deuteronomy which are alleged to show its late date but there are also many features which fit the early days and have no relevance at all to the time of Josiah. One instance is the command to destroy the Amalekites. The Amalekites disappeared hundreds of years before the time of Josiah. There are also other commands that have

nothing to do with the time of Josiah. We should also note that there is no mention of Jerusalem. There is no specific reference to many things that were well known to everybody at the time of Josiah. The background of the book is the time of Moses.

I want to stress the fact that the whole criticism is a theory which is built up of many guesses and assumptions. They present all these different strands trying to support it, but every one of them has a weakness. No one of them actually supports the theory, nor do all of them together. It is one of the most remarkable instances of a figment of the imagination, which is said to all fit together. When you get the conclusion, it sounds like a great beautiful theory, but it all hangs in the air. There is no real support for it, and archaeology has undermined many of the alleged supports. It is very important that we realize the situation. The things which people say about the absurdity of the theory are all true, but I do not think that is the way to deal with people who believe it. We should try sympathetically to understand what the arguments are, and I have tried to have you do that in this class.

I am very anxious that you really know what the theory is. There is no use discussing it unless you know what it is, and that you know the bearing of the different arguments. I have stressed some of the details, but there are many others of great interest and importance.

You could study Carpenter a great deal more, but if you did so, you would want to check every one of his statements.

I hope that all of you will read Orr through and study it, sometime in your life. If you do, you will find it very much worthwhile.

End of Pentateuch Class for year 1951-1952, beginning January 29, 1952 and ending May 7, 1952 by Dr. Allan A. MacRae at Faith Theological Seminary, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.

Quotes on Pentateuch Lectures by students, etc.

For sheer intellectual adventure and enjoyment I cannot look back upon any course I took whether in college, theological seminary, or in graduate linguistic studies that can compare with *The Introduction to the Pentateuch*, taught by Allan A. MacRae at Faith Theological Seminary in the mid-1940's. The impression that the course made on me is poignant and fresh. Professor MacRae spent half of the semester building up the positive case for the partitioning of the Pentateuch according to the tenets of source criticism. He did so good a job of it that many of us in the class began to suspect that he was like the painter who paints himself into the proverbial corner. Then about halfway through the semester he began to walk about the edifice that he had so carefully built and pull at a brick here or kick a beam there, until the edifice began to wobble visibly. But even his demolition -- although very thorough -- was carried out somewhat wistfully with the desire, expressed several times, that he had had at least one *true believer* in source criticism with us in class to argue with him and impress on us the seriousness of the controversy!

Robert Longacre, Interpretation and History: Essays in Honor of Allan A. MacRae. Christian Life Publishers, Singapore, 1986.

Allan had been influenced greatly by Robert Dick Wilson who was careful not to side-step the difficult questions of the Old Testament. Like Wilson, he took his students on a painstaking review of Pentateuchal criticism and the single authorship of Isaiah. We spent a month, three hours a week, on the latter. We took a whole semester to consider the development of documentary theories concerning the writings of Moses. Such time-consuming study was not appreciated by many students, but the professor always insisted that only the truth would prevail, and that truth would be found in the data of scripture and not in the critics' theories.

John Sanderson, Interpretation and History: Essays in Honor of Allan A. MacRae. Christian Life Publishers, Singapore, 1986.

The lectures of Allan A. MacRae on (Isaiah or the ~~Pentateuch~~??) should be published.

Dr. Martin Lloyd Jones
Westminster Cathedral

2.

more Quotes here if possible

Check all the letters to him in that book he showed me

See Killen p22-23

Dr. MacRae
This section was missing from 1952, so I typed it up and it now needs editing. Please go through it and make any change you want. The lines are numbered every 10; if you need more space - write on the back + number the sentences accordingly. S.H.

MacRae,1952
MacRae,1952

D. ***The Argument from Style*** [apparently this argument was not recorded in 1952, therefore it has been taken from the lectures given in 1962]

1. ~~***Introduction to the argument from style.***~~ The importance of ~~argument~~ claim that you can easily recognize distinct styles ~~and thus assume~~ different authors could be established if such writing as would only be produced by very strong support for the critical theories ~~would be an important argument if proved.~~ The fact that ~~But if you have~~ two books which simply differ on one point, ~~that~~ would not necessarily prove that they are ~~two distinct books. There might have been a~~ reprinting ~~of the~~ book with a change of one particular feature. ~~Nevertheless~~ this ~~argument, if sustainable,~~ would be a far more important argument than the first ~~argument~~ from divine names. ~~The divine names is the most conspicuous place~~ where the critical idea got started, ~~but~~ no one today ~~will~~ would ~~maintain in~~ build a detailed argument ~~that upon that alone the theories can be built. It would be maintained~~ from it by itself. He declare that use of different divine names is only ~~that that was just~~ one of many stylistic points. There ~~So you~~ see, the importance of this fourth argument, ~~in relation to the first.~~

In relation to the second argument, from continuous narrative, it must be asked if they have a complete document in each of them. It was already admitted that E does not start until Genesis 20. It is not complete, but they say it is complete from there on. That is, they may start at different times and end at different times. Why would you have to have the whole thing covered to have a complete document? For the area covered you could have two entirely different documents, and not have them cover the same ground. It seems very strange that they do completely cover things like that. So the second argument is not as important as the fourth: are there two distinct styles, or three or

four, which would clearly have to have written by different authors?

Regarding the third argument (from parallel passsages), which can be a significant argument for a distinct document, if you have the same thing told twice and told in such a way that the author did not realize it is the same thing, and they contradict each other, it would suggest that it could have come from two different sources. But, it would not prove two extensive long documents. It is a great argument for breaking up the argument from parallel passages, but unless you have a long series of parallels, it would in itself not prove ~~it. But~~ if you ~~can~~ could say, here are three or four styles which are so different that there is no question that different people wrote them, ~~then~~ you would have a very strong ~~an~~ argument.

If you ~~can~~ could say that there are three or four styles in the text which are so different ~~(e.g. as some suggest the way Chaucer differs from modern English)~~ that there is no doubt that different people wrote them, then you would have a tremendous argument. If proven, ~~much~~ it would be far more important than the previous three. And, if proven, it would be very difficult to say that any of the other three would really stand up as evidence that there were originally distinct documents. So this argument is tremendously important: the claim that there such differences of style and viewpoint that there must have been different documents originally, having these differences.

2. ***There is no solid basis for establishing a style of distinct writers*** since no separate document by the alleged writer has been preserved. ~~I think~~ This is a very important point. Regarding the suggestion, made by some, that a comparison between Chaucerian and Modern English is analo-

gous to the language of the Old Testament, it must be asserted that any such statement is ridiculous. Nobody can simply look at a section of Genesis or Exodus and say that they are as different as the English of Chaucer and the English of today. The language in the text is the same. ~~There~~ are ~~not~~ distinct dialects. No real scholar would maintain that ~~they~~ ~~But~~ they ~~do maintain~~ claim that there are distinct features of style which show ~~you~~ that you are dealing with a different writer. If you read through a three hundred page book which I had writen and a three hundred page book which ~~Mr. Faucette~~ one of my colleagues had written, ~~then~~ you would probably notice a variation of style in sentence types, words, and terminolgy. A word that you find used many times in ~~Mr. MacRae's, which would have fit well in Mr. Faucette's, we do not find at all,~~ my book might not occur at all in his and vice versa. We would probably find distinctive features of ~~their~~ preference for types of sentences, types of language, and particular words. One is ~~always saying~~ might say, "This style of house...," and the other ~~is always saying~~ might say, "This ~~design~~ type of building..." There will naturally be ~~this~~ such diversity between the ~~two books, regardless of the fact that they are~~ work of two writers, even when writing about the same subject. There is also the fact that on many things they would have the same words and usage. There would be differences ~~as well as~~ and also similarities. ~~Having~~ After you had compared these two books, if you could pick out four pages from one and ask who wrote them, Mr MacRae or Mr Faucette. You could examine them and note that ~~the types of sentences are of the type that Dr MacRae uses, but only a few of the type Mr Faucette uses. The word "house" is used frequently, but the word "building" is hardly used at all. In this case you would have a solid basis for determining the style where authorship was in question.~~ a few pages from another book you might be able to tell which of the two had written it. If you had only a paragraph it might be far harder.

The book of Deut consists mainly of Moses' farewell address. Its style naturally has many differences from that of other portions of the Pentateuch but most of these differences are easily explained by the different purpose of the

In the case of the Pentateuch, aside from Deuteronomy, so far as the three documents are concerned, you do not have long documents about which it can be said, this is all from P, or this is all from J. It is purely imaginary to suggest that there were once documents of that type. Therefore, there is no basis on which to establish the peculiarities of the suggested documents. So the critic must go through what is there and try to divide it into sections on the difference of divine names or parallel passages, etc. Then, having created divisions, he must try to prove there are distinct styles, and then he attempts to divide the rest of the material according to the style distinctions. There is a tremendous danger in arguing in a circle. You may separate all the passages using different words and posit that there are distinct styles evident in the material, but you have simply put it that way and have argued in a circle. There is a danger in arguing in a circle because there is no solid basis on which it can rest. This is a very important point regarding the idea that the stylistic differences are sufficient to divide up Genesis into three documents, which they claim are there. The next point is almost as important as this one.

3. ***The alleged criteria are not carried through consistently.*** This is a very important point, and one which would have to be proved. The average person who has done some study in a liberal school, but has not gone into the theories extensively, as few do any more, might not think it through critically at all. But formerly a student in a liberal school might have been expected to spend a great deal of time studying the evidences for P and J. Today it is just taken for granted, and the

students come out with absolutely no question as to the "facts," but actually not knowing much about the details. They think ~~I am sure that the impression they have is~~ that Genesis can be clearly divided into three long, parallel documents which are distinct. And they ~~will also~~ assume that these distinct documents display very different styles, ~~which of course~~ This alleged difference of style would be a very strong support for the whole argument, if it could be proven. If we could separate all the sections that use Elohim for God from all that use Jehovah, and then ~~no~~ would find that ~~in~~ the sections that use Elohim ~~he~~ always speaks of a maidservant as shiphah, while those ~~and in the other section he always~~ speaks of a maidservant as amma, ~~if we found that~~ in the Elohim section he always speaks of male and female, ~~male and female humans and animals, he created them. But in~~ while the Jehovah section ~~he~~ says always "the man and his wife," ~~Noah brought into the ark all of the male and female animals, but the "man and his wife" entered.~~ If we could carry such features ~~these~~ through consistently, it would be a very strong argument for their theory. And many graduates of liberal schools, I am sure, are convinced ~~of the fact~~ that such distinctions can be carried through the entire Pentateuch, ~~therefore,~~ if you were to spend some time with a person who has done work in this area, but who was beginning to have doubts about it, and you would let him select two or three stylistic features said to be typical ~~you simply took~~ one of the things they said are consistent in one of the documents and look at all the occurrences of these features in the Pentateuch for each of them, ~~traced it through~~ I do not believe you would have much difficulty in showing him that those particular criteria are not consistently applied.

The critics say that there are three or more recognizably distinct documents with different styles, but ~~and~~ when asked for evidence they do not try to prove that there are different styles; ~~but rather they try to prove~~ they assume this and simply ask which verses belong in which document.

MacRae,1952 Search (1952)

For example, they will say that a statement with the word shiphah for maidservant, instead of the more common ammah, proves that it is a typical J, word and thus must be part of J. Or another which says "male and female" will be taken as a typical P expression, but "a man and his wife" is a typical J expression, and so on. They say that this sort of thing is proof that verses can be placed into various documents. When we look at their divisions and their criteria for their divisions we find that they are not consistent. If they could simply take every example of the various cases and put them where they wanted them and then say that the proof is there, then they would be reasoning in a circle. But they can not do that because they claim to have each document complete. They claim to have full stories which read intelligently and in order to say that they can not take a few words from here and a few from there but they have to take full sentences or sizeable portions or their argument would prove nothing. There would not be enough to prove it, unless you can say that at least in general there are fairly long passages taken from it. Our objection to them is that they do not. For example, they now take Gen 1:1-2:4 as P and 2:4 to the end of chapter 4 as J. It sounds good to take a large section from one place and another from another place, but when you start pulling verses out and scattering them in such a way then it make the entire thing begin to look rather weak. But even after they have done this to the text, if we say that there are words that they say are distinctive in one place, but are nevertheless found elsewhere, then they will say there was a redactor who changed it. The redactor in order to make things fit together used words from other

documents. But when they turn to this type of argument they weaken their the larger one is tremendously weakened. With that sort of argument you get into such a complicated comparison of words that it is very easy for anyone to get lost. And so it is much easier for most students to sit in class and listen to the liberal professor as he declares that the distinctive marks of style show clearly that there are distinct documents, and accept his words for it, than it is for you to sit here and have me tell you their arguments are wrong, than it is for either of them examine the evidence for themselves, to see what it proves. And for that reason there are very few people who actually know much detail surrounding the issue. There are a few books which take up some of these points of style, trying to look at them extensively, but if I would take a half a page of one of those books and try to make it clear, it would take me twenty minutes to do it. So you do not get very far with sort of argument, unless you take a great deal of time. But I think it is important to say, that if the evidence was clear for distinct documents, it would not take so long to prove it. The fact that there are so many exceptions, questions, and cases in question is in itself an argument against the theory, rather than for the theory. Hln 1919 l

I heard a chaplain who had come back from World War I, give a lecture on his experiences of the battlefield where shrapnel and shells were flying all around, and all that sort of thing. He said he went into a hospital and saw men with broken legs, arms, and all that sort of thing. Then he told how in the end they had a victory celebration with banners and people marching, and all that sort of thing. In fact about every

third sentence he said, "all that sort of thing." You would conclude from his lecture that he had a very distinctive feature of style. But I would not be surprised if most of those who heard him use that expression forty or fifty times in that hour used the same expression themselves at least once or twice in the days immediately following, since it has been impressed on their minds, and they would use it simply because they had recently heard it repeatedly. I would not be surprised if, after he had given about thirty such lectures, in which people found this repetition tiresome, somebody might have said how disagreeable it was, and others might make him an enemy for life. Yet, if he was a man of sense, he may have taken it to heart and never used the phrase again as long as he lived. You can break yourself of a habit like that. It is difficult, but it can be done. All who do much speaking tend to fall into such habits if we are not careful, and we should be thankful when somebody points one out so that we can correct it. But that is a very poor basis for determining style, because one can change it, go to extremes with it, or even stop it altogether, and the fact that one person does it a lot does not mean that others do not do it as much or even more.

Any argument based on the use of words to prove distinct styles should be used with extreme caution if it is to be valid. Yet, even such evidence taking them as the critics try to do, they do not carry it through consistently. They will tell you that certain parts of a chapter are clearly P style because they used a phrase said to be typical of P. Then you may find that in almost every case where they make that statement it is in the middle of

~~will be some variable thing in~~ a J passage, and they will have a footnote saying that here the redactor has inserted a P word. That is something ~~you can easily investigate yourself and get the details if you want to develop an extensive argument~~.

Driver's *Introduction to the Old Testament* was the standard introduction for many years, and most of the critics do not actually depart from it much today. On page 14 he discusses the ~~division of~~ Genesis, saying that ~~here~~ in the account of the flood the main narrative is that of P which has been enlarged by the addition of elements derived from J. ~~However~~ these elements ~~form a solidly~~ complete narrative, though there are omissions, and he has a footnote which reads, "J has Gen 7:1-5 and 7-10 (in the main)." That is, "in the main" is J, and verses 7-9 include two or three expressions. Why does he say two or three expressions, when there actually are three? One of them is "two and two," one is "male and female," and one "Elohim." In these three verses, which he says ~~belong to J, there occur~~ "two and two" which he says is a distinctive P phrase, And the word "Elohim" in these three verses is mainly from J. That is, the redactor put ~~in three verses here which are really P~~ phrases. Why would ~~the~~ redactor do ~~that? If he took three verses and changed three different expressions in them to fit P, why didn't he change the whole thing throughout so that you could not~~ distinguish the documents?

There are not many cases where they will say that ~~the~~ redactor has changed three phrases in two verses, but there are a great many where they will say he has changed ~~one phrase~~ in the story of the flood, male

and female is a typical P phrase, because it occurs in Genesis 1. "Man and his wife" is a typical J phrase, sometimes translated "male and female" in the King James Version. Because in the Hebrew you say "the man and his wife" as a phrase to mean any pair, man and his wife, but not necessarily human beings. There are two places where male and female is used in the distinct verses about six verses apart, which they give to a J passage, but it actually uses "male and female," so they say that a redactor changed it here.

Professor Alders of the Free University has quite a discussion of Genesis 33 in his book *A Short Introduction to the Pentateuch*. I would like to give you the main points of his discussion. As he points out, chapter 33 is ordinarily ascribed to J, except for its last two or three verses. Why should they ascribe it to J? Because in verses 1, 2, and 6 it uses J's word for female slave, rather than E's word for female slave. But in that chapter the name Elohim is used, Jehovah does not occur in it at all. And you give it to J because it uses this word for female slave, but it has Elohim in it several times, so the critics say that this Elohim has been changed by the redactor. These are only two illustrations of the many that could be given of the way that the criteria are not consistently applied.

Every time they say a redactor has changed things, they weaken their argument, it would seem to me. And the number of places they say a redactor changed things are very numerous. For example, a book on the sources for the Pentateuch by an author named Brightman divides the J document and the E document. He says the name Aaron is typical of the P

document, and Aaron does not belong in the J document at all. Yet And Aaron is used thirteen times in the J document, according to Brightman, So but in each case he cuts it out and because he says it was inserted by a redactor! ~~because Aaron is a typical word for the P document.~~

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~~The argument from words would not be a conclusive argument, for the document, if it could be carried out~~ by itself ~~Even if it worked~~ but it is important to note ~~that my point is~~ that it does not carry out consistently. It sounds strong ~~and it is given~~ presented but when we examine the details, they must say the redactor changed them. ~~But they must pick out some words in a middle of a verse and say it was "taken from the other document," but once~~ that we find many places where they have not (11) when they do that they destroy the basis really of that type of argument!

4. **The theory does not generally maintain individual writers, but schools of writers.** We have not said much about this, but if you take look at the critical books written many that were forty years ago, you will find that practically all of them ~~hold to~~ speak of J1, J2, J3, J4, P1, P2, P3, P4, and so on. Today there are some who say that J was a ~~very brilliant~~ writer of the time of David who was a very brilliant stylist. ~~But~~ Most ~~would~~ say that P represents a priestly school. I do not think anyone holds that P is an individual, ~~but~~ They say instead ~~I believe~~ that a priestly school ~~of men~~ gathered material and wrote it up and put it together. How can there be one distinctive style if there are many writers involved? There might conceivably be a tendency in ~~this~~ such a school to favor certain words and types of expressions. This possibility ~~fact~~ does not destroy the argument, but it significantly weakens it.

5. **Regarding J and E there is much disagreement among critical scholars.** Driver's statement above is perhaps as accepted as any, but most

will disagree as to the divisions of J and E. Pfeiffer, who wrote *An Introduction to the Old Testament* which has largely replaced Driver in liberal schools, ~~takes J and~~ divides ~~it up between~~ J into S and J. He ~~takes~~ all of the first part of Genesis ~~and~~ puts it in what he calls S, and, instead of considering ~~that~~ it to be the earliest document, he makes it the latest document of all. There is considerable disagreement over the style of J and E. ~~Going~~ Studying back to an earlier time, we recall that Eichorn and others originally felt that the Elohistic document was one unit in which the style was uniform, and that the J document had a distinct style. Then Hupfeld said that the second Elohist was more like J than E! Before that it had been considered that there was ~~practically~~ one Elohistic document, but then he divided it up and said that the E document is so similar to J that it is often difficult to distinguish between the two. On stylistic grounds ~~the~~ differences between J and E are very difficult to separate out!

There is one thing the critics are almost unanimous about, and that is the P document. So we will discuss that next.

5. The division between P and J-E on which there is great unanimity among critical scholars. This division is really a division of two types of subject matter! There is very little disagreement on what is P, but as to J and E there is great disagreement. P is unanimously thought to consist of long sections in the beginning and some brief sections in the middle of Genesis. This unanimity of scholars about P might ~~on P would~~ seem to be a strong argument for the critical theory, at least for the existence of P as a separate document. Therefore, it is vital that we notice the fact that a difference in style is inevitable when you have different subject

matter.

I have asked you to learn the four principle literary types of material in the Pentateuch law, narrative, enumerations, and statistics. Much of the law material is similar to enumerations and statistics, and that sort of thing quite certainly has a different style than what you have when telling a story, so that if you go through Genesis, you will find that most of the stories are given to either J or E, but the overwhelming bulk of the stories are given to J or E. The one outstanding instance where it is not happens right at the beginning in Genesis 1. When we look at Genesis 1 we can easily ask whether we have a story, a list, or a tabulation. Because Genesis 1 says that God said, "let there be light, and there was light. And God saw what was made and it was good, and it was evening and morning, one day. Then that is repeated different things are made, but there is a tabulation. There was, God said something. The thing was done. God saw that it was good. It does not say that every time but several times and there evening and there was morning, (a certain) day. There is enumeration which is repeated steadily through six days. And so they say that is the distinctive repetitive style of P; it is monotonous, statistical, and enumerative in contrast to the brilliant style of J. This is what the critics say about the distinctive style of P, and that there is no question about it being a distinct writing.

Actually most of the material has a distinctive subject matter, rather than a distinctive style. The subject matter calls for a different type of style. A different style is natural for a different subject.

In Luther's great address to the German nobility, in which he pointed out how much German money was going to Rome, showing the economic oppression of Germany by Rome. Luther also wrote that same year on the Babylonian captivity of the church, and in which he showed how the influence of the Roman curate was destroying the ability of the German church to show people how to be saved, and how they keep people from the knowledge of salvation with the seven sacraments. These two fiery polemic articles, which Luther wrote in that year, would immediately be seen as very similar in style. We would have no question about whether Martin Luther wrote both of them. But in that very same year he also wrote an essay on Christian Liberty in which he tries to winsomely show the privilege which the Christian has in his liberty from the fears of punishment and guilt which is due to him through the grace of Christ. As you read this beautiful presentation of the freedom and rights of the Christian you can see the style is utterly different from the fiery polemic style of these other two essays he wrote in that very same year. He was dealing with different subjects. I do not know whether you have heard of Ray Stannard Baker, who was a well known political and economics writer about thirty years ago. He issued the letters and state papers of Woodrow Wilson. At the same time that he was being widely received as a writer on politics and economics there was a series of books published which were said to be authored by David Grayson. One was called *The Friendly Road* and another was called *Adventures in Contentment*. These books were about a man's interesting experiences which he had as he traveled around this country. There were four or five of these books which were

very different in ~~content~~ character and style ~~than~~ from Ray Stannard Baker's writings. Yet, ~~and then~~ eventually it was discovered that David Grayson and Ray Stannard Baker were the same man! Baker, who wrote political and economic treatises, also enjoyed this other sort of private life and wrote books about it ~~which had~~ that were a wide reading. But the person who liked one side of his writings ~~may~~ might not be interested in the other at all. Some readers might ~~would~~ be interested in both, but many were amazed to think that the same author wrote both types of literature. He was dealing with different material, and the style ~~of it~~ would naturally be different. About twenty five years ago I ~~got~~ bought a new Remington typewriter. When I went to the Remington office in Wilmington I told them that I would like ~~to get~~ my new typewriter ~~that would~~ to have some special signs on the keyboard. They said that anything ~~they had~~ sign for which a matrix had already been made ~~for~~ was available at no extra charge when you purchase a typewriter. So I arranged for ~~the~~ a standard keyboard except for the places for ~~extra~~ special marks, ~~I had~~ where marks for Babylonian ~~and~~ transliterations would be put in. Everything was satisfactory except for one ~~missing~~ matrix, they said ~~would cost me~~ that ten dollars, ~~to have made. So I said that maybe~~ somebody else had ~~gotten that one~~ made, ~~previously, and therefore~~ already ~~are~~ are made so he said he would write to the factory in Buffalo. Afterwards I ~~got the notion~~ decided also to write ~~also~~, ~~and so I did and I~~ the factory and I received a very nice letter ~~from them~~ telling me how sorry they were about not having it and ~~how~~ saying that could the store ~~would be able to get it~~ one made for me for ten dollars. When I returned to the store the man ~~told~~ showed me he had received a letter from the factory about my request, ~~and~~ it was from the same man who had written the letter to me, but he was not writing to a customer, ~~rather~~ but to the zone was very different. Now

a fellow employee, and he said, "Why don't you tell this fellow that all the matrixes we have are in the book? Hurry up and get the sale finished; get it over with." The style of the two letters was utterly different, even though the same man wrote them both.

So where there is a difference of purpose there can be a difference in the ~~purpose~~ type of writing, even of the same writer. The style of Deuteronomy, ~~without question,~~ is different from the alleged style of J; there is no question about that. ~~But as in the case of P, it is a difference of purpose.~~ The material they give to J tells about Abraham and what he did. It is narrative. In Deuteronomy, Moses is addressing the people shortly before his death, ~~and~~ exhorting them to obey the law and to follow God who has done such wonderful things for them. It ~~has a style which~~ is filled with exhortations and pleas to follow the Lord followed by declarations of the misery that will come if they turn away from Him. All that has a very distinctive style, the style of Deuteronomy. It has ~~But is was~~ a distinctive occasion, ~~when he~~ is pouring out his soul to the people in his farewell address. You would not expect him to do that when he is writing about the marriage of Rebecca and Isaac or about the departure of Joseph from home. There is a different subject, and a different purpose, and thus the style is different. But, a different purpose and subject and style does not necessarily mean a different author. When you are dealing with a different subject, you will naturally use a different style.

If you write a list of specifications for the building of something of a technical nature, your style is bound to be different than if you are telling a story or giving an exhortation. The style of P is ~~said to be~~

different form the other styles, and it is, because the purpose is enumeration, statistics, lists, genealogies, and details of the laws which are not given as exhortation for the people, but which are given for the regulation of the priesthood in applying the laws and carrying out the work of the tabernacle. So P has a style that is distinctive from J-E, but it is distinctive because it is a different sort of material, with a different purpose, and the same is true of D as well. That is a tremendously important point, in [illegible] argument.

To say there is no difference in style between what they give to P and what they give to J-E is absurd. But to say that the difference in style is such that it necessarily implies a different writer is not true, especially when you recognize that different subjects produce very different styles, even when written by the same author.

It is important that you understand the various stages of the critical theory of the development of the Pentateuch as we have it, and to be able to describe what happened in each one of them. According to the theory as held today, by practically all the scholars who accept the critical theories at all, the J document was the first document written. And most of them would hold that it was about the time of Jehoshaphat, though (1) that it was written, (2) some today are becoming a little more conservative, and putting it back as far as David's time. In fact, I heard one great scholar say how interesting it would be if you could only whether the writer of the J document at the time of David, who was a brilliant writer, was personally acquainted with the man who wrote the court history of David. He believes the two writers, two of the greatest in history, lived at the

same time. ~~But~~ Most critics would differ from him by putting it later, but practically all would say that it is the earliest document.

Their theory is that this J document was written and circulated as a complete unit, ~~and then probably circulated in the northern kingdom.~~ Some ~~even say,~~ instead of speaking of J and E as standing for Jehovah and Elohim, think of the ~~as~~ letters as standing for Judah and Ephraim, the southern and northern kingdoms. ~~And~~ They ~~think~~ suggest that the E document was written in the northern kingdom, ~~but it~~ parallels the ~~same~~ material ~~as~~ covered in the J document. ~~They say,~~ from the viewpoint of the northern kingdom, ~~noticing~~ the places where the E document speaks of places in the northern kingdom, ~~took at~~ as proof that it comes from the northern kingdom, in telling what had happened up in the northern kingdom. Then they come to places where it tells what happened at a place in the southern kingdom and they say, we can notice the marvelous power and breadth of feeling of the writer of the E document in the northern kingdom, who also tells of events that took place in the area that later became the southern kingdom. But the E document, they hold, was written a little after the J document, and that the two circulated separately. Then they say, ~~that~~ a redactor combined the two into one, ~~and~~ so we have a work called J-E. ~~That is to say, that~~ is the term they give to a document combining the two, including both of them almost completely, ~~and this J-E~~ which then circulated. Then, they say, about the time of Josiah, somebody wrote a document to urge people to centralize the worship at Jerusalem, and this document, which they call D, ~~for Deuteronomy~~, included most of Deuteronomy and a small amount of additional material. ~~And then there was~~ a redactor ~~who~~ combined D with JE, and they

call him the redactor of JED, and so this JED ~~then~~ was combined and circulated. Maybe this combination took place during the exile, or at the early part of it. But then, probably during the exile, a whole school of writers connected with the priesthood, wrote a document to glorify the priesthood and exalt ~~their~~ its importance. This they call the P document, the Priestly document. ~~And~~ This document gave a complete history which paralleled the others to a very large extent. ~~And then~~ After this P document, ~~after it~~ circulated for a time, they say it was combined with JED by another redactor, the redactor of JEDP, who ~~combined them together with the others, and~~ made the Pentateuch as we have it.

Those are the stages which are held by practically all the critics. ~~Of course, most~~ Many of them would also say that J was made up of J1, J2, J3, and J4 and that there were various redactors who combined them, as and they do the same with E and P. Some would say that ~~it~~ this is not true of JE but only of P. But they all have, as you see, quite a series of redactors, ~~but~~ The essence of ~~the series of documents~~ their view is that they were complete and distinct documents which circulated independently before being combined. They were not merely supplementation. Most ~~of them~~ critics hold that E was written in Ephraim, the northern kingdom, not in Judah at all, but in the northern kingdom a century or so later.

To repeat, they say that J and E were combined by a redactor, and then the combined JE circulated independently, for a long time, but after another document D was written, and circulated independently, then a redactor combined it with JE. There was a whole series of redactors, and then eventually a redactor combined P with JED. Nearly all of them hold there

were several divisions of P which were combined over a period of time by various redactors, but eventually you have P complete and you have JED complete, and then the two were combined together. The D document ~~allegedly~~ was written by Hilkiah the Priest in the time of Josiah and hidden in the temple, so that it would be found, but that theory has largely been given up these days. They hold that it was written sometime in the previous century by someone else. Many of them ~~do not~~ believe ~~anymore~~ that Hilkiah was lying when he said this was an old document; they think he was deceived about the matter, but that it was sometime within that century. There is also considerable discussion as to whether it was written in the northern or southern kingdom. Lately, they tend to think it was in the northern kingdom. That does not matter much, because the main phases of the theories, ~~are what are~~ absolutely necessary if it is to be understood. ~~As to~~ the characteristic features of each of these documents, Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* spends several pages describing ~~them~~. In the discussions, ~~in speaking of the~~ words which are used frequently, because ~~those~~ they are the basis of the critical arguments by which they distinguish whether a verse is from J or from E, etc. I will read you a couple of words to show you the way they deal with it. Driver says that "J, if he dwells less than E on concrete particulars, excels in the power of delineating life and character; his touch is singularly light, with a few strokes he paints the scene, which before he has finished, has been impressed indelibly upon his readers' memory. In ease and grace, his narratives are unsurpassed. Everything

is told with precisely the amount of detail that is required." He goes on and tells more about the characteristics of J. "The standpoint of E, on the other hand, is prophetical, though this is not brought so prominently forward as in J. In general, the narrative is more objective, less consciously tinged by ethical and theological reflection than that of J. Though he mentions the local sanctuaries, and alludes to the pillars without offence, he lends ~~no~~ promise to no unspiritual service. The putting away of strange gods is noted by him with manifest approval. Abraham is styled by him as a prophet." He ~~describes this~~ says as a peculiarity of J, that "his representations of the deity are highly anthropomorphic" (that is, he represents God in the form of a man). "He refers to God as coming down ~~through the power~~ and meeting ~~meeting~~ Moses, taking off the chariot wheels of the Egyptians, being grieved, repentant, angry, and so on. He uses anthropomorphic terms about God." Driver ~~He~~ says "E is more anthropopathic than anthropomorphic." In other words, E does not so often speak of God as speaking to somebody, he will have Him give them a message in a dream." E will speak of God being grieved, but is not apt to speak of God as coming down or meeting man." ~~While~~ that P, the Priestly narrative, they say "represents God as less anthropomorphic than J or E. No angels or dreams are mentioned, ~~by it.~~ He speaks of God as appearing to men and going up from men at important moments of their history, but he gives no further description of His appearance. Usually, the revelation of God to men is only in the form of simply speaking to them." Driver ~~He~~ goes on for two or three pages telling the characteristics of the views of each of these alleged writers. "The literary style of

P is strongly marked with JE, and especially J is free-flowing and picturesque. P is stereotyped, measured, and prosaic. The narrative flows like a steady stream and is articulated systematically, the beginning and closing enumerations are regularly marked by stated formulas. As was mentioned yesterday, P is the enumeration, genealogies, and statistics. Then he goes on and tells how dry and repetitious the style of P is compared with the interesting style of J. He does not discuss D so much here because it largely deals with a different book, the book of Deuteronomy. D, as you all know, is the exhortatory book, the book of exhortation. In Exodus the first laws are given at Sinai, the Ten Commandments, and then the judgments. The following chapters, which they call the book of the covenant, ends with a section exhorting people to obey these laws. In D you have the exhortation to obey the law with long flowing oratorical sentences. And in P you have the law given in great detail, which is important for the Priest as he administers the law, as well as for the judges. So they all contain laws, but the great bulk of the law is P and the next largest amount is D. These are the background matters that are tremendously important in connection with what we have had and with what we are going on to.

Student: Would you please say something regarding the origin of the name Jehovah, because one day in class we were discussing that passage and you said that that was not the origin of the name Jehovah at all, but the origin was in the Tetragrammaton.

AAM: The name Jehovah is the Tetragrammaton. Tetragram is a Greek word containing four letters and in this case the four letters represent

the name of God. Sometimes, we call it the tetragram rather than using the name of God when discussing the name in a technical way. How these four letters were pronounced in ancient times, no-one knows, and what the origin of the term, YHWH, was, no-one knows. I did not mean to discuss in class where the name came from; I would simply say, "God revealed this name, and that is its origin." The critics have various theories as to where it came from, but there is none on which they agree, because there is just no evidence on which to build a theory of the origin of names. Under that discussion, I did not mean the origin of the name, but I meant the alleged parallel regarding the origin of the name. They claim that in J it said, "Then began men to call upon the name of Jehovah," in other words, that is when they started to use the name, in the time of Seth and Enoch. Then they say that E says that God said to Moses, "Jehovah, the God of your fathers, is telling you to go to them," that is when the name began being used. But then they say that P says that Moses says, "what should I tell them is your name?" And then He said, "My name is Jehovah. I was known to your fathers as El Shaddai, but by my name Jehovah I was not known." We have discussed these various theories, the specific events, and the relation between them.

There are two distinct things which are very important. One of them is to know how the critical theory developed through its various stages. The other is to know what the present theory is, according to which the Pentateuch came into existence through certain stages.

I want to stress again the fifth point; the division of P and JE, on which there is great unanimity among scholars, is really a division of two

types of subject matter. ~~We~~ I want to stress that, because that is where we find unanimity, in the distinction between P and the rest, the principal idea is: narrative goes to JE, lists go to P, and it is not difficult to make a division along that line. This has been discussed by a great ~~many~~, many critics. They have come up with an arrangement on which they agree about what belongs to P. But ~~in the type of subject matter~~ as to the alleged difference between J and E, both of which are narratives, though using different names of God, there is great disagreement on the details of that division. ~~This point perhaps should have also included the division between D and the others, also a division of subject matter.~~ Most of the book of Deuteronomy is ~~hortatory~~ exhortation. Exhortation is very easy to recognize. Naturally its ~~the~~ style ~~in exhortation~~ is very different from ~~than~~ in explanation or narration. ~~It is quite easy to pick out certain sections and say these are not exhortation, except when they take an occasional narrative and say that it is~~

7. Actual distinction of various styles within a document is extremely difficult. How do you get a certain style? You are not born with a style different from that of everybody else. You develop your manner of speaking from hearing you parents and imitating them. As you get older you associate with people and you imitate them, and as an individual you select certain things to imitate and ignore others. You may even develop your own originality, although there is comparatively little of that. Most of what you do is imitation. Therefore, a really unique style for an individual is a very rare thing. We hear many things, and our styles consist of them. So, our styles are always in a state of flux, ~~and~~ if you take two books

written by different people you can go through them and ascertain distinct styles. You need a definite basis to see what the style are, Each because the styles are like two colors, red and blue, and each style is a mixture of all the different influences that have come upon a person. Consequently, to select parts out of a document as distinct styles without having a definite pattern as to what these styles are, is very, very difficult. You could accomplish a lot, but by no means could you do it all.

In Germany about one hundred and fifty years ago there was a large critical movement that believed styles could be separated out this way. They did not just do it with the Bible, but they did it with many other books. It is very interesting the way that it was done with the writing of the German poet, Goethe. You have all heard of him; and he was one of the great geniuses of literature. His most famous work is a Faust, which has been translated into many languages, is a long epic poem, which has had tremendous influence on many literary and philosophical leaders in Germany and throughout the world. His work has been studied and discussed at great length, so that people were studying and analyzing his style. There was a great German scholar in the field of style analysis, [illegible] who wrote a book on the style of Goethe's Faust. He took up the Prologue in the Introduction to Goethe's Faust, which he worked on more or less all his life, issuing sections consecutively. Shortly before his death he issued the complete book of Faust, and he said it is very interesting that in the Prologue, he sees the effect of the different parts of Goethe's life. He said that lines 110-125 reflect the exuberance

of youth and the optimism of a man with the world before him, and therefore this section was written when Goethe was a young man. Then he said in lines 140-160 we see the tiredness and disillusionment of old age, and therefore this part was written towards the end of his life. Thus he divided up Goethe's Faust into these various parts on the alleged differences of style.

Later it was discovered that in a place where Goethe had once lived, yet where he had not lived since his early twenties, there was a manuscript that had been forgotten in a pile of things. When a new tenant bought the house he found this manuscript, which was clearly in Goethe's handwriting, and it was soon accepted by all the scholars. It was a version of the Prologue that Goethe wrote when he was in his early twenties, and it proved that though other parts of it were worked over throughout his life, he wrote the Prologue practically in its final form when he was in his early twenties. These sections that Shearer had said showed the eyes of his old age, disillusioned, were found to have been written much earlier in final form. I think this is a very good illustration that it is easy to suppose one can separate various styles and various authors, when actually it is a very difficult thing to do, and in his case it fell through to a complete loss. It is very difficult to separate styles, as the critics claim to be able to with the Bible, the way they tried to do more than a hundred years ago to most books. Today this method of approach is practically given up on everything except the Bible.

PENTATEUCH LECTURES 1952

Outline:

Penateuch in general
Place of Penatateuch in the Bible
Survey of contents of Pentateuch
Esatablishment of Covenant
Establishment of system of worship
Authorship of the Pentateuch
Early doubts of Mosaic authorship
DeWette
Supplement Hypothesis
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Rise of Developmental Hypothesis
Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis
Discussion of Theories
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Levitical Priesthood and Laws Governing Sacrificial Practices