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ART. III.—FURTHER NOTES ON GENESIS.

MY last paper dealt with Gen. xxxiv.; I come now to chap. xxxv. It may be well to transcribe as far as is necessary what is assigned to P in this chapter, putting the passages in brackets which Kautzsch and Socin assign to the redactor. Following directly on chap. xxxiv. 29, which runs ["and all their wealth, and all their little ones and their wives, took they captive and spoiled even all that was in the house"], the narrative proceeds ["and they journeyed, and a great terror was upon the cities that were round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob]. So Jacob came to Luz, which is in the land of Canaan [the same is Bethel]. And God appeared unto Jacob [again], when he came from Paddan Aram, and blessed him." From hence to the end of ver. 15 we have a passage of tolerable length, assigned by Kautzsch and Socin to the redactor and P, of which the redactor is credited with ver. 14 and with the words, "and to thy seed after thee will I give the land" in ver. 12. Then the redactor adds the words, "the same is Bethlehem" in ver. 19 (JE) as an explanation of the name Ephrath. Beside this, we have the list of the sons of Jacob, vers. 22-29 which is assigned to P.

Many points of discussion arise from this assignment of the narrative. First of all, "and they journeyed" comes rather abruptly after chap. xxxiv. 29, which, according to the critics, it immediately succeeds,¹ whereas the verse follows naturally after ver. 1 (assigned by the critics to JE), in which Elohim bids Jacob "Arise, and go to Bethel." It is true that if we regard ver. 5 as a simple annotation by the redactor of a narrative which he had before him, some of the difficulties disappear; but it is to be observed that neither Wellhausen nor Professor Driver have committed themselves to Kautzsch and Socin's theory that these verses are the work of the redactor, so that on this point at present "the critics" are *not* "agreed."²

¹ The reader will bear in mind that P's narrative is supposed to be inserted *in extenso*, or very nearly so.

² Wellhausen assigns vers. 9-15 to P. Dr. Driver assigns vers. 9-13 to P and 14 to J. Kautzsch and Socin assign ver. 14 to the redactor. These differences are treated by the critics as immaterial. As a matter of fact, they are as material as Newton's famous neglect of an infinitesimal quantity in a very intricate mathematical calculation, which reduced the rate of the moon's motion by one-half! A difference of a single verse throws the whole *apparatus criticus* out of gear. The critics should agree among themselves before they call upon us to refute them. To refute each one of them individually would be too herculean a task. Professor Driver assigns vers. 1-8 to E. It is noteworthy that *not one* of the three condescends to give any reason for his assignment.

Therefore the difficulty here has still to be met. And if we grant that the words *are* the redactor's (a proposition a good deal more easy to assert than to prove) we are still face to face with the question why he made this insertion here and whence he derived his facts.

Our next point is that the alleged priestly writer (or P) here uses the ancient name of Bethel. The alleged prophetic writer (JE) in like manner calls Beth-lehem by its early Canaanitish name (vers. 16, 19); so again does P (ver. 27) speak of Mamre and Kirjath Arba as the ancient names of Hebron.¹ We need not go over again what has been said on chaps. xiii. and xiv.² But criticism has still to explain to us (1) how the priestly writer, compiling his narrative after the return from the exile, came to know these ancient names, (2) why he takes the trouble to disinter them, and (3) why JE, as we find in the same chapter, should also know them and introduce them into his narrative. Three times in this chapter do these ancient names appear. Which is the more probable—that the whole chapter is by one hand, and that a very ancient one, and that the later names are put in by a later annotator, or that two separate writers, writing at different times, should have made use in each of their narratives of names which must have been long obsolete when they were writing? Then, again, we have once more here the remarkable phenomenon to which attention has already been called,³ that the writer (in each case P, according to the critics) is obviously writing *away from Palestine* and for people unacquainted with its geography. But, *ex hypothesi*, the writer of the Priestly Code wrote *in Palestine* after the exile, and for Jews presumably

¹ That is, according to Kautzsch and Socin. But, as we have seen, Dr. Driver and Wellhausen assign vers. 1-8 to JE. But as vers. 22b-29 are assigned to P we still find *each* of the writers to whom the narrative is assigned using the ancient names—a mark of homogeneity of considerable significance. I might have strengthened my argument in the CHURCHMAN for January, 1899, p. 175, had I noticed that while Kautzsch and Socin assign ver. 14 to the redactor, Wellhausen assigns it to P, and Dr. Driver to J. The latter possibly scents danger here. But once more he does not condescend to tell us why he has altered the analysis of his fellow critics here. I have not the Rainbow Bible and the Polychrome Bible at hand, but I understand that they too differ from one another. How can conclusions as to style and authorship be reached when the critics are not agreed on the premises?

² CHURCHMAN for November, 1897, p. 64. We may add to what is found there (1) that chap. xiii. 18 (JE) states that the oaks of Mamre are *in Hebron*, that chaps. xxiii. 19 and xxxv. 2 (2) say that Mamre *is Hebron*, and that chap. xiv., supposed to be an insertion from a source not elsewhere used, explains *how it came to be called Mamre*—a strange, clearly undesigned, and most surprising agreement between the various “sources.”

³ CHURCHMAN, April, 1899, p. 348.

well enough acquainted with the land of their forefathers to know where Bethel was. The only possible explanation of this on critical principles is that P was quoting ancient records here; but if it be admitted that the post-exilic writer was following ancient and trustworthy authorities, then the argument for his separate existence disappears. For his late date is inferred simply from his obvious lack of authentic information, his resort to inventions of all kinds in order to prop up the views of the Deuteronomists and other innovators on the ancient religious polity of the Jews. These inventions, be it further observed, become darker and more criminal in their character if we find that the priestly writer actually had access to the most ancient and authentic traditions, and deliberately substituted his misstatements for them whenever it suited him to do so. There can be little doubt, I think, that a strong *primâ facie* case is presented, both in this chapter and the last, for the contention that we have before us a narrative of great antiquity, compiled when the writer and those whom he was addressing were, and had for some time been, absent from the land of Canaan. The very fact that Canaan, not Israel, is the word used here, is an additional proof of high antiquity. The author or redactor of the fourth (or third?) century B.C. would surely sometimes have betrayed his late date by thoughtlessly using the language which was familiar to him. The fact that he never once does so confirms the argument which has been adduced. Thus the phenomena presented in this chapter point to an author before the Exodus. Who but Moses, or some one writing under his supervision, was likely to have been that author? The additions (to JE and P alike, we must not forget, at least according to some critics of repute) "the same is Bethel," "the same is Beth-lehem" are clearly annotations by a later hand, when the old names were forgotten, or nearly so, and these annotations have ultimately, as has so often been the case elsewhere, crept into the text.

Our next point is a slight but most noteworthy one. We have here P, the post-exilic writer (ver. 10), declaring most emphatically that Jacob's name should henceforth be, not Jacob, but Israel; and accordingly Israel (ver. 21) that name has immediately become in the pages of JE, a writer of four to five centuries earlier, who "knows nothing" of the fact.¹ This significant piece of evidence of homogeneity has escaped

¹ The name Israel is, it is true, represented as given to Jacob after the mysterious scene at the ford Jabbok in chap. xxxii. But *all* the writers call him Jacob after that. It is not until the strong confirmation of the command then given in the present chapter that *anyone* calls him Israel, and then it is not P in which the confirmation is found, but JE.

Kautzsch and Socin, who have not assigned "Israel" to the redactor in ver. 21. This can, of course, be done in Kautzsch and Socin's next edition, or by the next critic, or school of critics, which arises. Unfortunately, such a step would only be another illustration of the soundness of the position the opponents of the German school have laid down, that in German criticism the alleged facts depend upon theories instead of the theories, as on all sound principles of criticism should be the case, arising naturally out of the facts.¹ A striking confirmation of what has been said above is that P in vers. 23-29 "knows nothing" of what he himself has told us in ver. 10 of the change of Jacob's name to Israel. How clear a proof of ignorance of the facts recorded in ver. 10 this would have been held to be if it had been wished to assign these verses to another hand only the students of the German methods can understand. And in this case they would really have had an argument to back them up. How, they might say just as reasonably as they have said many other things, could the writer of vers. 22-29 have known anything of the history recorded in ver. 10? Is it not there said, "Thy name shall be *no more* called Jacob, but Israel"? The writer of the above-named passage would not, it might be argued, have dared to give the patriarch the name Jacob if he knew that Elohim had specially commanded that it should not be done. Few critical "proofs" that I have come across are equal in cogency to this one. But the critical fiat has gone forth that it shall not be used, and in this instance the followers of the critics meekly accept the assertion of the guides they have elected to accept.

A few words concerning Bethel may be added. In what Professor Driver admits to be an old account of the conquest of Canaan² found in Judg. i. we have an account of the conquest of Bethel. The writer calls the city Bethel, and states that the previous name of the city was Luz. It is evident from his account that while, of course, among the Canaanites it was still known by its old name (this is evident from vers. 24-26), it was *even then* known to the Israelites as Bethel; for no account is given of the change of names or the reasons for it in this narrative. Why? Obviously because the narratives contained in what is called the "prophetic" history of

¹ As in the instance quoted from Dr. Driver (above, p. 193), he gives no reason for departing from authorities he is usually content to follow. It is clear that not the phenomena of the text, but the exigencies of his theory, compel him thus silently to violate the "agreement of the critics" here. P, he feels, could never tolerate the idolatrous "matzebah." He only alters the character of the difficulty, however; he does not escape it. See CHURCHMAN, January, 1899, p. 175.

² Introduction, p. 153.

the "eighth or ninth century B.C.," and (according to some critics at least) in the priestly writer after the exile, were perfectly well known to the Israelitish people at the time when this account (admitted by the critics themselves to be an early one) was penned; that is to say, the prophetic writer of the eighth or ninth century B.C. and the priestly writer of the fourth century B.C. were known to the "early" writer of Judg. i. We have here, then, a strong presumption—we will not follow the vicious example of the critical school and call it a "proof"—in favour of the antiquity and authority, if not of JE and P themselves, at least of the documents they used in their narratives, and also a presumption of no light weight in favour of the opinion—in support of which other considerations have already been adduced—that we have in this chapter no JE or P at all, but an early narrative, composed or compiled from sources contemporary, or all but contemporary, with the events recorded. I need not say over again what has already been repeatedly said about the extreme improbability of the hypothesis that a post-exilic writer, whose primary object in writing was to substitute his comparatively modern ideas for the earlier religious belief and practice of Israel, would insert and even (as some critics suppose) emphasize, points in his narrative which directly made against his object—points such as the original importance of Bethel, and Jacob's practice of using pillars ("matzeboth") for worship and pouring libations on them which were forbidden by the code the priestly writer so earnestly (at least, so we are told) desired to recommend.

I return for a moment to the question discussed in March, 1898, about the use of *El Shaddai* here. That expression has been "proved," in the usual manner, to be characteristic of P among the writers of the Pentateuch. We have noted the fact that the term was clearly in use in early times among the peoples of Palestine, but *not* among the Israelites, which makes it a very extraordinary term to be pitched upon by the post-exilic writer as the early covenant name of God, expressly set aside by Him for Jehovah in Exod. vi. 3. On the other hand, we have not failed to ask the reader's attention to the exact accordance of P's statement with the facts, if he be really in possession of authentic information here;¹ for the history represents *El Shaddai* as an early term used by the Semitic peoples in the patriarchal age, and recognized as the covenant name of God in the days of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but confined, after the revelation to Moses, to the heathen nations bordering on Israel, which is precisely what we should expect,

¹ Kautzsch and Socin, as we have seen, assign ver. 14 to the *redactor*, and Professor Driver, more consistently, to JE.

if P's account be a true one. Thus P's statements are confirmed by the history if he be regarded as an early writer, handing down authentic information; out of harmony with it if he be a later inventor, as the critical theory supposes. The term appears in God's revelation of Himself to Abraham in chap. xvii. 1, in chap. xxviii. 3, in Isaac's address to Jacob, in the present passage, in an allusion to this last passage in chap. xlviii. 3, and in Jacob's song (xlix. 25), to the antiquity of which the fact recorded in Exod. vi. 3 testifies. The occurrence of the similar term El Eljon in the story of Melchizedek confirms the view that the title El, with some qualifying addition, was common in early times. Thus the more closely the narrative is scrutinized, the more unexpected and remarkable are the confirmations we find of the authenticity of the history, and the more untenable the positions of the German school of criticism are found to be.

I will not dwell on the way in which Professor Driver attempts to defend his assertion that P is less anthropomorphic than JE in his conceptions of God,¹ in the face of such an expression as "God went up from him" (ver. 13), further than to remark that it seems to involve some ultra-refinement of reasoning. But at least Professor Driver recognises the difficulty here, and frankly endeavours to deal with it, whether we regard his attempt as too fine-drawn or whether we do not.

In vers. 22b-29 we come across another peculiarity of the dominant school of criticism. When it suits them, peculiar expressions are seized upon as unmistakable evidences of style, which proves beyond a doubt that the sentences in question are by different hands. Thus, when יָלַד in the Kal voice is used for "to beget" the passage is indisputably from JE; when הוֹלִיד (the Hiphil voice) is used, it is as obvious that P is the author. I have already repeatedly shown that in dealing with the various expressions thus assigned the critics do not consistently follow their own rules; in fact, those rules are only binding when it suits them. The occurrence of הוֹלִיד, as we know, is regarded as an unmistakable proof that the historian is copying from P. On these principles, the expression "the sons of," found in vers. 22b-29, must be as indisputable a proof that the historian is copying from someone else. Still more inevitable is this conclusion when we remember that a still more indisputable proof that we are in the presence of P is the characteristic word "origins."² We are, therefore, bound to conclude that here, where *both of these* characteristic expres-

¹ Introduction, p. 121. See also CHURCHMAN, March, 1894, p. 294.

² "Generations," A.V.

sions are absent, and both of them replaced by the unusual phrase "sons of," we are to recognise a quotation from some other author. What, therefore, must be the surprise of the careful and inquiring student to find that, notwithstanding the marked absence of several of his best-known characteristics, we are asked to see in this passage the hand of P? Were all genealogies, without exception, assigned to P, as consistency would seem to require, we should have no difficulty in following the critics. But there is something, surely, a little "will-kurlich" in their treatment of the phenomena before them here.

Another point of some interest arises as we scrutinize the narrative, not from an *ex cathedra* point of view, but in the spirit of inquiry. In dealing with Gen. xiii.-xviii. we saw that JE brings Abraham to Mamre (chap. xiii. 18), that the unique author of chap. xiv. finds him there (ver. 13), and that when JE goes on with his narrative in chap. xviii. he is still there; nor do any of the extracts from various authors which occur in the intervening chapters represent him as living anywhere else. This is a tolerably striking instance of homogeneity in a narrative. But it is by no means all. In chap. xix. he was still there, for travellers have remarked how exactly the description in chap. xix. 27 agrees with all that is known of the locality. In chap. xx. Abraham, for some reason, leaves the neighbourhood, and journeys towards the land of the Philistines, where Isaac was born. But by chap. xxiii. he had returned to Hebron (ver. 2), and Abraham approaches the children of Heth, to whom he was obviously very well known, for "a possession of a burying-place." Again, when Rebekah reaches Isaac, he has moved to "the land of the south," and Beer-lahai-roi was his residence, as we are twice told. Next, he is found at Gerar, in consequence of a famine (chap. xxvi.). He is at Beer-sheba once more when Jacob leaves him. When Jacob returns to Canaan he does not appear to have gone to his father, but to have pitched his tent at Shechem, at Bethel, and at Beth-lehem. Why he did not visit his father is not related. But when Isaac's burial is related, he seems to have been once more settled in Abraham's own home at Mamre. Now, it is remarkable that only JE and the supposed unknown author of that unique fragment chap. xiv. place Abraham at Mamre. It is therefore not a little surprising to find P placing Isaac there just before his death, and bringing Jacob to him there at that moment. Still more remarkable is it that when next we have a mention of the locality in which Jacob dwelt, JE speaks of him as still dwelling "in the vale of Hebron" (ver. 17), where P has brought him in chap. xxxv. 27, and where apparently P regards him as having made a lengthened

stay, for he speaks of him as having "dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings" in chap. xxxvii. 1. All this is surely no slight example of what is called the undesigned coincidence. It is beyond all possibility that two incomplete, and, as we are told, in many ways inaccurate, histories, which grew up, no one knows how, hundreds of years after the events narrated, could have been pieced together—very clumsily, as we are asked to believe—so as to bring out such harmonious results, such unexpected and undesigned confirmations of one another's narratives. Surely facts like these—and they are by no means isolated facts—ought to be placed by every candid student of the history side by side with the authoritative statements of the critics, and to be allowed some weight in the determination of so difficult a question as the date of a document recording events which took place, or were alleged to have taken place, some three thousand five hundred years ago.

The expression עמים or קהל גוים (ver. 11) occurs only three times in the Pentateuch, and not elsewhere in the Bible. It has been carefully assigned to P each time. The assignment, however, is somewhat arbitrary. It is fair to contend that קהל, which in the first instance means a body of persons called together, became afterwards the technical name for the congregation of Israel, and, having this recognised meaning, it ceased afterwards to be used of a gathering together of other peoples. It is, however, occasionally used in the later writers for a company generally, but never, I think, where it could possibly be confounded with the general assembly of the Israelite tribes.

Before dismissing chap. xxxv. there is one word more to be said about Kirjath Arba, the ancient name for Hebron. Both here and in Josh. xiv. 15 and xv. 13 mention is made of this name. The former passage in Joshua is assigned by Professor Driver to "JE, expanded or recast in parts by D₂." This he suggests with some hesitation. Josh. xv. 13 we are told belongs to P, although the next verse, which is in close connection with it, is assigned to JE. Now, the supposition that the same statement, repeated twice in the same book within the compass of thirteen verses, is by two different hands seems to involve a somewhat arbitrary assumption. If P here and in Josh. xv. 13 has repeated a statement of JE, or possibly of D₂, why did he so repeat it? And why has he introduced his quotation of earlier authors in the chapter we are considering? The passage points to a closer knowledge of ancient history than was likely to be possessed either at the date at which JE, or that at which

P, is said to have written. There can be little doubt that the writers in Gen. xxxv. and in Joshua were in possession of authentic details. And it is worthy of remark that while the former writer represents Hebron to be in the hands of the Hittites, the latter writer, composing his narrative at a time when the Hittite power, as we now know, was rapidly on the decline, speaks of the Anakim, or children of Anak, as in possession of the city. Thus, the narrative in the Pentateuch and Joshua, like that in Gen. xiv., displays, as recent archaeological discovery has told us, a surprising acquaintance with the conditions of Canaan and its neighbours at the early period with which it deals. And as far as it goes, which is a considerable distance, the difference between the statements on this point of Genesis and Joshua appear to negative the theory which would make them into a Hexateuch, and to support the view which regards them as distinct documents, of which Joshua is the later. It may, however, be contended that Gen. xxxv. 27 speaks of Hebron as "the city of Arba" before the Hittites had abandoned it. Were we scientific critics, we should be able summarily to dismiss the matter by describing these words "city of Arba" as an "editorial gloss." But somehow this expedient, however ready a resource it may often prove to the scientific critic, seems only to move his wrath when used by others beside himself. But it is by no means inadmissible, when we remember the names of the various tribes which inhabited Palestine, to suppose that the Hittite occupation of Hebron was only a temporary one, and that, as the Hittite power declined, the ancient inhabitants repossessed themselves of their former habitations. This is at least as reasonable as to suppose that, here and in Joshua, we have mere vague and untrustworthy traditions of the history of Israel previous to the Exodus, written down by the Jehovist or the Deuteronomist, and copied at random by the priestly writer after the exile.¹

Chap. xxxvi. need not detain us long. Professor Driver assigns it, "in the main," to P; Kautzsch and Socin attribute a good deal of it to the redactor. It seems clear from ver. 31 that the list of the Edomite rulers at least is of later date—later than the introduction of kingly rule into Israel. But at least some support is given in this verse to the historical credibility of Judges and 1 Samuel, which represent the theocracy as having deferred kingly government in Israel to a considerably later date than that at which it was intro-

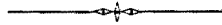
¹ It is, of course, possible that Ephron the Hittite was a foreigner sojourning among the Anakim; but this possibility does not in any way affect the argument in the text.

duced among the surrounding tribes. This, again, as far as it goes (and it goes a good way), tends to support the statements in the Pentateuch and historical books which represent the Jews as believing that they had received a Divine revelation and Divinely-ordered institutions—in fact, a national policy, secular and religious—at the hand of Moses.

We may further remark on the extreme improbability that a later writer should invent a number of utterly unnecessary details of the kind contained in this chapter. The only possible ground for their insertion is that they were obtained from authentic records to which the writer had access. He was not likely to have had access to them after the exile, when an altogether new order of things had come into existence. By that time the ancient records must have perished, and it would have been as fatuous to invent as it had become impossible to obtain them.

Lastly, the words “these are the generations” (origins—*tol'doth*) “of Jacob” (Gen. xxxvii. 2) are supposed to wind up the whole genealogy. Nothing of the kind. For what has gone before is not the genealogy of Jacob, but of Esau. By no stretch of language or of imagination can chap. xxxvi. be made to refer to Jacob. Why, then, may we not, as we have done in other cases, regard the expression as referring to what follows? Simply because the critics have assigned the chapter to JE. The fact that they have done so precludes the necessity for argument. Let us reverently submit to infallibility and its decrees.

J. J. LIAS.



ART. IV.—PRACTICAL ECHOES FROM THE BRIGHTON CHURCH CONGRESS.

II.

I MADE at Brighton notes on a great number of practical points of business, some of which, though individually, perhaps, seeming to be of no great importance, yet in the aggregate mount up considerably, and so have a material bearing on the comfort and convenience of the visitors to a Congress. These points do not very readily in all cases lend themselves to classification, and I shall have to present them to the reader in a somewhat disjointed form.

It has been the practice for many years to prepare for each Congress a special Congress Banner. These were allowed to accumulate, with the idea that at every Congress the banners