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## RECENT GERMAN LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

### I. BUDDE'S TRANSLATION OF KUENEN'S ESSAYS.

UPON the Old Testament no more useful work has recently appeared than Professor Budde's translation of a number of Kuenen's treatises.<sup>1</sup> Students of all lands will welcome the collection into one volume, in the classic language of criticism, of essays, which, while they form a necessary supplement to Kuenen's larger works, and are most of them landmarks in the history of Old Testament science, afford at the same time so high an example of scholarship, on both its moral and intellectual sides. Professor Budde's own fitness for the work of selecting and translating these essays out of three languages and many periodicals is amply assured, on the one side by his eminence as an Old Testament critic, on the other by his long friendship with Kuenen and his previous translation of the latter's work. An English reviewer cannot, of course, give a final judgment on a translation into German; yet he can testify that he finds Professor Budde's translation everywhere clear and intelligible. The reader has but to compare the text, with the quotations inserted in it from German authors (such as that on p. 407), to see how it has preserved throughout the order and lucidity of the original.

In his preface Dr. Budde recites the chief facts of Kuenen's career, and reprints the tribute to his qualities as a man and a scholar, which appeared last year in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, and which was concentrated in the striking phrase: Kuenen "stand auf seiner Warte wie das Gewissen der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft." "Kuenen," runs another paragraph, "was no genius . . . his strength lay in the harmonious proportion of his gifts. A fine feeling for language, critical insight, æsthetic gifts, the historical sense, a religious disposition — each was lavishly represented in him, and hardly one overtopped another to such a degree as to injure it. But all these talents were held together by an incorruptible conscientiousness, and a magnificent

<sup>1</sup> *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Biblischen Wissenschaft*, von Dr. Abraham Kuenen, weiland Professor zu Leiden: aus dem Holländischen Uebersetzt von K. Budde. Mit Bildniss u. Schriftenverzeichniss. Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig. J. C. B. Mohr, 1894.

impulse to the search for truth. It is, above all, these ethical qualities which Kuenen has to thank for his results. What distinguishes his works is thoroughness of method. A collection of material as perfect as possible; in investigation the greatest calmness and circumspectness; an objectiveness and impartiality of judgment which has hardly its equal; almost infallible correctness as to the range of each conclusion; a working up of his material to the last remnant. The degrees of probability are distinguished most conscientiously and the reader may confidently trust to this, that he will never be misled by any personal partiality of the author. Kuenen's essays remain for all times examples of critical work, as Lessing's have stood till to-day."

These remarks are true. No better justification of them could be given than the reviews which Dr. Budde has selected for the third part of this volume. They are mostly criticisms of opponents, and replies to attacks made on Kuenen himself. Throughout they are distinguished by fairness of representation, patience of treatment and sweetness of temper. In all these monuments of years of controversy there is nothing unjust or unworthy; nothing impatient even when the opponent is a Maurice Vernes or a Havet. Some critics have their positions more lucidly stated than they have ever stated them themselves; in fact, articles 9, 10 and 11-14 form a most admirable history of recent criticism on the course of Israel's religious development. Similarly, the more positive essays in the second part of the volume reveal the thoroughness of method and impartiality of judgment which Dr. Budde emphasises. His phrase, therefore, that Kuenen was "the conscience of Old Testament science" is not exaggerated. And one says this the more heartily, that one is not always convinced by Kuenen's arguments, and especially feels that the quiet temperament of the man, to which he owed so much of his power and charm, prevented him from appreciating to the full some traits in the temperament of the extraordinary people, to the elucidation of whose history he devoted his career, as well as from feeling the difficulties that many other critics at the present day feel as to his lucid and powerful theory of Israel's development. Let this be, however: we must all thank Professor Budde for the emphasis he lays upon the Dutch scholar's moral greatness. With so much spoiling of critical work, both in Germany, France and our own land, through over-ingenuity,

arbitrariness and self-consciousness, Professor Budde's noble preface is very necessary.

The principle of selection followed by Professor Budde is admirable. He has rejected all the earlier reviews in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, whose results have been practically absorbed in Kuenen's greater works. On the other hand, he has included the six lectures which Kuenen contributed between 1866 and 1890 to the Dutch Academy of Science, and which comprise, besides the famous essay upon "The Men of the Great Synagogue," others on "The Composition of the Sanhedrim," "The Pedigree of the Massoretic Text," "Hugo Grotius as an Expositor of the Old Testament," "The *Melecheth* of Heaven" in Jeremiah and "The Chronology of the Persian Period of Jewish History." From periodicals have been selected reviews published since 1885, the date of the new edition of the *Onderzoek*. These are mainly Kuenen's replies to criticisms of his theory of Israel's religion and history, or criticisms of fresh adventures in that inexhaustible field. One is devoted to an entertaining review of Pierson and Naber's *Verisimilia*. With the papers on the "Composition of the Sanhedrim," and on "The Men of the Great Synagogue," it gives the volume a claim on the attention also of New Testament scholars. The bulk of the reviews, however, consist of criticism of that theory of the Composition of the Hexateuch, which at the present time is the only real rival to the theory of Kuenen and Wellhausen. Vatke (latterly), Dillmann, Baudissin and Kittel place the priestly legislation, or the bulk of it, before the exile: and here we have Kuenen's final replies to them. That alone proves the volume an indispensable sequel to his great works. In another article we have his reply (from the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*) to Halevy's article on Ezra in the same periodical. In another Vernes and Havet, those anarchists of criticism, are severely but justly condemned. Renan as a historian is happily characterised in a review of Vol. I. of his *Histoire*, and Baethgen's *Beiträge zur Sem. Religionsgeschichte* is, with due appreciation of its learning, adversely criticised as to its theories of a primitive monotheism, whether in Israel or other Semitic nations. The whole volume is prefaced by a translation of Kuenen's two articles in the *Modern Review* for 1880 on "The Critical Method," in which he applied Sybil's great maxims to Biblical Criticism.

These criticisms, defences and arguments do not of course

always win the adherence of those who heartily admit the truth of Dr. Budde's estimate of their moral and intellectual qualities. For example, though agreeing with much that Kuenen advances against Baethgen, I do not think all his arguments are valid. The last of them is not so; the mixture of Israel with foreign elements after the settlement in western Palestine surely heightens the possibility that Israel's religion was originally purer than it afterwards became, and that, in spite of polytheistic practices, throughout the subsequent centuries there might still run strong the native feeling that for Israel Jahveism alone was legitimate. Dr. Kuenen also omits from his argument all regard of the religious effects of the passage from nomadic to agricultural life. From its very nature this must have caused at once a greater complexity in religion and a decline in moral simplicity, and we find the strongest tradition of this throughout the Old Testament. There are also points on which Dr. Kuenen seems to avoid coming to an issue with his opponents. When he complains, for instance, on p. 450, "in the interests of science," that his theory of a "geradlinige Entwicklung" of Israel's religion has been condemned by those who explain the difference of Israel from other Semitic peoples by "a continuous Divine guidance and Divine revelation," how glad we would have been to have him state in all his lucidity the differences between himself and his opponents, and how he proposed to explain that uniqueness of Israel's faith, which critics as scientific as himself, and after adopting his theory of the order of Israel's literature, have been unable to account for except by Divine revelation.

I am reviewing, however, not Kuenen, but this collection and translation of his essays. From what has been said, it will be seen that they form an indispensable supplement to his larger works—a supplement that could not have been better arranged and presented to the public. Attached to the volume is a fine portrait of Dr. Kuenen; and Professor van Manen adds a catalogue of all Kuenen's works which have appeared in print.

## II. BENZINGER'S "HEBRÄISCHE ARCHÄOLOGIE."<sup>1</sup>

The "Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften" Series has received an important addition in a volume on *Hebräische Archäologie*, by Dr. J. Benzinger, Repetent at the Protestant

<sup>1</sup> Freiburg und Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr.

Seminar in Tübingen. It was Dr. Benzinger who, after a prolonged journey in Syria, edited the last German edition of Baedeker's *Palestine*, and he is known to readers of the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* as a valuable contributor of reviews and independent papers. One turns, therefore, with confidence to the first part of this volume, in which he deals with the Land and People of Palestine. Of the disposition of Palestine, and of its relations to other lands, of its climate and products, he gives us an admirable sketch — lucid, comprehensive, and with full references to Scripture. I notice the following wants. Trelawney Saunders' *Survey of Western Palestine* ought certainly to have been mentioned among the literature on the general geography of the land. It is far more detailed and thorough than Ankel's able sketch; in fact, it is the one complete study of the surface of the country. Again, the geological formation of Syria might be more accurately described than as a single "limestone plateau," torn into different parts by powerful fractures of which the most important is the Jordan Valley and its continuations north and south. Syria, according to most geologists, was rather formed by the uprising of two immense folds of limestone, the hollow between which, further deepened by an enormous fracture, is the Ghor. Ankel's hint, quoted on p. 17, that the Jordan Valley is an unsuccessful attempt of Nature to extend the Mediterranean eastward and south-eastward, is misleading, and the proofs of the primeval continuity of the Western Range across Esdraelon are not noticed. Also misleading is the sentence (p. 19) that the Western Range stands in the closest connexion geologically with the Sinaitic peninsula. The fact is that they are separated, as the text notices, by a deep depression, and that the bulk of the so-called Sinai Range is of a very different and much older geological formation. On p. 18 the contrast between Eastern and Western Palestine, as respectively pastoral and agricultural, ought to have been strongly qualified. Over Jordan there are districts as richly and characteristically agricultural as any in the west. After the evidence I have brought forward in my *Hist. Geog.* for the limits of the Shephelah, I cannot agree with the statement on p. 21 that the Shephelah is the Philistine Plain, and that some writers include within it "den unteren Teil des Westabhangs des jüdischen Gebirges." This last clause is as erroneous geographically as Siegfried-Stade's description of the Shephelah as the

“westliche Abdachung” of the Judæan Range. The fact is the low Shephelah hills are separated from the Judæan range by a distinct and continuous valley: orographically they are an independent group of hills; they appear to be also geologically distinct. Again, the very great majority of references to the Shephelah in the Bible and Apocrypha carefully distinguish it from the Philistine Plain. Conder, I think, was the first to suggest the difference. In the Jordan Valley irrigation is more possible than Dr. Benzinger believes; no one who has travelled along the base of the Gilead range, and seen the many streams which burst from this, as well as the remains of old aqueducts, can doubt the practicableness of the irrigation of the most of the eastern Ghor, while the height of the Lake of Galilee above all to the south of it, and the rapid fall of the Jordan itself suggest a more elaborate scheme of water-works that might render this long “forcing house of vegetation” fertile in its entire extent. In the description of the coast, the remarkable effect of currents, winds and Nile-mud in closing up the petty harbours is not noticed. It is stated that the daily sea-wind reaches Jerusalem not till two or three in the afternoon: but in Hauran we used to feel it before noon.

Upon the masterly sketch of the topography of Jerusalem there is nothing but praise to be bestowed. Its lucidity, comprehensiveness and reserve are equally admirable. Chapter II. of the First Part deals first with the prehistoric inhabitants of Canaan and their rude stone monuments, then with the races Israel found in the country, and then with the name, origin and development of Israel themselves. For Israel’s predecessors and neighbours, Pietschmann’s *Geschichte der Phönicier* is largely drawn upon. Very little is said about the origin of Israel: M. Benzinger merely describes them as a nomadic tribe who had lived on the Egyptian border, without benefiting appreciably from the Egyptian civilisation, tore themselves free, settled for a time in the Sinaitic peninsula, were preserved in wonderful loyalty to their national god, came for unknown reasons to Syria, drifted across Jordan, and won western Palestine, not so much by war as by peaceful methods. They were distinguished from the first by a more developed religion than the Canaanites, and by a far more strenuous morality.

In the second part of the volume Dr. Benzinger treats of the archæology of private life, foods, clothes, dwellings, villages and

towns, family life and society, coins and weights, trades and commerce, art and letters. This part is crammed full of information. We desiderate only more detailed information about the trade-routes. (The description on a previous page, 44, of Jerusalem as the place at which the road from the sea to eastern Palestine and the road from north to south crossed each other is surely wrong, for the main line of trade from Philistia to the Jordan Valley crossed the south and north road some miles to the north of Jerusalem.) In his paragraph on the *Alphabet*, which is otherwise full, Dr. Benzinger says nothing of the theory of an Arabian origin, among the Minæans. The third part is occupied with political antiquities—the tribal constitution, the monarchy and the criminal law; the fourth with the antiquities of religion and worship—the priests, sacrifices, festivals and ceremonial cleanness. This reminds us that one great omission is a detailed treatment of diseases; except for some remarks in connexion with the climate and the treatment of ceremonial uncleanness, we have nothing. We are not told about the boils on the Philistines in 1 Samuel v., or the *sore sicknesses of Egypt*, or the *Boil of Egypt*, or Job, or the Plagne. This is a great want.

Among the general merits of the work are its comparative method, its very full references to Scripture, and its numerous illustrations. We have, I think, for the first time in a work on Biblical archæology, an adequate treatment of the Semitic spirit and culture in general; while Egyptian, Phœnician, Assyrian and Hittite sources are liberally drawn upon. It is no drawback that so few of the illustrations are original; they are the best of their kind. Petrie's photographs of the Egyptian ethnological sculptures as reproduced by Sayce; sketches of monuments from the documents of the English and German Palestine Societies from Layard and Ermann; buildings, pottery, and seals from Perrot and Chipiez, and Petrie; coins from Madden and others; costumes from Weiss. The plan of ancient Jerusalem is original: the map of the land is the admirable one by Fischer and Guthe. The whole forms a volume of very great value, both to the teacher and student of the Bible.

### III. SOME OTHER WORKS.

*Palestina u. Syrien von Anfang der Geschichte bis zum Siege des Islam*, by E. Starck, Pastor at Leusson in Mecklenburg-Schwerin,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1894.



is a concise geographical lexicon designed to assist not only students of the Bible and Josephus, but those of the Latin and Greek classics, and all readers who desire to follow intelligently the progress of geographical exploration in Syria. Within the space which the author has allowed himself this has been well done. The book is 167 pages: it is a pity it is not 300. Whenever the author goes into detail, as for instance in his seven-page article on Jerusalem, he is satisfactory. Elsewhere a few lines added under each of the more important headings would have vastly increased the value of the work; and a very little more study, the results of which would have required very little more space for expression, would have enabled him to include the Crusades and make his review of the historical geography practically complete. As it is, the book should prove of great use to students. Subjects like Decapolis, Shephelah, Galilee, the Nabateans (under Nebaioth) suffer very much from the brevity with which they are treated. The history of the name and divisions of Palestine ought certainly to have been more detailed. In a Lexicon that covers Greek and Roman times we should have been told something more about the meaning of Syria. A graver fault is the absence of any articles on Cœlesyria, and Arabia. The shifting of the names Bashan, Batanæa, El-Betheniyeh during the period covered by the book, is unnoticed. Something should have been said of the different uses, even within the Old Testament of the term Bashan. Perhaps the Belka and the Ghor have been omitted as terms arising after "the victory of Islam," but they ought to have been separately referred to if only for the purposes of comparison. Among other omissions are these. Under Beth-Dagon there should have been a cross reference to Dok, and under Dathema the Syriac variant reading of 1 Macc. v. 9, Rametha should have been quoted in connection with the reference to Remtheh. The other possible meanings of Kiriath Sepher should have been given. The extension of Galilee round the east coast of the Lake is too important for the understanding of many passages in Josephus to have been omitted. Other Geliloth of the Old Testament should have been given than those mentioned on pp. 60 and 63. Admedera was a Nabatean station, the most northerly known, as well as a Roman. The article on the Shephelah is not only defective but erroneous. To say that it is only two or three (German ?) miles broad is to exclude the most im-

portant part of it; to say that the Philistines reached these well-known seats *before* Israel arrived in the country is to go against all recent evidence. Were these and other defects supplied, and such recent works drawn on as W. Max Müller's *Asien u. Europa nach den altägypt. Denkm.*, and the Nabatean inscriptions in the *Corpus Inscr. Semitic.* consulted—the value of Pastor von Starck's work, which is already considerable, would be immensely enhanced.

*Die Sozialhygiene der Juden und des Altorientalischen Völkerkreises*, by Dr. Alfred Nossig,<sup>1</sup> is a reprint of one hundred and fifty pages from an *Introduction to the Study of Social Hygiene*. After slight sketches of ancient laws affecting public health among the Chinese, Hindus, Persians and Egyptians, Dr. Nossig goes into more detail on the social hygiene of the Mosaic laws. From a scientific standpoint he emphasises as fundamental the intimate union which the law-books of the Pentateuch enforce between ethics and public health; and then he treats of the laws to prevent infection, to regulate foods, personal cleanliness and the intercourse of the sexes. Then he discusses the sources of the Mosaic legislation on public health. The treatment of the subject does not strike one as thorough. On the last point, for instance, Dr. Nossig makes no use of the results of the literary criticism of the Old Testament beyond a quotation from Renan that the Pentateuch was edited after the exile. But it is of interest to learn that he is of opinion that all the laws of Moses, which have to do with social hygiene, are more akin to Egyptian than to any other Asiatic customs. On the explanation of the laws themselves, Dr. Nossig has many interesting statements to make. His treatment of them is an almost unbroken panegyric of the wisdom, moral and physical, of the legislators of Israel. More important are some quotations to this effect which he makes from French medical authorities, especially Dr. Guéneau de Mussy, *Etude sur l'hygiène de Moïse et des anciens Israélites* (Paris, 1885), and Dr. Leven, *L'Hygiène des Israélites*, (Versailles, 1884). "Moses," says the latter, "was the first who perfectly understood the nature of man. His hygiene is astonishingly adapted to the nature of the human organism. According to him health depends not only on the influences of the outer world, but still more upon moral hygiene." And De Mussy says: "One only needs to read

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart, Leipzig, etc., 1894.*

the word "unclean" (which for centuries has been used in a moral meaning) in its medico-hygienic sense, to believe that in the Bible one is reading a thoroughly modern system of sanitary regulations." "By the infinite precautions which it orders to be taken (says Bertin-Sans in the *Dictionnaire encycl. des sciences médicales*) and by the ceremonies which it institutes as the guarantee of their execution, the fight against contagion assumes the proportions of a real sanitary system." Sometimes Dr. Nossig goes too far. His attempts to show that Moses was acquainted with the germ-origin of disease are not successful. His treatment of the "Leprosy" which is described as breaking out on walls and houses does not convince the reader. He asserts that the green and red spots which Leviticus xiv. 33-45 describes as appearing on houses, may be "germs of typhus, croup, etc." But of these spots we really know nothing. The alleged passage of leprosy from the human body to material objects has never been proved. Again, on the moral results of circumcision, Dr. Nossig surely exaggerates, (p. 52): it is the first time one has heard of Jewish men as distinguished above others for their purity. His defence, too, of the Mosaic marriage laws is curious. He first defends the provision for very early marriage as healthy and favourable to morals, and then praises the provision for easy and frequent divorce as necessary because marriages were made at a time of life when they could not be founded on the higher affections or on lasting friendship and esteem. "Had Moses, like the Roman Church, declared marriage to be insoluble, he would have thereby inflicted on this institution a most serious blow and shattered his own work. But what he demands is only a *true* marriage, not an *eternal* one." To this question there are other sides, which Dr. Nossig ignores. But his remarks on the whole relation of the sexes in Israel are very suggestive. The last eighty pages are occupied with a sketch of the Talmudic and Rabbinic laws on public health, in which Dr. Nossig traces a gradual improvement of medical knowledge, and praises the Rabbis at the expense even of the famous Greek physicians. He has four chapters on Maimonides as the "Renewer of Jewish Social Hygiene." The closing chapters deal with the modern results of Jewish sanitation. From Tacitus, who distinguishes the Jews for their health ("corpora hominum salubria et ferentia laborum"), and notices that they escape the epidemics to which

the armies of Pompey succumbed—to the present day the Jews have excited both the admiration and the suspicion of Gentiles by their extraordinary freedom from epidemics. This, says Dr. Nossig, is no riddle, but due to their “strenuous and detailed regulations for nourishment and disinfection.” And he quotes many authorities in support of this. Perhaps he does not give sufficient weight to the fact that the present race of Jews are descended from ancestors who proved their exceptional strength by survival through conditions of life extraordinarily severe. The frequent migrations, the social persecutions, the confinement to the most unsanitary parts of cities, must have killed out those families of inferior health which among Christians have been permitted to survive and reproduce themselves. On the other hand, Dr. Nossig points out the drawback from which the modern Jew suffers in his withdrawal from all forms of agricultural labour. Both Moses and the Rabbis insisted on physical work as indispensable to health. Lastly, Dr. Nossig’s tract may be recommended for its large list of medical and political authorities on the subject. Theological readers have no other means of knowing these. In the appendix is an interesting defence of the Jewish method of slaughtering animals.

Students will be glad to know that Professor Strack, of Berlin, has issued a new and partly improved edition of his *Einleitung in den Thalmud*.<sup>1</sup> It is a most admirable work. A new edition of Wuensche’s translation of the Babylonian Talmud, with notes, has been begun. It will be completed in twenty-eight parts.<sup>2</sup>

A second issue, in parts, has been begun of Kautzsch’s German translation of the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup> It is to be completed by October.

The second edition of Prof. Robertson Smith’s *Old Testament in the Jewish Church* has been translated into German by Prof. Rothlein under the title *Das A. T., seine Entstehung u. Ueberlieferung, Grundzüge der a. t. Kritik in populär-wissenschaftlichen Vorlesungen*.<sup>4</sup>

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> Leipzig: Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin: Felber.

<sup>3</sup> Freiburg i. B. u. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*