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versation with individuals of this type brings out the belief that in their day these gods were as real as their worshippers, and are dead in the same sense as they are. When describing to me the manner in which Chikangombe, an important minor deity in North Nyasa, spoke to his people, my informant gave the facts with the perfect simplicity of one who is relating history: he was a heathen, who had completely given up the old worship, and accepted without protest the relegation of his gods to the limbo of the past. A Christian, who had once been assistant to a local priest-chief, described to me how, when the god Manchewe

left his people to visit a neighbouring spring-goddess, the priest prayed the absconding god to return to his people; 'then presently,' said my informant, 'the water bubbled up, and we knew that Manchewe was preparing to return.' But it is not so much in specific statements, as in the general attitude unintentionally revealed, that one sees how deeply rooted these ideas are. Belief in the existence of these minor deities was not in the past inconsistent with belief in the One Supreme God, nor is it held to be inconsistent now, even where the Supreme God is known through the Christian revelation.

## Pioneers in the Study of Old Testament Poetry.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. A. R. GORDON, M.A., D.LITT., MONTREAL.

### iii. Ewald.

THE name of Heinrich Ewald will long be held in veneration by Old Testament scholars. He had his faults of temperament, indeed. He was irritable, arbitrary, intolerant of opposition, and often flagrantly contemptuous of the opinions of other men. But these things hardly detract from the commanding greatness of the real Ewald, the breadth of his achievements, and the inspiration he gave to Semitic scholarship for half a century. By a happy instinct he was led to this study from his schooldays. At the University of Göttingen, his native city, he enjoyed the stimulating teaching of Eichhorn, the prince of Semitic scholars of his generation. As early as 1827, when he was but twenty-four years of age, he became Eichhorn's colleague, succeeding to the master's position and fame on his death in 1833. His life was spent in indefatigable study. Thus he reigned supreme in his own chosen field, and extended his conquests over many neighbouring territories as well. He lectured and wrote on Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Persian, Sanskrit, Armenian, Turkish and Coptic language and literature. But no man was less of the dry, factual scholar. He could never rest content with viewing things 'in disconnection dull and spiritless.' His sovereign eye ranged easily over the whole region of study, bringing harmony where chaos formerly lay. But no less remarkable than his constructive imagination was

his piercing insight. Ewald had a real gift of divination, which led him right to the heart and soul of the subject he dealt with, whether it were the intricacies of Semitic grammar and syntax, or the religious intuitions of poet and prophet. This gift was, no doubt, largely the outcome of that childlike simplicity of spirit which characterized the man. Wellhausen has told the present writer that in class, while guiding them with unerring confidence over hitherto unsurveyed territories of learning, he would display the most hopeless ignorance of the commonest concerns of life,—that one day, for example, he was nonplussed by a reference in some Oriental poet to an elephant's trunk, and solemnly appealed to the astonished students for help in solving the mystery,—and in reading his *Lieblingsbuch*, Job, or the more pathetic of the Psalms, would break down and 'weep bitterly.' This charming *naïveté* was combined with fervent piety. The Bible was for him the very breath of life. He found in its pages the Word of the living God spoken directly to his heart; and his whole soul went out in response to its message. It was his profound reverence for the Bible that led him into his bitterest controversies. For whatever seemed derogatory to the Divine glory of the Bible became a matter touching the honour of his God. He read the Bible, indeed, with critical eyes, believing that thus alone could

he see it in just outline. But his aim was steadfastly to get beyond criticism to the truth of God that shone out from the pages of the Bible upon the pure in heart. Belonging as Ewald did to the earlier stage of critical investigation, it was inevitable that his constructions were often in advance of their basis. But such was his power of penetration that, without any conscious induction, he arrived at results which scholarship is but now laboriously verifying. And even apart from definite results, his sympathy with the great spirits of the Bible gives his commentaries a unique value.<sup>1</sup>

Ewald began his literary career at the age of nineteen by a somewhat rash adventure on the field of Hexateuchal criticism—a high-spirited, cavalier attempt, which he himself soon saw to be misguided, to defend the unity of Genesis against the concentrating forces of the enemy. The next few years were devoted to laying sure foundations for better work in the shape of Hebrew and Arabic Grammars, distinguished for their vital grasp of underlying principles, studies of Arabic and Sanskrit metre, based not on traditional theories, but on a wide first-hand acquaintance with the poetry of these peoples, and at least one significant contribution to the literary criticism of the Old Testament, a new annotated version of the Song of Songs in which he defends, and carries forward to a new point of vantage, the dramatic view of the Book. At length he felt himself sufficiently equipped with knowledge, insight, and experience to carry through the great enterprise he had planned, of a comprehensive study of the Bible, which should do justice alike to the language, spirit, thought, and life of the literature. The poets were chosen as the starting-point, on the ground that in them we are brought most directly to the fountain-heads of spiritual life in Israel. Through this channel he hoped to be able better to understand the loftier inspiration of the prophets. The series opened in 1835 with the illuminating Commentary on Psalms, which reached a second edition by 1840; within a year the second volume—on his favourite Book of Job—appeared; and

<sup>1</sup> The most clear-cut, illuminating portraiture of Ewald's genius as teacher and man is to be found in Wellhausen's *Heinrich Ewald*, excerpted from the *Beiträge zur Gelehrten-geschichte Göttingens* (1901). The English reader may compare Witton Davies' Centenary Appreciation (1903), and Cheyne's *Founders of Criticism*, pp. 66 ff.

the following year the remaining part was completed. In 1839 his general reflexions on the subject of Hebrew poetry saw the light. In the revised edition of 1866–1867 this section appears as introductory. Here therefore we may best understand the spirit in which Ewald approaches the poetical literature, and the new light his linguistic studies, combined with that sympathetic appreciation which we have found him to possess in such measure, throw upon the subject.

His precursors had made their approaches gradually. Ewald goes at once to the heart. 'The vital principle of every true poem,' he says, 'is the welling and bursting forth of a living fresh thought in the spirit of the poet' (p. 6).<sup>2</sup> The art of poetry is thus simply the power of expressing the creative thought in its full intensity and beauty,—however long an interval may elapse before this perfection of form is arrived at (p. 12). The noblest poetry will thus be found among those nations that are stirred by the 'keenest, deepest, most eternal passions,' and give expression to these in the worthiest fashion. Of such nations Israel stands among 'the first three.' For its poetry, 'though not so rich and varied as that of the Indians and Greeks, is distinguished by a simplicity and transparency of form hardly to be met with elsewhere, and a lofty spontaneity which knows little as yet of strict rules of art, . . . and is inspired by exalted thoughts and feelings which appear nowhere in the ancient world in such purity, power and permanence, as in the community of Israel' (p. 15).

As among other nations, the earliest poetry of Israel is lyrical. In this *genus* the Semitic peoples peculiarly excel, for they are above all races children of swift, keen feeling and impulse. The old folk-songs of Israel are charged to the full with this Semitic passion. And the religious poetry into which these insensibly pass maintains the glow. The fire of feeling which among other nations vented itself on deeds of war and conquest, and the honour of tribe and people, was here consecrated to God, thus lifting the religious poetry of Israel to a plane of exalted dignity which was reached by no other people. In the class of pure lyric Ewald includes the folk-poetry and Psalms

<sup>2</sup> The references are to the edition of 1866–1867, an enlargement of the original, though without any vital change. While Ewald was constantly advancing in knowledge, he rarely departed from the main lines he had already laid down.

alone. For though the prophets often rise into the region of lyrical feeling and expression, they are teachers, not poets, in the strict sense of the term. Of the later developments of poetic art he distinguishes (1) the gnomic or proverbial, which is no longer the immediate expression of personal feeling, but rather the crystallizing into simple poetical form of universal truths, handed down through the generations, the full explication of which could be made only through philosophical categories; (2) the dramatic, a complex variety of poetry, formed by the combination of song with dance, especially associated with the great religious festivals, which was never fully developed in Israel, although dramatic tendencies are evident in certain of the Psalms, and still more clearly in the Song of Songs and Job, the former of which Ewald roundly describes as a comedy in five Acts, 'expressly designed for the stage,' the latter as a poem cast in the true tragic spirit and mould, though never intended for the actual stage, as the presence of the Divine Being is of itself enough to show; and (3) the epic, which among the Hebrews, at least up to a very late period, was confined to the poetical prose of legend (pp. 17 ff.).

The sketch thus presented of the evolution of poetry in Israel, remarkable as coming from the heart of an age still dominated by Hegelian categories, is followed by a searching analysis of poetical form. Here Ewald starts from the fundamental principle of rhythm, that 'pulse-beat of life,' which 'moves and delights men for the very reason that they feel it first in their own hearts.' The most immediate and spontaneous manifestation of this principle in the life of ancient nations is seen in music and the dance. It is impossible, therefore, that so vital an expression of feeling as poetry can be independent of rhythm, all the more as poetry in ancient times was inseparably bound up with music and dancing (p. 92). But rhythm may be felt equally in elevated prose. Thus we must distinguish poetry more narrowly as rhythm *in measure*, that is, as *verse*. In prose the rhythm flows freely; in poetry it is restrained within the limits of definitely marked *stichoi* (members) and lines (pp. 94 ff.). A metre such as we are accustomed to in classical and modern poetry, where the rhythm is measured by uniformity of syllable, accent, or foot, is not to be found in Hebrew, the art of poetical harmony, as Ewald imagines, being still too primitive for such

sustained effects. There is, indeed, a general similarity in the length of the lines, the usual verse extending to seven or eight syllables, with occasional variations. But the true rhythm of Hebrew poetry, he finds, is purely in the thought, — it is a *rhythm of mere verse-members* (pp. 98 ff.). Thus Ewald gives more precise definition to the relation which Herder had already established between parallelism and rhythm.<sup>1</sup> To the finer æsthetic judgment, parallelism is no mere form imposed on the poetry from without; it is a direct expression of the rhythmical feeling which inspires the poetry (pp. 107 ff.). The same vital principle necessitates an arrangement of the verses in strophical divisions, or stanzas. The feeling of the poet would be exhausted without a short breathing-space; and the musical expression of the feeling in song and dance equally demands certain intervals of rest to keep up the freshness and balanced beauty of the performance (pp. 136 ff.). It is very rarely, however, that we find strict lines of division in our poetic texts. Save when poems are alphabetical, or regular refrains mark the close of the separate stanzas, we are left with the sense of the piece as the only key to a strophical scheme. The stanzas in which Ewald arranges his translations of the poetry often show extreme irregularity. But this is in accordance with his theory of their character. As in the case of the individual members and lines of the poem, so here also he insists on the *freedom* of Hebrew metre. In his judgment, it is simply imposing fetters on the unrestrained genius of the poetry either to measure the lines by a uniform number of syllables, or to arrange the stanzas according to any scheme of exact proportion in the lines (pp. 134 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> Lowth had derived parallelism from the responsive singing of sacred songs in worship. Herder widened the scope of the explanation. 'We need not wander in pilgrimage to the temple in Jerusalem; wherever on the earth Nature utters herself in poetic strains, and art comes in to regulate the language, this parallelism appears as the earliest principle of poetic art, as it yields also the easiest symmetry in architecture, in dance and song, in the disposition of the human form, in drawing, and in all the other fine arts.' And the reason is simply that 'the outpourings of the soul' which give birth to all the forms of art, when 'reduced to their individual elements,' can themselves be most readily brought under the same symmetrical principle. 'Two is the simplest standard of measurement; two yields the easiest, most pleasant symmetry in thoughts, movements, rhythm, and structure of words' (cf. *Archäologie der Hebräer*, Suphan's edition, vi. 40 ff.).

It will be evident that Ewald leaves much ground to be explored. But by the emphasis with which he relates the phenomena of parallelism to the principle of rhythm, he gave the impulse to a new line of investigation. The metrical studies of the past generation are largely the result of this.<sup>1</sup>

A study of the musical notes preserved in the Psalms, as affording a clue to the instrumental accompaniment of Hebrew song, followed by a general sketch of the transmission and collection of folk-poetry, leads to the special subject of the Psalter. Here Ewald shows a very decided advance in scientific method beyond Lowth and Herder. They had both regarded the Psalter as the reflexion of the religious ideals mainly of David and his age. Ewald finds in it an anthology of the choicest gems of Israel's devotional poetry during centuries of religious history. Our present Psalter is clearly the final result of a long process of Psalm collection, the earlier stages of which are suggested in the headings. Ewald submits these to a careful analysis, and traces the growth of the Psalter in broad outlines which still remain fast (pp. 267 ff.). He recognizes with equal candour the presence of later elements even in the old 'Davidic' Psalm-book. But he has no patience with the levelling influence that was already making itself felt, which insisted on dragging the whole Psalter down to the age of the Exile and afterwards. The 'sensitive and deeply emotional' spirit of David, with his 'primordial passions' and 'creative gifts,' and his real enthusiasm for God and His worship, is fittingly associated with the first mighty impulses of Psalmody in Israel. Ewald selects thirteen Psalms distinguished for their 'sunny clearness'

<sup>1</sup> As our next article will show, the first definite lead in the modern direction was given by Ernst Meier, who made Ewald's theory of the 'rhythm of thought' the basis for a closer study of the real nature of poetic rhythm. The latest investigator on this field, J. W. Rothstein, also acknowledges, in the most cordial terms, his personal obligation to Ewald. 'The original determinating impulse to devote my attention to the subject of rhythm and its formal principles I received now almost twenty years ago, when on my transference from school work to the duties of an academic Chair I had to deal with the Psalms; and I shall never forget the inspiration and insight I then derived from the highly original and still valuable study of poetic principles prefixed to H. Ewald's *Poets of the Old Testament*. This forms the real starting-point of my own work' (cf. *Grundzüge des Hebr. Rhythmus*, p. 24).

and freshness of feeling, their heroic confidence in God, their creative power, or their deep haunting passion—Psalms like the 3rd, 4th, 8th, 15th, 19th, 24th, 29th, and 32nd—which seem to him 'to bear on the face of them the true stamp of Davidic origin, and to point in unmistakable outlines to that prince of poets' (ii. 3 ff.). A considerable number of the Psalms are assigned to the subsequent development of the kingdom, especially to the crisis of Sennacherib's invasion, though many of the deepest, truest, and tenderest notes are sounded during the Exile and the age succeeding the Restoration. For Ewald it is equally a delight and an illumination to trace the 'throb and thrill' of 'the very heart of Old Testament piety' down to so late an age. But he has nothing but righteous scorn for scholars like Hitzig who would carry these 'heart-beats' to the Maccabean epoch. 'Nothing could be more false or perverse than the idea that there are any such things as Maccabean Psalms in the Psalter—to say nothing of the greater part of the Psalms being assigned to this age, and some of them actually attributed to the last century B.C., and associated with the name of the utterly degenerate Asmonean king Jannæus!' (ii. ix).

This mediating tendency of Ewald's comes equally to light in his criticism of the 'Solomonic' writings. No one of these books can be directly attributed to Solomon, though many of the Proverbs belong to the authentic 'sayings' of the wise king (cf. 1 K 5<sup>12</sup>), and the first impulse to our present collection was no doubt also given by him. At all events, the bulk of the Book must be assigned to the same century as Solomon, the only later portions being the introductory chapters (i.-ix.), the 'sayings of the wise,' and the more developed reflexions on life in chaps. xxx. f. (iii. 4 ff.). The Song of Songs falls within the same period. As already indicated, Ewald reverts to the dramatic view of the Book, to which, however, he gives a new turn by his recognition of a third character in the piece, that of the Shulamite's country lover, thus finding in the Song a drama of true love tried and proved—a theory that still commends itself to many of our best Old Testament scholars. This almost necessarily requires, according to Ewald, that the Book should be dated within a generation or two of the grand monarch who figures so conspicuously in the play, —while the memory of his brilliance still remained

fresh. With this also accord, he thinks, the language and scenery of the Book, which point us to the North land, and to the heyday of its glory (iii. 333 ff.). The only one of these writings which Ewald regards as really late is Ecclesiastes, the stiffening spirit and decadent language of which demand a date in the last century of the Persian *régime*. For the theory already coming into vogue, that the Book shows Greek influence, and must therefore belong to the Greek period, he finds 'no cogent reason at all' (iii. 267 ff.). The Book of Job also he assigns to a comparatively early date. The view which even Herder had upheld, that we have here perhaps the earliest effusion of the poetic spirit of the Semitic world, he sees to be irreconcilable with the highly developed art of the Book, and the grandeur of the problem that inspires it. But he finds a fitting place for its production about the close of the eighth century, when the sufferings of the pious under the bloody persecution of Manasseh had stimulated thought on the problem. In the internal criticism of the Book, Ewald is equally cautious. He rejects the speeches of Elihu, as an unnatural intrusion on the dramatic unity of the play, and the 'Behemoth' and 'Leviathan' expansions of the Divine words, as out of all keeping with the vivid impressionist pictures of wild life which make up the rest of this section. But he refuses to allow any other suggestion of interpolation or dislocation of the text, or to recognize the difference of spiritual outlook between the prose parts and the poem,—though his dramatic interpretation of the Book saves him from the logical consequences of this view (iv. 1 ff.).

As has been said, however, Ewald's real strength lies, not in criticism, but in luminous exposition of the feeling of the poetry. In this respect he is hardly to be surpassed. The Commentary on the Psalms is especially remarkable for the range of its sympathies. Ewald seems to enter into every mood reflected in the Psalter. His heart beats with adoring reverence and 'rock-like confidence in God' when he gazes with the Hebrew poets on the awful splendour of the storm (Ps 29), or the radiance of the 'sun-lit vault' (Ps 19), or the serenity of the starry skies (Ps 8). For he, too, finds the whole realm of Nature 'full of God, and translucent with the revelation of God' (ii. 25 ff.). But the clearest effulgence of the Divine glory he sees, with the last of these Psalms, in the 'pure

unclouded heart of man,' as revealed especially in the 'unbroken serenity and perfect cheerfulness' and the 'instinctive feeling for the good and true' of the little child (ii. 37). His own spirit vibrates in sympathy with that of the Psalmists, alike in that 'pure joy in Jahve as the loving, thoughtful Guide of life' which finds immortal expression in Ps 23; in the 'glad consciousness of the protective might of God, the stiller of the tempestuous waves and the ragings of the peoples,' which inspires Ps 48; in the upward ascent of the lonely and despondent singer of Ps 42 f. to the region of unashamed hope in God, 'the saving health of his countenance, and his God'; in the 'inward misery of a heart broken with the consciousness of its sin, passing into the lofty serenity of the redeemed and sanctified spirit' of Pss 32 and 51; and in the baffling problems which press on the child of the Father in presence of suffering and death—those problems which find their only solution in the 'intuitions of immortal life' that dawned upon the writers of Pss 17 and 49 in their gloom (ii. 100 ff.).

From the contemplation of these great themes Ewald can turn with unaffected delight to watch the Shulamite maiden as she dances under the nut-trees in the first pure glow of youthful love, and thereafter to follow her heroic struggle against the alluring temptations of a monarch, until the victory is hers, and the play closes in 'pure Godlike peace and joy' (iii. 334 ff.). But the noblest heights are reached in the fine work on Ewald's hero, Job. Although he accepts the Prologue as an integral part of the Book, he is not fettered, like so many even of the finest commentators on Job, by the peculiar *motif* of this section, but regards the whole as the drama of a great soul's struggle for light and truth amid the darkness of unparalleled suffering and despair. The spiritual progress of the hero is traced with rare insight and profound sympathy, from the first rude shock given to his old naïve faith in God, and the passionate defiance of the God of popular imagination to which his friends' hard judgment goaded him,—until all seemed lost but his confidence in his own integrity,—to the recoil of doubt, with the renewed feeling after God, 'the eternal hidden God of the future,' in whom he found the sure hope of immortality, and the upward march along the path of growing light, until the sufferer at length dared to present his whole case before the Almighty, and through the new revelation of His

countenance in the glories of the universe was admitted to a life of far more intimate knowledge and friendship than in the sunniest days of unclouded happiness (iv. 26 ff.).

The presentation of Ewald's views, thus briefly summarized, involved him in incessant conflict with one side and the other. But now that the

smoke of battle has cleared away, we can see how he has raised the whole subject of Old Testament poetry to a new and ampler plane. The succeeding generation was largely dominated by Ewald; and his work still remains as a powerful inspiration for all who seek to enter the real heart of the subject.

## In the Study.

### *Virginibus Puerisque.*

THERE is much latitude allowed in giving the children their portion, whether in Church or School. Margaret Hardy offers stories pure and simple; and highly imaginative are the stories. Here is one of the shortest. The title of the book is *Goblin Gold* (Kingsgate Press; 2s. 6d.).

#### Johnnie's Gift.

Johnnie was eight years old now, and quite a big boy. Next Sunday he would have to leave the Primary and go into the big schoolroom where the children all brought Bibles and hymn-books and where the lessons were quite different. Johnnie was sorry, because he loved Miss Hudson so much, but she had given him such a dear little Bible with gilt edges, and written his name in it so nicely, that he was looking forward to carrying it on Sundays and reading from it like the other boys; besides, Miss Hudson had promised always to keep a picture lesson-card for him if he would come and fetch it.

Johnnie's last afternoon in the Primary had been such a happy one. They had a most beautiful lesson-story about a little boy who gave his lunch to the Lord Jesus, and though it was only a piece of bread and two fishes, like the sardines Johnnie sometimes had for tea, Jesus was able to feed five thousand people with them because, teacher said, when a little boy or girl gives anything to the Lord Jesus, no one knows what wonderful thing He will do with it. Then Johnnie had to make the loaf of bread and little fishes in plasticine, to help him to remember the story, and after that they learned a new verse to say all together, which was about giving, too, and now Johnnie was going home wondering very much what he could give the Lord Jesus.

He was very thoughtful all through tea, and as soon as ever it was over he went up to his little room and examined his small possessions. There was his knife with one blade gone, and his cricket-bat with the handle tied up with string; he could not offer these to the Lord Jesus. His few books were torn and stained; money he had none; what would a little boy only eight years old be likely to own that the Lord Jesus would accept? Johnnie could think of nothing, and went to bed feeling very sad.

Now that night Johnnie had a wonderful dream. It seemed to him the room grew full of light, and a beautiful being with wings and a white robe came up to Johnnie as he lay in bed, and spoke to him.

'Johnnie,' the angel said, and his voice was as clear as a silver bell and as sweet as the sweetest music, 'the Lord Jesus had sent me to ask you for your gift.' And Johnnie was ashamed and hid his face. 'I have nothing good enough to give Him,' he stammered at last, and the angel smiled. 'But my Master heard you in school this afternoon offer Him something,' the angel went on, and waited, but still Johnnie did not reply.

'What was the new verse you learned,' asked the angel helping him; 'could you say it to me now?' And Johnnie sat up in bed and repeated:

Two little eyes to look to God,  
Two little ears to hear His word,  
Two little feet to walk in His ways,  
One little tongue to sing His praise,  
Two little hands to do His will,  
One little heart with His love to fill.  
Take me, Lord Jesus, may I be,  
Ever and only, all for Thee.

'Ah,' said the angel softly, as Johnnie finished, 'that is the gift the Lord Jesus desires. Give him your heart, yourself, your life, all your thoughts