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pdfs are named: [Volume]_[1st page of article]

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT RELIGION AND RELATED
WORKS.

THE annotated list of *Books for Old Testament Study*, by J. M. P. SMITH (University of Chicago, 1908: 54 cents postpaid), is reprinted from the *Biblical World* with additions and corrections. It is a booklet of seventy pages classifying the literature under about thirty headings, each section being followed by a short criticism. The price, the number of pages, and the publisher (American for preference) are stated, and though the list cannot be exhaustive it will prove of great service for popular or for specialist use. The criticisms make interesting reading, and are as deserved and fair as an average of fifteen or twenty words per item will allow. In the list of periodicals the *Revue des Études Juives* might have been included. In the sections on religion we miss Dr J. G. Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, and though the works on 'primitive Semitic religion' (p. 55) are of course invaluable, room should have been found for some of the more general introductory literature (e. g. Clodd, Haddon, Jevons, Tylor).

IN *The Old Testament in the Light of Modern Research* (Parker, London, 1908, 4s.), the Rev. J. R. COHU gives a very instructive, earnest and readable account of Biblical criticism. Criticism, he tells us, removed his troubles, and poured a flood of light upon the pages of his Old Testament; his wish thenceforth was 'to help others in their perplexities'. The book makes no pretence at originality, but it has been prepared with thought and care. It has in view the reader ignorant of, or perhaps repelled by, modern biblical scholarship, and its tactful and sympathetic tone should make it useful. Dr Duff, on the other hand, appeals to more ready listeners. His *Hints on Old Testament Theology* (Black, London, 1908) consists of papers from the 'Christian Commonwealth' with an introductory chapter. They cover much ground, are rather more discursive, and manage to crowd a great deal of interesting matter into small compass. Some attention is devoted to Assyriological and other external evidence; but by an oversight Dr Duff forgets that Winckler's edition of the *Amarna Tablets* was translated into English twelve years ago (p. 167), and

in fact for all critical purposes the new collation by Knudtzon must be employed. Beginners will find here many 'hints' of interest, and should not overlook the remarks upon Professor Petrie's view of the Exodus (pp. 154 sq.). Dr Duff points out that the renowned archaeologist, in spite of his attitude to biblical critics, declares 'as results of his own archaeological study some things that are anything but orthodox'. It is right that the reader should appreciate at what cost those who are opposed to methodical biblical criticism appear to succeed in substantiating a few traditional positions.

A THIRD work, also of an introductory character, is a deeper contribution to Old Testament religion. *Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament* (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908, 5s.), by the Rev. H. J. D. ASTLEY, Litt.D., a keen student in archaeological and anthropological subjects, is based upon his Donnellan Lectures at Dublin, 1906-7. Its aim is to illustrate the efforts to reconcile 'the anthropological and the theological views of the origin and constitution of man, and of the nature of sin'. The book discusses the relation between Genesis and Science (astronomy and geology), the teaching of biology with its concomitant results in the doctrine of evolution, and then turns to the dawn of intellect and the early suggestions of an awakening religious feeling. After a survey of the progress from the lowest savagery to advanced stages of civilization, Dr Astley gives some account of biblical criticism and its bearing upon Israelite history and religion, emphasizing the progressive character of the Old Testament revelation to its culmination in the New Testament. His pages deserve attentive regard, and such criticisms as will occur to professed scientists or biblical scholars will not affect the interest of the book as a whole. Of the work of Aaron he observes that 'Aaron was the priest of a simple cultus, the full ritual of which did not develop for a thousand years' (p. 219). Dr Astley means that literary criticism has practically proved that the fully-developed priestly ritual as preserved in the Old Testament is a thousand years later than the traditional date of Aaron. This is a literary-critical result, and its place in the history depends upon a great number of important considerations, some of which are usually ignored. Any discussion of the religious development of Israel necessitates some appreciation, not merely of prehistoric archaeology and anthropology, but of the actual sociological and religious conditions in and around early Palestine; and though there is not the material for the solution of problems, there is much external evidence (overlooked here) which allows one to avoid some errors of method and fact. In reading this book one notices a gap between the purely anthropological data and the

writer's attitude when he proceeds to consider them from his point of view of Israelite religion. In his chapter on the origin and development of religious belief he deals clearly enough with the rudimentary forms which modern research has recovered, but his conception of what is meant by 'religion' appears indefinite, and he does not—in my opinion—bring out sufficiently the organic relation between primitive religion and sociology. At a certain stage, which has left its mark in many places, man, his land, and his gods form a single structure bound together by understood laws any infraction of which was—to use a modern term—a 'sin'. Dr Astley's discussion of 'Sin' is more theological than anthropological, and to say that sin is essentially the hereditary tendency or bias towards wrong-doing (p. 237), cuts and does not loosen the knot. It is difficult, moreover, to follow Dr Astley's remarks on totemism. I am not sure that cup-marks are 'proof' of its existence (pp. 114, 151), I can see no hint of it in the naming of animals by Adam (p. 159), and the evidence on pp. 162 sq. in favour of it should have been expressed more cautiously. Totemism in its bearing upon religion cannot be separated from its sociological aspect, and though one may readily grant survivals, it is more to the point to know whether they have any value for the conditions in historical times.

WE pass now to the *Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets* by Professor W. H. BENNETT (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1907, 6s. net). It is the first of a series of volumes, under Dr Hastings's editorship, entitled 'The Literature and Religion of Israel'. Where definite portions of literature are handled, it is proposed to describe briefly the sources and authorship, to bring out more fully the ideas contained in them, and to shew their place in the development of the religion. So Prof. Bennett, after a preliminary sketch of the conditions at the beginning of the Exile, devotes 130 pages to a survey of the teaching of the prophets from the fall of Jerusalem (excluding Jeremiah, but including Ezekiel) to the close of the Canon. It is in harmony with critical views, that Isa. xiii 1–xiv 23 find a place in the exile, lvi–lxvi are severed from xl–lv, and xxiv–xxvii with Zech. ix–xiv appear in the concluding chapter on the Greek period. The general standpoint is 'moderate'. For example, after discussing rival views of the Return, Prof. Bennett prefers the more familiar one in Ezra, which looks at history from the standpoint of those who returned to Jerusalem. Consequently, 'the only inhabitants of whom we read are the hostile Gentile tribes and the half-heathen Samaritans with whom the returned exiles refused to associate' (p. 70 sq.). This is one-sided enough; perhaps the latest papyri from Elephantine will teach us to appreciate standpoints other

than that of the Judaeans. On the other hand, the objection that the reconstruction of the history required by the alternative view is not very convincing (p. 69) is unfortunately only too true of all reconstructions. The remaining 240 pages give an excellent account of the doctrines of the exilic and post-exilic prophets. They are classified under the headings God, His attributes, relations with man, Israel and the heathen, revelation, the nature of man, normal religious life, &c. It is extremely useful to have this carefully sifted collection of material alone, and if all the volumes deal as thoroughly with their subject as the present one, this addition to the vast accumulation of Old Testament literature will be distinctly welcome. The plan of the series is comprehensive: the development of religion from the earliest times down to the time of Christ. Prof. Bennett, who naturally views his subject in the light of his conceptions of the pre-exilic age, begins at the point where Prof. Kennett will leave off. Prof. Jastrow, who is to be the author of 'Foundations', will come fortified by his profound and *bahnbrechend* work on the religion of Babylonia and Assyria. Prof. Kennedy, who will handle 'Institutions and Legislation', will have unlimited chronological range, while to Prof. Hogg in the 'History' will fall the difficult task of weaving into one whole the fortunes of Israel from every point of view. It will obviously be impossible to avoid some overlapping, but the individuality of the volumes will amply make up for any lack of coherence in the series. A discussion of the distinctive religious features in the priestly narratives and in the books of Chronicles would have illuminated the *development* of post-exilic religion, but Prof. Bennett is primarily concerned with the prophets and perhaps it is reserved for Dr Moffat's volume on Historical Apologues? The Psalms, at all events, are to be dealt with separately by Prof. Gray. Moreover, it will be interesting to observe the influence of each volume upon its successors. In particular, Prof. Bennett here and there notices various religious conceptions which are regarded as 'primitive'; some are of the kind freely adduced by writers elsewhere (e. g. in Samuel) as indications of the primitive religion of Israel in early times, whereas they belong to the stock of fundamental and persisting ideas which were variously shaped according to circumstances, and have no chronological value by themselves. Another point is suggested by Prof. Bennett's study of the Messiah. He illustrates Isa. ix 6, 7 by the 'conventional' titles of Eastern monarchs and refers to the Amarna Tablets, where the Palestinian chiefs address their Egyptian overlord as 'my god(s), my king' (p. 358). But this was not merely convention; it was part of the fundamental belief in the divinity of kings which can be profusely illustrated from Khammurabi to the Ptolemies. The Pharaoh was the son and incarnation of the national

gods and was recognized as such by his subjects. Theoretically he performed priestly duties for the people alive or dead, and at his own death he mingled with the gods. The old Oriental belief manifests itself in many features, some of which Prof. Bennett illustrates. In post-exilic religion the doctrine of Divine Sovereignty is conspicuous (p. 336 sq.) and Yahweh is organically related to his people and land (pp. 241, 242 sq.); He is father, husband, and bridegroom (p. 147: a similar relation is found between the Pharaoh and his domain). His representatives are sacred and have divine powers, and not only had the king been the most important person in the community (p. 350), but he had been as much a part of the national religion as the priest (p. 239), and sometimes king and kingdom can hardly be distinguished (p. 353; cp. 2 Sam. xxi 17). This organic relation between God, *king*, people, and land applies to the monarchical period. In the post-exilic age one has to observe the change from the royal to the priestly head (pp. 342, 356 sqq.), and it is noteworthy that necromancy and a belief in the potency of earlier exalted beings should now become more prominent (cp. p. 369). From the interdependence of religious cults and political or sociological conditions it would seem that one of the essential problems in the development of Israelite religion is a consideration of the changes at the establishment of a monarchy and after its downfall.¹

PROFESSOR RUDOLF KITTEL, well known for his *History of Israel*, his commentaries on Kings and Chronicles, and the recent edition of the

¹ The failure to divide virtues and vices into categories, whether secular or religious, ceremonial, moral or spiritual (pp. 263, 265 sq.), agrees with anthropological evidence which indeed suggests that the wide forensic sense of 'righteousness' (*šēdāqah*) is not the original. The idea seems to be that of conformity to the obligations which bind together, not merely the social unit (cf. p. 261 sq.), but that organic unit of which the Deity formed part. Thus it is that one could speak of the 'righteousness' of God. Perhaps it is not so much a 'divinely appointed standard' (p. 275), as the accepted standard of the relations between God and man, man and his kin—a norm capable of the highest spiritualization. The English 'loyalty', 'citizenship', are not wide enough, and though 'kin' and 'kind' are suggestive the latter had never the usage of the Semitic 'righteous'. In the Amarna tablets, where 'sin' means intrigue and disloyalty, the king of Jerusalem declares that he is *šaduḫ* 'loyal' to the Pharaoh, his Sun(-god). The late Nabataean inscriptions use the technical term (*aṣḍāḫ*) of a man's kin, who have burial-rights by virtue of their relationship (in Syriac there is the cognate word for 'relations'). In both N. Arabia and Assyria a derivative with the meaning 'obligatory' or 'due' (temple-offering) is attested. That which was 'due' among a definite social group and between it and its gods may be an adequate paraphrase of the root, the advance in religion shewing itself when the idea is extended to other groups.

Hebrew Bible publishes four valuable studies in Hebrew archaeology and religion. His *Studien zur Hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908, 6m. 50) cover new ground and will be a welcome stimulus to research in an extremely interesting field. The first is a very elaborate discussion of the Sakhra, the holy rock in the Harâm esh-Sherif at Jerusalem, whose history he traces back as far as the sources allow, viz. to 2 Sam. xxiv (pp. 1-96). As he himself emphasizes, some points in his investigation need verification on the spot, but he is able to prove that the rock with its hollows, channels, and mysterious cave (1 Chron. xxi 19?) has remained essentially unchanged throughout its lengthy career. This is only to be expected, but none the less one is glad to have Prof. Kittel's exhaustive investigation. In the second study he deals at length with the primitive rock-altars, whether laid bare by recent excavation or surviving exposed to the present day, and he discusses the various developments which they have undergone elsewhere (pp. 97-158). The third is a rather slighter study of the stone Zohemoth and the well En-Rogel, and the last deals with the Brazen Altar, with special attention to the views of Stade and Furtwängler (pp. 189-242). The book is well illustrated and forms the first of a series which will be edited by Prof. Kittel himself. There are many valuable details which invite remark; we have only space for a word on the *religionsgeschichtlich-theologisch* value of archaeological research (p. viii). The primitive rock-altars upon which blood and drink-offerings were poured are associated by the writer with the pre-Semitic age of subterranean spirits. Baal came in with the Canaanites, first as a god of the produce of the soil, but later, to judge from the introduction of altars for burnt-offerings, was regarded as a sun-god—perhaps through Aegean influence. Finally, the entrance of the Israelites brought Yahweh, who was no mere sun-god, but, as God of fire, storm, and air, could be confused with Baal. Prof. Kittel's theory of the development of early Palestinian religion (pp. 151 sqq.) deserves careful consideration; his evidence certainly suggests varying stages of religious thought. But even if he is right in the interpretation which he gives of the archaeological details, his distinction between animism and fetishism brings difficulties; he does not appear to allow that these are not systems but attitudes of mind, and he seems to overlook the fact that the fetish is virtually the link between the worshipper and the object worshipped and is not devoid of certain spiritual associations (cp. Astley, pp. 234 sq., 264). Next, to his conceptions of Baalism and nature-worship it may be objected that any specialized deity who produced springs, agricultural wealth, &c., was no mere earth-god. The sun and the rain were all important for the agriculturist, and early place-names and personal names in Palestine

suggest the presence of sun- and weather-deities. Owing to their nature they were readily combined, and while they are prominent in North Syria (fifteenth century) and among the Hittites (about 1300), the old Assyrian name Shamshi-Adad (nineteenth century) practically assimilates them. It is noteworthy, therefore, in connexion with the recognized character of the Egyptian Pharaoh that he is hailed as sun-god and as weather-god (Addu, in its destructive aspect), or even endowed with the attributes of both. Not to mention other deities whose presence in Palestine can be inferred, Prof. Kittel's particular theory does not take into account contemporary monumental evidence, or the course of history at the period. But none the less, his book is a very stimulating contribution to a problem certain factors in which are here convincingly set forth.

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue (Pitman, London, 1907, 10s. 6d.), by the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, B.D., and the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., presents a popular and comprehensive account of the origin, tenets, and practices of Judaism to modern times. More extensive in its survey than Weber's compendium of Talmudic theology, less one-sided than Schürer's history, the book describes sympathetically the Jewish standpoint for non-Jewish readers. Indebtedness to Dr. Schechter's writings is especially acknowledged. Introductory chapters deal with the rise of Rabbinism, its sources and its subdivisions (pp. 1-134). Under Dogmatic Judaism (pp. 135-264) are included sketches of the law, Jewish conceptions of God and the Messiah, the doctrine of Sin and of Baptism, and eschatological teaching. A chapter on the intermediate agencies between God and man is instructive as an illustration of the normal development of Divine representatives and mediators in spite of the opposition of the more orthodox (similarly in Mohammedanism and modern Palestine). Finally, a series of chapters gives an account of the education and life of the Jew from the cradle to the grave, the synagogue and the modern rites and festivals, and a concluding sketch collects some miscellaneous remarks on the retention of old rites and 'primitive' beliefs. The book has been very highly praised by Jewish reviewers for its fairness and grasp, though one may agree with Mr C. G. Montefiore in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1908, pp. 347-357) that it gives us an impression of mediaevalism, of a religion as archaic as the illustrations themselves appear. From the Jewish standpoint it may be thought that too much weight has been laid upon the non-scholastic apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings which Pharisaic Judaism rejected, but it is certain that for a just estimate of the position and development of

Rabbinism, especially in its relation to Christianity, this is a field the importance of which it would be difficult to overestimate.

THE edition of the *Books of Kings* in the Cambridge Bible is by Professor W. E. BARNES, who also undertook *Chronicles* in the same series. The notes are as numerous and full as space allows, and though they are introductory and elementary rather than critical, a surprising amount of information has been packed into the pages without making them dull. It is good to see so many illuminating references to the results of excavation in Palestine; one must heartily welcome anything which may stimulate an intelligent interest in the ancient land. Some attention is paid here and there to the critical questions: thus, Dr Barnes simplifies the troublesome problem of the Deuteronomic recensions by accepting 561 B. C. as the *terminus a quo* for the compilation (p. xxi); the view is entirely justifiable but has important consequences. Also, on p. 166 sq., he looks favourably upon a suggestion that 1 Kings xx 27-43 is a fuller record of events abbreviated in 2 Kings xiii 18 sq., 25; but it will surely be very difficult to isolate this concession from my own theory that all the detailed records of the Aramaean wars in the time of Ahab belong to the dynasty of Jehu (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April). Opinions will of course differ as to the needs of 'schools and colleges' (which the series has in view), but there can be little doubt, first, that a fuller bibliography would be more useful than the list of 'authorities consulted' (p. xlv sq.), and secondly, that it is high time that the 'stock' maps were replaced by more modern ones. In that of the Holy Land the tribal divisions are misleading, and there should be fewer names and more queries. How many of us are interested in the place-name Bilhah? The reading is uncertain, the site is unknown, but it is duly located below Gaza and (*mirabile dictu*) reappears among the dozen Palestinian names retained on the comprehensive map of Assyria, Armenia, and Syria! This map, too, is not above criticism, though in less important particulars. Having regard to the general utility of the Cambridge Bible, and the value of this volume for younger students, it is to be regretted that greater care has not been taken by the publishers to give effect to the positive and negative results of geographical research during the last decade.

FINALLY, I must include in this Chronicle *Sermons in Syntax* by the Rev. JOHN ADAMS, B.D., of Inverkeilor (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908, 4s. 6d.). As in his earlier *Sermons in Accents*, the author publishes studies in the Hebrew text for preachers and students, and endeavours to encourage divinity students not only to acquaint themselves with the

original language of the Old Testament, but also to keep up their knowledge of it. The author rightly condemns easy-going dependence on the labours of others, and remarks upon the bewilderment caused by those who, instead of cultivating a first-hand acquaintance with the text, will rely upon second or even third-hand sources. He has a useful word, too, upon that method of dealing with Scripture which he calls the 'handy concordance plan', and he urges the more systematic method of Biblical Theology which observes the developement in ritual and doctrine. For the rest, his book is a readable exposition of the Hebrew tenses, shewing, by practical illustrations, that a careful knowledge of their use leads to the greater appreciation of Old Testament thought. Although the more expert student may occasionally hesitate to follow the author's guidance, this popularization is admirable in principle, and 'tenses without tears' (if I may invent a sub-title) should smooth the path of beginners.

STANLEY A. COOK.

Ancient Chronology (Part I). By OLAF A. TOFFTEEN, Ph. D.
(Chicago, 1907.)

THIS first part of Prof. Toffteen's work brings the subject down to 1050 B.C. only. It is consequently like Ezekiel's valley, 'full of very dry bones.' But the second part is to deal with the better known periods of Biblical and Assyrian history, and should be more immediately interesting. Even in this first part an inspiring teacher would be helped to make dry bones live. A good deal of material bearing on Babylonian and Egyptian as well as Biblical and Assyrian history is brought together here in the compass of a handy volume. The chief criticism to be passed on the book is that it seems to sway between a scientific and a popular aim; yet taken as a whole it is likely to be of considerable use to the advanced student of the Old Testament, who is neither an Assyriologist nor an Egyptologist.

W. EMERY BARNES.