A.2.1. PENTATEUCHAL CRITICISM[1]
Jason S. DeRouchie, PhD

By 1970, Pentateuchal studies seemed to have arrived at a consensus, which affirmed to a large part the Documentary Hypothesis popularized in the German speaking world by J. Wellhausen in his *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (German: 1878) and in the English speaking world by S. R. Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (1891). While minor revisions had been made by H. Gunkel, A. Alt, M. Noth, and G. von Rad, by the 1960s scholars were generally in agreement regarding the nature and dating of JEDP sources. Since 1970, however, many have challenged the principle of source analysis and questioned the dating of the sources themselves. Indeed, at present there is no consensus as scholars continue to search for a new paradigm for understanding the Pentateuchal materials. This overview will survey the history of Penateuchal research up to the present day, highlighting and critiquing key figures, views, and shifts in the discussion.

The Rise of Source Criticism & the Graf-Wellhausen Hypothesis

I. **The Development of the Source Theory and Historical Criticism**
   A. **History of the Theories & Key Players**
      1. <u>Older Document Theory</u>:
         a. **Jean Astruc (1684–1766)**, a medical doctor from Paris and father of source criticism, first postulated two sources behind the Mosaic work of Genesis on the basis of (1) the shift in divine names (Yahweh and Elohim) and (2) duplicate accounts. He delineated the text in four colums: Yahweh passages, Elohim passages, doublets, non-Israelite material.
         b. **J. Gottfried Eichorn (1752–1827)**, professor of orieintal languages at Jena Univ., seized upon Astruc's criterion and added (3) stylistic variation and (4) unique vocabulary in narratives as further critera for delineating sources. Eichorn gave little regard for reformed and orthodox theology, viewing the OT more as Hebrew national literature than the inspired and authoritative Word of God. He thus opened the door for higher criticism.
      2. <u>Fragmentary Theory</u>:
         a. In his Critical Remarks, **Alexander Geddes (1737–1802)**, a Scottish Roman Catholic priest, denied Mosaic authorship and argued that the Hexateuch (Gen–Josh) was composed of numerous originally separate fragments by a 10th cent. redactor.

---

[1] Some of the following material is adapted from a combination of the primary sources and the following scholarly works: Duane A. Garrett, "Historical Criticism of the Old Testament," in *Foundations for Biblical Interpretation*, 187–204, eds. David S. Dockery, et al. (Nashville: B&H, 1994); idem, "The Undead Hypothesis: Why the Documentary Hypothesis is the *Frankenstein* of Biblical Studies," *SBJT* 5 (2001): 28–41; Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998); Gordon J. Wenham, "Pondering the Pentateuch: the Search for a New Paradigm," in *The Face of the Old Testament: A Survey of Contemporary Approaches*, ed. David W. Baker and Bill T. Arnold (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999); Daniel I. Block, "Introduction to the Old Testament—Part 1: Pentateuch and Historiographic Literature" course notes, pp. 16–54 (The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY, 2001).

b. Geddes' views were adopted by the German scholar **Johann Severin Vater (1771–1826)**, professor at Halle, in his Genesis commentary. Vater posited forty sources / fragments behind Genesis and placed an exilic date on its final form.

3. Supplementary Theory:

a. Building off the work of Eichorn and Vater, **W. M. L. DeWette (1780–1849)**, whom J. Wellhausen called the "epoch-making pioneer of historical criticism," asserted in his Contributions to Old Testament Introduction (1806–07; cf. also his 1805 doctoral dissertation) that Deuteronomy was a late addition to the Penateuch created during the "reforms" of Josiah the "Law Book" of 2 Kgs 22. The Pentateuch had three sources (E>J>D), the first being dated no earlier than the 10th century and all of them having separate redactors using independent sources. De Wette believed that because the cultic regulations layed out in the Pentateuch are clearly not practiced in Israel's early settlement, the cultic regulations must actually be later than Moses and the Monarchy. From this point on, scholars would focus on the Josianic reformation (621 B.C.) as the backdrop for Deuteronomy, no longer seeing in it any connection to the historical Moses.

b. **Henrich Ewald (1803–75)**, a teacher of J. Wellhausen at Göttingen, developed more fully the view that the Elohist was the basic source that runs through the entire Penateuch into Joshua. While upholding the unity of Genesis on philological grounds, he denied Mosaic authorship. An editor later expanded this basic source with insertions derived from a second originally separate J source.

4. New Documentary Hypothesis:

a. Building off of De Wette's work, **Wilhelm Vatke** argued in his 1835 book on Biblische Theologie that many sections of the Elohist materials were later than D. He also asserted that the Pentateuch was product of Israel's monarchy and not the basis upon which it was founded.

b. In 1853 **Hermann Hupfeld (1796–1866)**, professor at Halle, furthered De Wette's theory by insisting that the Elohist source in Genesis comprised two originally separate sources, the earlier Elohist that had priestly characteristics (E1, later "P") and a later Elohist that was more like the Yahwist (E2). There were thus four distinct sources: P (E1)>E (E2)>J>D, all of which were brought together in their final form by RPEJD.

c. Next, following the proposals of Eduard Reuss (1804–91) and Abraham Kuenen (1828–91), **K. H. Graff (1815–69)** suggested that, because of the complex legalislation in E1 (P), the priestly material was the latest of the Pentateuchal documents. Thus the prophets preceded the priestly law, which he dated to the time of Ezra (thought the Holiness Code of Lev 18–26 was posited to the time of Ezekiel). With dates assigned to the various sources, a shift was made beyond literary criticism into historical criticism.

d. Building off the work of Vatke, Hupfeld, and Graf, **J. Wellhausen (1844–1918)** provided the most thorough and compelling case for the composition of the Hexateuch. Through his Composition of the Hexateuch and Prolegomena to the History of Israel, he affirmed the view that Israel's

religious history showed a clear progression (evolution) in the legal and cultic spheres. The only explanation was that the "law" is a post-exilic creation, providing an ideal grid through which to explain Israel's past. The "law of Moses" is thus the starting point not for Israel but for Judaism. In the end, Wellhausen's Hexateuch told us nothing about ancient Israel and only about the late age within which it was written: "We attain to no historical knowledge of the patriarchs, but only of the time when the stories about them arose in the Israelite peopole; this later age is here unconsciously profected . . . into hoar antiquity, and is reflected there like a glorified mirage."

    e.   More than a literary theory, Wellhausen's source hypothesis was part of a program for reinterpreting Israel's historical and social institutions. As a student of his age (cf. the rising acceptance of Darwinian evolution), he was convinced that Israelite religion developed from a naturalistic animism to an advanced monotheism (animism> polytheism>henotheism>monotheism).

    5.   <u>The adoption of the New Documentary Hypothesis & Higher Criticism</u>:

        a.   Wellhausen's new approach hit the German world by storm, and with the publication of S. R. Driver's (1846–1914) Introduction to the Old Testament as Literature in 1891, Wellhausen's views spread throughout the English-speaking world. In a short time the New Documentary Hypothesis became the standard in OT scholarship (cf. publication of ICC in 1910).

        b.   Higher critical methods were soon expanded to other OT books as well, most notably Isaiah and Daniel. With reference to the former, Eichorn argued that Isa 40–66 was a later addition not written by the prophet. Accordinly, others argued that the last half of Isaiah contained two separate works (chs. 40–55 and 56–66). The first section was written by the prophet Isaiah, but the latter two were written by an Isaianic school during the Babylonian captivity and the post-exilic period, respectively. Non-Isaianic interpolations were scattered throughout chs. 1–39. As for Daniel, as early as the 2nd century A.D. Neoplatonist Porphry (232–305) questioned its authenticity, believing the book to be a Jewish fraud filled with legend and propaganda designed to support the Jews in their struggle with Hellenism. By the early 1800s this view was minimally accepted among critical scholars, and James Montgomery's ICC Daniel commentary established it as the normal view. Other books in the wisdom, poetic, and prophetic literature were routinely regarded as having large-scale interpolations, or as being formed at a very late date, or as being filled with legend and non-historical accounts.

B.   Wellhausen's approach:

    1.   Foundational Issues:

        a.   The Hexateuch was made up principally of three sources: JE, D, and Q [= *Quatuor foederum liber* "the book of the four covenants" (i.e., Adamic, Noahic, Abrahamic, Mosaic), now known as P for "priestly material"]. Assumed from the start was that JE belongs to the Assyrian period and D to its end; the question that remains is where Q falls. Each of the sources contains legislative material—JE (Decalogue [Exod 20], the Book of the

Covenant [Exod 21–23], and the Law of the Two Tablets [Exod 34]), D (whole of Deuteronomy), Q/P (all other legal and ceremonial legislation). This legislative material, along with the fact that each source's legal standpoint is mirrored in his historical account, allows for indirect and direct points of comparison.

b. The *guiding principle* was developmentalism (i.e., evolutionism) plus the struggle to reconcile the traditional priority of the Pentateuchal law with the religious customs and institutions reflected in the historical and prophetic literature of the pre-exilic period.

2. The Sources:

a. JE, the "Jehovistic history-book," is undisputedly prior to D, is linked to the period of the united monarchy, and is marked most definitively by the story of the patriarchs. Legislation is only found at Exod 20–23, 34 with the giving of the Law at Sinai. While Wellhausen affirmed a distinction between J and E, the seemlessness of the narrative makes it best to work solely with the JE material as it stands, recognizing all the while that both the "Jehovistic document" and Q are "complex products." JE is not "law" but a "simple book of history," written from the perspective of life in Canaan (e.g., Gen. 12:6; 36:31; Exod 21–23; Num 12:6, 7).

b. In accordance with the historical period assumed in its own discourse (Deut 12:8; 19:8), D is dated to Josiah's reforms (ca. 621 B.C.) and is distinguished most easily from all other Hexateuchal sources as an "independent law book." D clearly assumes JE and, like JE, is written from the perspective of life in Canaan (e.g., Deut 34:10).

c. Viewed earlier as the "main stock" of the Hexateuch, Q has its basis in Leviticus and the allied portions of the adjoining books (Exod 25–40 [not chs. 32–34]; Num 1–10, 15–19, 25–36). It is principally legislation, relating substantially to the worship of the tabernacle and cognate matters (cf. genealogies, origins, sacrifices, tabernacle plan). "It is historical only in form; the history serves merely as a framework on which to arrange the legislative material, or as a mask to disguise it." Unlike JE and D, Q focuses solely on the wilderness situation, guarding against any reference to life in Canaan. In Wellhausen's own words (1885), "It has actually been successful, with its movable tabernacle, its wandering camp, and other archaic details, in so concealing the true date of its composition that its many serious inconsistencies with what we know, from other sources, of Hebrew antiquity previous to the exile, are only taken as proving that it lies far beyond all known history, and on account of its enormous antiquity can hardly be brought into any connection with it." Q is a "Priestly Code" that exceeds over all other Hexateuchal legislation in scope and force, providing the "normal and final authority." Q provided the basis for Ezra's reforms.

3. Some of Wellhausen's Major Conclusions on the Literary and Religious History of Israel:

a. The theocratic organization of Israel and the priestly laws of the Pentateuch were the basis not for life in the age of Moses but for post-exilic Judaism.

  b. The 8th century was the age of real literary activity in Israel, which explains why Elijah and Elisha did not write, whereas Amos did (1885: 465). In those one hundred years we moved from a non-literary to a literary age.

  c. The Yahwistic (J) and Elohistic (E) sources came into being during the early days of classical prophetism and reflect the pre-prophetic religion of Israel (1885:360–61).

  d. Under the influence of the prophets, Deuteronomy was produced in the 7th century (1885: 487–88).

  e. Deuteronomy was strictly a law-book and J was a history-book; the combination of these two was the beginning of the combination of law and narrative, which served as the pattern followed by Q/P (1885:345).

  f. The priestly work derives from post-exilic times and reflects the atmosphere of theocratic Judaism.

  g. The presentations of the earliest phase of Israelite religion, the patriarchal period, in the various sources were colored by the times in which the sources were written and thus cannot be used for historical purposes (1885:318–19).

  h. Israelite religion developed in three phases:

   i. Primitive religion characterized by popular sentiments, a spontaneous and simple faith, and a nature orientation.

   ii. Ethical concerns and consciousness initiated by the prophets.

   iii. Ceremonial and ritual religion influenced by the priestly legislation.

II. The New Source Theory of the Hexateuch Defined

 A. **Goals of Source Analysis:**

  1. To determine the beginning and end of a unit of text.

  2. To identify the sources that have been incorporated into a text.

 B. **Methodological Assumptions:**

  1. It is easy to determine the purposes and methods behind documents and redactions.

  2. Historicity is determined in accordance with the three presuppositions of historical criticism set forth by E. Troeltsch (1865–1923):

   a. Principle of Criticism: presupposed skepticism of sources

   b. Principle of Analogy: present human experience limits what can qualify as "historical" in the past

   c. Principle of Correlation: When two events correlate, we must limit potential historical causation to either natural forces or human agency.

  3. Civilization and religion progress slowly, and Israel's history, literature, and religion developed in a simple, evolutionary manner. A great work of literature like the Pentateuch could not have been written in the 2nd millennium B.C.; indeed, Greek epic and dramatic literature did not appear until 1st millennium. Furthermore, Israelite history and religion must have progressed from primitive tribal religion to prophetic ethical religion to advanced monotheism (animism > polytheism > henotheism > monotheism).

  4. Inter-textual markers or stylistic differences allow us to delineate source divisions in a text. The key inter-textual markers are:

   a. Different names for the deity (cf. J. Astruc)

   i. Yahweh: the mark of the Yahwistic / J source (Gen. 2–3)

   ii. Elohim: the mark of the Elohist / E source (Gen. 15:1–3)

   iii. El-Shaddai: the mark of the Priestly / P source (Gen. 17:1; Exod 6:2)

  b. Variations in language and style

   i. Certain words / forms tend to appear where one or the other divine name predominates:

Yahwistic Source	Elohistic Source
Sinai	Horeb
Canaanites	Amorites
Reuel / Hobab	Jethro
Yahwistic Source	Priestly Source
God cut / made a covenant	God established a covenant

   ii. Some are fast moving, vivid, pictorial, well crafted stories (esp. J); but others are dull, tedius, wordy, formal, technical, often concerned with issues of genealogy (esp. P) or legal matters (esp. P or D).

  c. "Contradictions" and divergences in view

   i. In the flood story, Gen. 6:11–22 (P) says to take two of every kind of animal, but Gen. 7:1–5 (J) says to take seven pairs of clearn animals.

   ii. In D all Levites are priests, whereas in P (esp. P portions of Exod and Lev) only the Aaronides are called priests and the rest of the Levites are mere temple workers without priestly privileges.

   iii. God can be presented in almost human form and passion (anthropomorphically), but he can also be pictured as distant, removed from human beings and revealing himself only through impersonal dreams and angelic messengers.

   iv. People approach God through prayer and moral decision, but they also approach him through sacrifice and ritual.

   v. Israelite heroes are presented inconsistently, their faults being either frankly presented (e.g., Jacob the cheat) or toned down and passed over (e.g., Abraham the man of faith).

  d. Duplicate accounts and / or repetitions

   i. Side by side juxtopositioning: P (Gen. 1:1–2:3) / J (Gen. 2:4–3:24)

   ii. Single incident distributed in different contexts and understood as separate events:

    (1) Passing off the Wives as Sisters: Abraham (Gen. 12:10–20 [J]; 20:1–18 [E]); Isaac (Gen. 26:6–11)

    (2) The Naming of Beersheba: Abraham (Gen. 21:31); Isaac (Gen. 26:33)

   iii. The interweaving of separate strands, creating the appearance of a single account, though with each "source" having its own unity of theology and message (so Bruegemann and Wolff, *The Vitality of Old Testament Tradition* [Atlanta: John Knox, 1975]) (e.g., the flood account according to B. W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., p. 165 [see next page]):

6:10–22	P	7:12	J	8:1–2a	P	8:13b	J	9:28–27	P
7:1–5	J	7:13–16a	P	8:2b–3a	J	8:14–19	P		
7:6	P	7:16b–17	J	8:3b–5	P	8:20–22	J		
7:7–10	J	7:18–21	P	8:6–12	J	9:1–17	P		
7:11	P	7:22	J	8:13a	P	9:18–27	J		

THE GENESIS FLOOD ACCOUNT*S* ACCORDING TO ONE VERSION
OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS

*As proposed by B. W. Anderson, *Understanding the Old Testament*, 2nd ed., p. 165; prepared by Jason S. DeRouchie (2010)

The Priestly Account of the Flood	*The Yahwistic Account of the Flood*
[6:10]And Noah had three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. [11]Now the earth was corrupt in God's sight, and the earth was filled with violence. [12]And God saw the earth, and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted their way on the earth. [13]And God said to Noah, "I have determined to make an end of all flesh, for the earth is filled with violence through them. Behold, I will destroy them with the earth. [14]Make yourself an ark of gopher wood. Make rooms in the ark, and cover it inside and out with pitch. [15]This is how you are to make it: the length of the ark 300 cubits, its breadth 50 cubits, and its height 30 cubits. [16]Make a roof for the ark, and finish it to a cubit above, and set the door of the ark in its side. Make it with lower, second, and third decks. [17]For behold, I will bring a flood of waters upon the earth to destroy all flesh in which is the breath of life under heaven. Everything that is on the earth shall die. [18]But I will establish my covenant with you, and you shall come into the ark, you, your sons, your wife, and your sons' wives with you. [17]And of every living thing of all flesh, you shall bring two of every sort into the ark to keep them alive with you. They shall be male and female. [20]Of the birds according to their kinds, and of the animals according to their kinds, of every creeping thing of the ground, according to its kind, two of every sort shall come in to you to keep them alive. [21]Also take with you every sort of food that is eaten, and store it up. It shall serve as food for you and for them." [22]Noah did this; he did all that God commanded him…. [7:6]Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters came upon the earth…. [11]In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on that day all the fountains of the great deep burst forth, and the windows of the heavens were opened…. [13]On the very same day Noah and his sons, Shem and Ham and Japheth, and Noah's wife and the three wives of his sons with them entered the ark, [14]they and every beast, according to its kind, and all the livestock according to their kinds, and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth, according to its kind, and every bird, according to its kind, every winged creature. [15]They went into the ark with Noah, two and two of all flesh in which there was the breath of life. [16a]And those that entered, male and female of all flesh, went in as God had commanded him…. [18]The waters prevailed and increased greatly on the earth, and the ark floated on the face of the waters. [19]And the waters prevailed so mightily on the earth that all the high mountains under the whole heaven were covered. [20]The waters prevailed above the mountains, covering them fifteen cubits deep. [21]And all flesh died that moved on the earth, birds, livestock, beasts, all swarming creatures that swarm on the earth, and all mankind…. [8:1]But God remembered Noah and all the beasts and all the livestock that were with him in the ark. And God made a wind blow over the earth, and the waters subsided. [2a]The fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed….	[7:1]Then the LORD said to Noah, "Go into the ark, you and all your household, for I have seen that you are righteous before me in this generation. [2]Take with you seven pairs of all clean animals, the male and his mate, and a pair of the animals that are not clean, the male and his mate, [3]and seven pairs of the birds of the heavens also, male and female, to keep their offspring alive on the face of all the earth. [4]For in seven days I will send rain on the earth forty days and forty nights, and every living thing that I have made I will blot out from the face of the ground." [5]And Noah did all that the LORD had commanded him…. [7]And Noah and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him went into the ark to escape the waters of the flood. [8]Of clean animals, and of animals that are not clean, and of birds, and of everything that creeps on the ground, [9]two and two, male and female, went into the ark with Noah, as God had commanded Noah. [10]And after seven days the waters of the flood came upon the earth…. [12]And rain fell upon the earth forty days and forty nights…. [16b]And the LORD shut him in. [17]The flood continued forty days on the earth. The waters increased and bore up the ark, and it rose high above the earth…. [22]Everything on the dry land in whose nostrils was the breath of life died…. [8:2b]The fountains of the deep and the windows of the heavens were closed, the rain from the heavens was restrained, [3a]and the waters receded from the earth continually…. [6]At the end of forty days Noah opened the window of the ark that he had made [7]and sent forth a raven. It went to and fro until the waters were dried up from the earth. [8]Then he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters had subsided from the face of the ground. [9]But the dove found no place to set her foot, and she returned to him to the ark, for the waters were still on the face of the whole earth. So he put out his hand and took her and brought her into the ark with him. [10]He waited another seven days, and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark. [11]And the dove came back to him in the evening, and behold, in her mouth was a freshly plucked olive leaf. So Noah knew that the waters had subsided from the earth. [12]Then he waited another seven days and sent forth the dove, and she did not return to him anymore…. [13b]And Noah removed the covering of the ark and looked, and behold, the face of the ground was dry…. [20]Then Noah built an altar to the LORD and took some of every clean animal and some of every clean bird and offered burnt offerings on the altar. [21]And when the LORD smelled the pleasing aroma, the LORD said in his heart, "I will never again curse the ground because of man, for the intention of man's heart is evil from his youth. Neither will I ever again strike down every living creature as I have done. [22]While the earth remains, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease."… [9:18]The sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were

³ᵇAt the end of 150 days the waters had abated, ⁴and in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, the ark came to rest on the mountains of Ararat. ⁵And the waters continued to abate until the tenth month; in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, the tops of the mountains were seen….

¹³ᵃIn the six hundred and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried from off the earth…..

¹⁴In the second month, on the twenty-seventh day of the month, the earth had dried out. ¹⁵Then God said to Noah, ¹⁶"Go out from the ark, you and your wife, and your sons and your sons' wives with you. ¹⁷Bring out with you every living thing that is with you of all flesh—birds and animals and every creeping thing that creeps on the earth—that they may swarm on the earth, and be fruitful and multiply on the earth." ¹⁸So Noah went out, and his sons and his wife and his sons' wives with him. ¹⁹Every beast, every creeping thing, and every bird, everything that moves on the earth, went out by families from the ark….

⁹:¹And God blessed Noah and his sons and said to them, "Be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth. ²The fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth and upon every bird of the heavens, upon everything that creeps on the ground and all the fish of the sea. Into your hand they are delivered. ³Every moving thing that lives shall be food for you. And as I gave you the green plants, I give you everything. ⁴But you shall not eat flesh with its life, that is, its blood. ⁵And for your lifeblood I will require a reckoning: from every beast I will require it and from man. From his fellow man I will require a reckoning for the life of man. ⁶"Whoever sheds the blood of man, by man shall his blood be shed, for God made man in his own image. ⁷And you, be fruitful and multiply, teem on the earth and multiply in it." ⁸Then God said to Noah and to his sons with him, ⁹"Behold, I establish my covenant with you and your offspring after you, ¹⁰and with every living creature that is with you, the birds, the livestock, and every beast of the earth with you, as many as came out of the ark; it is for every beast of the earth. ¹¹I establish my covenant with you, that never again shall all flesh be cut off by the waters of the flood, and never again shall there be a flood to destroy the earth." ¹²And God said, "This is the sign of the covenant that I make between me and you and every living creature that is with you, for all future generations: ¹³I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and the earth. ¹⁴When I bring clouds over the earth and the bow is seen in the clouds, ¹⁵I will remember my covenant that is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh. And the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh. ¹⁶When the bow is in the clouds, I will see it and remember the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is on the earth." ¹⁷God said to Noah, "This is the sign of the covenant that I have established between me and all flesh that is on the earth."…

²⁸After the flood Noah lived 350 years. ²⁹All the days of Noah were 950 years, and he died.

Shem, Ham, and Japheth. (Ham was the father of Canaan.) ¹⁹These three were the sons of Noah, and from these the people of the whole earth were dispersed. ²⁰Noah began to be a man of the soil, and he planted a vineyard. ²¹He drank of the wine and became drunk and lay uncovered in his tent. ²²And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father and told his two brothers outside. ²³Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it on both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father. Their faces were turned backward, and they did not see their father's nakedness. ²⁴When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, ²⁵he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brothers." ²⁶He also said, "Blessed be the LORD, the God of Shem; and let Canaan be his servant. ²⁷May God enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem, and let Canaan be his servant."

e. Anachronisms (i.e., chronological lapses)
    i. References to the Philistines (Gen. 21:32; 26:1–18), who came to Palestine only after the time of Moses.
    ii. Gen. 14:14 calls northernmost Palestine "Dan," a designation that only arose during the settlement period.
    iii. References to Ur of the "Chaldees" (Gen. 11:28; 15:7), an ethnic group that does not appear in Mesopotamia until 1000 B.C.
    iv. Camels (Gen. 24:10–14; 31:17) were supposedly not domesticated until ca. 1000 B.C.
    v. Expressions like "before any king reigned over the Israelites" (Gen. 36:31) and "Canaanites were then in the land" (Gen. 12:6; 13:7) assume a king reigns and Canaanites are absent at the time of writing.
f. Textual references to Moses
    i. He is referred to throughout in 3rd person.
    ii. Specific portions are attributed to him, so that the exceptions obviously prove the rule.
        (1) Exod 17:4—the curse of Amelek
        (2) Exod 24:4—the laws at Sinai
        (3) Num 33:2—Israel's itinerary in the desert
    iii. His death is recorded.

From these inter-textual markers, four independent, continuous, single narrative sources could be detected from Genesis to Joshua (JEDP) that only later were brought together and edited into the present work.

5. Individual authors of the various sources aimed to produce a single, continuous history but would not tolerate inconsistency, repetition, or narrative digressions; the redactors, on the other hand, were oblivious to and/or comfortable with contradiction and repetition when they combined their documents.
6. D assumed JE but not P, the latter of which revealed a developed monotheism not seen in Israel's early national history. P must therefore be the latest source, and the Pentateuch must not have been completed in its present form until the post-exilic period.

C. Reconstruction of the Hexateuch's Compositional Growth:
1. J=ca. 900 (1000–840) B.C.: J was written by someone from Judah who emphasized biography as well as ethical and religious concerns. It uses the name Yahweh, and is often considered the original thinker who gave shape to the OT idea of the history of salvation.
2. E=ca. 800 (900–700) B.C.: E came from the northern kingdom and displayed more objectivity in his narrative style. It uses the title Elohim, as the name Yahweh was not revealed until Exod 3:15 (E). E is more sensative to moral issues than J, but God is viewed as more distant from man.
3. R^{JE}=ca. 700–650 B.C.: JE were brought together by a redactor. More than a compiler of document, RJE (the Yahwist) was an author (e.g., Sinai pericope) who created a seemless narrative. J formed the basetext, and much of E was redacted out.
4. D=ca. 621 B.C.: D was the book "discovered" and probably written by Hilkiah the high priest during Josiah's "reforms." It incorporated a number of

exhortations and laws that may have been a reaction to the wicked reign of Manasseh. D uses both Yahweh and Elohim.
5. R^JED=ca. 550 B.C.: D was linked with JE by a redactor (RJED), who himself made a few D insertions into the JE narrative.
6. P=ca. 550–450 B.C.: Significantly post-exilic, P consisted of legal and ceremonial material compiled primarily by Ezra. It represents the triumph of the post-exilic priesthood and attempts to justify their form of worship and codify their religion. In Genesis P refers to God as Elohim, because it assumes with E that the divine name Yahweh was first revealed later (cf. Exod 6:3 [P]). It is dominated by genealogies priestly regulations, and very formal narration. The Holiness Code (Lev 18–26) was composed by Ezekiel and incorporated into P by Ezra. That JED antedates P is suggested by Deuteronomy's awareness of JE material but not P material.
7. R^JEDP=ca. 450–200 B.C.: P was combinded with JED to form a continuous narrative, making the Hexateuch complete.

The Rise of Form & Tradition Criticism

During the earliest years following Wellhausen, scholarly attention was focused on the literary sources of the Penateuch with little thought given to the pre-compositional stage(s) in the tradition's development. Scholars generally acknowledged that the authors of the Pentateuchal sources were dependent on oral tradition and that there were elements of the tradition that appeared very old. Nevertheless, Wellhausen and his followers did not consider how the pre-literary history of the Pentateuchal traditions may yield a different picture of Israel's history and religion and did not view study of the pre-compositional stage of the tradition as a research field in its own right.

Through the pioneering efforts of A. Eichorn (1856–1926) at the end of the 19th century, however, the history of religions school was born and with it a growing interest in the tradition behind the text. With Eichorn, figures like William Wrede (1859–1906), Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920), Johannes Weiss (1863–1914) in NT studies, the systematic theologian Ernst Treltsch (1865–1914), and Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932) and Hugo Gressmann (1877–1927) in OT studies brought new methods into uncovering the origin and development of Israel's religion.

I. **The Origin & Contribution of Form & Tradition Criticism**
   A. **Albert Eichorn (1856–1926)**, professor of church history at Halle, focused on the substance and ideas of the biblical text and emphasized the need to trace their origin, development, and transformation in the period *prior* to the (relatively late) written documents.
   B. **Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932)**, the "father of form criticism," applied folktale research to the study of OT narratives in order to wrestle with the pre-literary history of a given textual tradition.
      1. He distinguished between legend (i.e., written accounts based on oral tradition that concentrates on the story of a family and is poetic in form) and history (i.e., written accounts based on written documents that are more political in orientation and prosaic in style) and stressed the need to study systematically the "history of

literary types pracaticed in Israel" (e.g., myths, folktales popular stories, cultic legends, historical narratives, etc.). Assumed was that each "type" arose out of distinct settings in life, and wrestling with the content and character of each form would allow the scholar to penetrate behind the present larger literary context to an earlier stage in the tradition's formation and transmission.

2. Gunkel was followed by **Axel Orlik (1864–1917)** and **Andres Jolles (1874–1946)** who supported and made more concrete Gunkel's form-critical methods. Orlik tried to show what were the distinctive characteristics of oral transmission over against written literature (cf. "Orlik's laws") and Jolles argued that the Patriarchal stories were comparable to Norse sagas that described heroic, tragic, and ancestral adventures. Now armed with apparently scientific methods for analyzing the text, OT scholars were able to content that Genesis in particular had all the traits of oral foktale and ought to be studied accordingly.

3. In contrast to Wellhausen, Gunkel held that J and E are best understood as collectors rather than authors, though they did much to shape a unified narrative so that it is often difficult if not impossible to distinguish between the received oral tradition and the final form. P on the other hand was primarily an author who intentionally reworked past tradition in accordance with his own purposes. The result of Gunkel's arguments was that *many of the traditions related to Israel's cultic practice were considered much earlier than Wellhausen's dating allowed*.

4. Also in contrast to Wellhausen, Gunkel believed the Pentateuchal stories were already joined together at the oral stage of transmission. Specifically, legendary material dealing with specific heroic figures and events became localized at specific sites. In time, these traditions developed into cycles of stories (e.g., Abraham cycle, Joseph cycle; cf. Rendtorff).[2] The question, then, was how these cycles evolved into a national history, and this question was picked up by Alt, Von Rad, and Noth.

C. In two works that came out in 1925 and 1929 respectively, **Albrecht Alt (1883–1956)** laid the foundational framework in the mid-20th century for studying the origin and history of the Pentateuchal traditions in Israel (cf. "The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine" 1925; "The God of the Fathers" 1929). Alt argued that Pentateuch evinced a joining together of various religious traditions from Israel's past. The patriarchal heads (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) each represent an independent tribal group, each of which had its own deity in pre-settlement times. As these tribes settled in Canaan, their gods became identified with the shrines of the various Canaanite deities (the *'Elim*), and the groups melded and merged their traditions into a *fictitious genealogy* of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and imposed the Yahweh tradition on the top. In Alt's view, all this happened *before* the traditions were written down. [Initial critique: In Gen. 46:1, the three patriarchs are together linked to the worship of one deity; furthermore, there are no controls to Alt's approach.]

D. One of Alt's students, **Gerhad von Rad (1901–71)** stressed in his 1938 essay "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch" that the final form of the Hexateuch was

---

[2] Rolf Rendtorff states that in his "effort to dissolve the large contexts and to go back to smaller circles of sagas and to the single sagas as the primary units, [Gunkel] is responsible for the [ultimate] downfall of the documentary hypothesis" ("The Paradigm is Changing: Hopes—and Fears," in *Israel's Past in Recent Research*, ed. V. Philips Long, SBTS [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999], 55).

nothing more than a grand elaboration on a few small "creeds," the earliest of which was recorded in Deut 26:5b–9.

1. The creed of Deut 26:5b–9 and others like it (cf. Deut 6:20–24; Josh 24:2b–13) told of the patriarchs, the exodus, and the land settlement but had no reference to Sinai. In contrast, the Sinai tradition (Exod 19–24) emphasized theophany and covenant but not the patriarchs, exodus, or wilderness wanderings. On this basis von Rad posited that the Sinai tradition once existed independently of Israel's redemptive historical / settlement tradition and was only secondarily imposed upon the earlier form by the Yahwist, who unified the two traditions into one theological narrative tradition—a view already argued by Wellhausen. For von Rad, the Patriarchal promise tradition was originally independent but was transformed by the Yahwist by having them fulfilled in Israel's capturing of the land.

2. Contra Gunkel and Alt, von Rad believed the Pentateuch's form was connected to the literary and not pre-literary stage of the traditions. Specifically, rather than being merely a composer, the Yahwist was the principal author and theologian of the Pentateuch, writing during the latter half of the 10th century. E on the other hand was more restricted in his approach, less free to reshape traditional material. P sought to validate the sacral institutions by connecting them directly to Israel's history of redemption as brought together by the Yahwist. [Initial critique: There is no historical analogy from going from short creed to complex tradition and text; all analogies (e.g., the Christian creeds) go the other way.]

E. Another one of Alt's students, **Martin Noth (1902–68)** in his monumental *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (1948) departed from von Rad and affirmed the arguments of Gunkel and Alt that the literary document known as the Pentateuch was only the final form of material that was in its essential shaped in the pre-literary stage before the Yahwist.

1. Answering the question raised by Alt's work, Noth argued that the progressive coalition of the newly settled clans ultimately took the form of a twelve-tribe sacral confederation (or "amphictyony") known as pre-monarchic Israel. The history of "Israel" is thus confined to the post-settlement period, for pre-settlement is only a witness to disparate semi-nomadic clans, each of which led its own separate existence and maintained its own traditions. Specifically, five major themes were carried into settlement: (1) deliverance from Egypt, (2) the guidance to the fertile land, (3) the promises to the patriarchs, (4) the protection and guidance in the wilderness, and (5) the revelation at Sinai. Each of these traditions developed independently and did not constitute a unified narrative until they were merged after great development through oral tradition into what Noth called G (Grundlage, "base source").

2. Contra von Rad who stressed the creative role of the Yahwist, Noth argued that G (whether oral or written?) was shaped in the amphyctyonic / pre-monarchic period, and in it the decisive stages in the formation of the Pentateuch were accomplished. In time, this single tradition gave rise to the two independent sources we call J and E. Neither J or E was created in dependance on the other but both derived from the common source G, which explains the commonalities of strucutre and content in the two sources. As is seen from its absence in E. the

primeval history was not part of G but should be seen as a key contribution of J, who provided a preface to the salvation history that follows.

3. Also in contrast to von Rad, Noth denied that Joshua should be understood in connection to the Pentateuchal sources. Rather, (1) JEP do not continue beyond Deuteronomy, (2) the corpus of Deut–2 Kgs (DtrH) is the work of a Deuteronomistic author who lived during the exile, and (3) while Deut was composed prior to P, the compositional arrangement of the sources was not JE+D+P but JE+P+DtrH.

II. **The General Consensus by 1970**
   A. **Continuities and Discontinuities between the Major Players:**
      1. Continuities:
         a. General agreement on sources.
         b. The final form has a pre-history that can serve to enlighten the history of Israel.
         c. Developmentalism (animism > polytheism > henotheism > monotheism)
      2. Discontinuities:
         a. Wellhausen, von Rad, & Noth worked in the parameters of OT thought, whereas Gunkel focused on the history of religions school.
         b. Wellhausen did not emphasize pre-literary sources, whereas Gunkel, von Rad, and Noth did.
         c. Contra to Wellhausen, Gunkel, and von Rad who follow the Hexateuch, Noth followed the Tetrateuch + DtrH beginning in Deuteronomy.
         d. Von Rad believed the Yahwist, using early creedal statements, shaped the theological framework of the Hexateuch, wanting to provide a theological history of redemption. In contrast, Noth argued that the principal formation of the Tetrateuch was accomplished by G *before* the Yahwist.

   B. **Summary of the Consensus by Mid-20th Century:** By 1970, any differences (e.g., von Rad's Yahwist vs. Noth's *Grundlage*) were minor compared to the unified voice regarding the general formation and dating of the Pentateuchal materials.

The Documentary Hypothesis by 1970
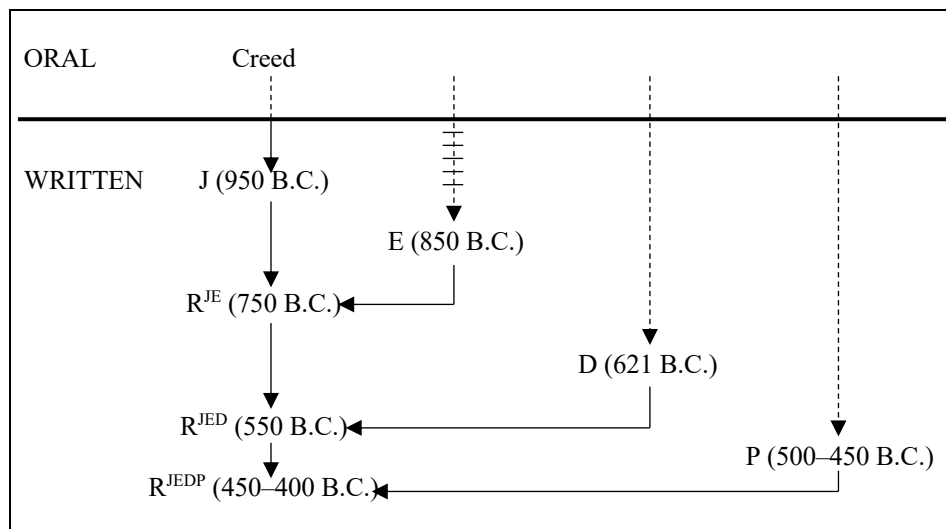
**An Evaluation of the Source Theory and
Recent Development in Pentateuchal Criticism**

I.   **Evaluation of the Source Theory**
    A.   **Introduction:**
        1.   In view of the recent conviction that tradition quickly breaks down when passed along orally, the documentary hypothesis is fundamentally incompatible with belief in even a minimal historical core to the Pentateuch.
        2.   Furthermore, as asserted by Duane A. Garrett: "If the hypothesis is true, then the Pentateuch is essentially fiction. Worse than that, it is a confused self-contradictory fiction with no unified theological message."[3]
    B.   **The legitimate goals and challenge of source analysis:**
        1.   The goal of determining the beginning and ending of a literary unit is both legitimate and necessary, for apparent is the fact that chapter and verse divisions in the Bible are not always reliable indicators of the boundaries of literary units.
        2.   The goal of identifying sources incorporated into a text is not bad in and of itself, for sources are the backbone of books. We know the writers of Scripture often used sources (cf. e.g., 1 Chr 29:29; 2 Chr 9:29; Luke 1:1–4), and there is also clear evidence that composition at times took place in several stages (e.g., Psalms and Proverbs).
        3.   The challenge arises in discussing the nature of these sources and stages.
    C.   **The false assumptions of source analysis:**[4]
        1.   While source criticism sometimes results in the delineation of discrete, well-shaped units that stand on their own, the result more often is internal confusion in each "document" that does not hold clearly together. An example is found in S. R. Driver's proposed source divisions of Genesis 28:10–30:7 (*An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 16) (see next page). While some may respond that details that would make the J and E versions more coherent have been suppressed in the redactional process, this only concedes the point that J and E, as we have them, are incoherent and cannot be used to support the documentary hypothesis.
        2.   Different names for Deity
            a.   The variations are intentional because each name has a unique significance (so U. Cassuto, *The Documentary Hypothesis and the Composition of the Pentateuch*, 15–41).
                i.   Yahweh: the covenantal personal name of God (so the focus of Exodus 6, where Yahweh is the covenant savior)
                ii.   Elohim: the universal, cosmic God (so the focus of Genesis 1)
                iii.   El-shadai: the one who presides over the heavenly court
            b.   Other nations used more than one name for their gods (e.g., Baal = Aleyn Baal = Son of Dagon, etc.). Why should Israel not be allowed this practice?

---

[3] Garrett, "The Undead Hypothesis," 29.

[4] This material is principally drawn from Block, "Introduction to the Old Testament—Part 1," 23–27; Garrett, "The Undead Hypothesis," 32–39.

THE GENESIS ACCOUNT*S* OF JACOB'S DREAM AND MARRIAGES
ACCORDING TO ONE VERSION OF THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS

*As proposed by S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, 16;
prepared by Jason S. DeRouchie (2010)

The Yahwistic Account	*The Elohistic Account*
28:10Jacob left Beersheba and went toward Haran….	28:11And he came to a certain place and stayed there that night, because the sun had set. Taking one of the stones of the place, he put it under his head and lay down in that place to sleep. 12And he dreamed, and behold, there was a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven. And behold, the angels of God were ascending and descending on it!...
13And behold, the LORD stood above it and said, "I am the LORD, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac. The land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring. 14Your offspring shall be like the dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south, and in you and your offspring shall all the families of the earth be blessed. 15Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land. For I will not leave you until I have done what I have promised you." 16Then Jacob awoke from his sleep and said, "Surely the LORD is in this place, and I did not know it."…	17And he was afraid and said, "How awesome is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven." 18So early in the morning Jacob took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up for a pillar and poured oil on the top of it…. **[[*In what follows, Jacob deduces that the deity in his dream was Yahweh and assumes God's presence with him even though he receives no covenant promises; note also the use of "Yahweh" in E.*]]**
19He called the name of that place Bethel, but the name of the city was Luz at the first…. **[[*The text now jumps to Haran without any notice, but the reader of J may think that he is naming some site in Haran "Bethel."*]]**	20Then Jacob made a vow, saying, "If God will be with me and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and clothing to wear, 21so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then the LORD shall be my God, 22and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, shall be God's house. And of all that you give me I will give a full tenth to you." 29:1Then Jacob went on his journey and came to the land of the people of the east…. **[[*Laban now begins to speak without ever being introduced.*]]**
29:2As he looked, he saw a well in the field, and behold, three flocks of sheep lying beside it, for out of that well the flocks were watered. The stone on the well's mouth was large, 3and when all the flocks were gathered there, the shepherds would roll the stone from the mouth of the well and water the sheep, and put the stone back in its place over the mouth of the well. 4Jacob said to them, "My brothers, where do you come from?" They said, "We are from Haran." 5He said to them, "Do you know Laban the son of Nahor?" They said, "We know him." 6He said to them, "Is it well with him?" They said, "It is well; and see, Rachel his daughter is coming with the sheep!" 7He said, "Behold, it is still high day; it is not time for the livestock to be gathered together. Water the sheep and go, pasture them." 8But they said, "We cannot until all the flocks are gathered together and the stone is rolled from the mouth of the well; then we water the sheep." 9While he was still speaking with them, mRachel came with her father's sheep, for she was a shepherdess. 10Now as soon as Jacob saw Rachel the daughter of Laban his mother's brother, and the sheep of Laban his mother's brother, Jacob came near and rolled the stone from the well's mouth and watered the flock of Laban his mother's brother. 11Then Jacob kissed Rachel and wept aloud. 12And Jacob told Rachel that he was her father's kinsman, and that he was Rebekah's son, and she ran and told her father. 13As soon as Laban heard the news about Jacob, his sister's son, he ran to meet him and embraced him and kissed him and brought him to his house. Jacob told Laban all these things, 14and Laban said to him, "Surely you are my bone and my flesh!" And he stayed with him a month…. **[[*The text now switches to a discussion of Jacob's wives, without ever telling us who Leah is or that he married Leah and Rachel.*]]**	15Then Laban said to Jacob, "Because you are my kinsman, should you therefore serve me for nothing? Tell me, what shall your wages be?" 16Now Laban had two daughters. The name of the older was Leah, and the name of the younger was Rachel. 17Leah's eyes were weak, but Rachel was beautiful in form and appearance. 18Jacob loved Rachel. And he said, "I will serve you seven years for your younger daughter Rachel." 19Laban said, "It is better that I give her to you than that I should give her to any other man; stay with me." 20So Jacob served seven years for Rachel, and they seemed to him but a few days because of the love he had for her. 21Then Jacob said to Laban, "Give me my wife that I may go in to her, for my time is completed." 22So Laban gathered together all the people of the place and made a feast. 23But in the evening he took his daughter Leah and brought her to Jacob, and he went in to her….
31When the LORD saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb, but Rachel was barren. 32And Leah conceived and bore a son, and she called his name Reuben, for she said, "Because the LORD has looked upon my affliction; for now my husband will love me." 33She conceived again and bore a	25And in the morning, behold, it was Leah! And Jacob said to Laban, "What is this you have done to me? Did I not serve with you for Rachel? Why then have you deceived me?" 26Laban said, "It is not so done in our country, to give the younger before the firstborn. 27Complete the week of this one, and we will give you the other also in return for serving me another seven years." 28Jacob did so, and completed her week. Then Laban gave him his daughter Rachel to be his wife….
	30So Jacob went in to Rachel also, and he loved Rachel more than Leah, and served Laban for another seven years…. **[[*The transition to Rachel's child-bearing challenges that follows is somewhat abrupt, and we are never told that Leah had bore children that could have caused Rachel's jealousy.*]]**
	30:1When Rachel saw that she bore Jacob no children, she

son, and said, "Because the LORD has heard that I am hated, he has given me this son also." And she called his name Simeon. ³⁴Again she conceived and bore a son, and said, "Now this time my husband will be attached to me, because I have borne him three sons." Therefore his name was called Levi. ³⁵And she conceived again and bore a son, and said, "This time I will praise the LORD." Therefore she called his name Judah. Then she ceased bearing…. **[[*Now the voice of the main character switches to Rachel without notice of the shift, and no clarity is offered as to whom Bilhah is serving as a surrogate mother; we don't even know Rachel is Jacob's second wife!*]]** ³⁰:³ᵇ "That even I may have children through her." ⁴So she gave him her servant Bilhah as a wife, and Jacob went in to her. ⁵And Bilhah conceived and bore Jacob a son…. ⁷Rachel's servant Bilhah conceived again and bore Jacob a second son.	envied her sister. She said to Jacob, "Give me children, or I shall die!" ²Jacob's anger was kindled against Rachel, and he said, "Am I in the place of God, who has withheld from you the fruit of the womb?" ³ᵃThen she said, "Here is my servant Bilhah; go in to her, so that she may give birth on my behalf…." **[[*In the verse that follows, Rachel praises God for a son, but the text is not clear who bore the son—Rachel or Bilhah.*]]** ⁶Then Rachel said, "God has judged me, and has also heard my voice and given me a son." Therefore she called his name Dan.

Later editorial additions:
²⁹:²⁴Laban gave his female servant Zilpah to his daughter Leah to be her servant.
²⁹Laban gave his female servant Bilhah to his daughter Rachel to be her servant.

c. The distinctions are not maintained consistently.
  i. Genesis 2–4 is traditionally assigned to J, but in it we read not only "Yahweh" but "Yahweh Elohim."
  ii. Genesis 22:11 is traditionally assigned to E, but it uses "Yahweh."
  iii. E and P both use Elohim.
d. Since the names are used interchangeably elsewhere, the alteration may be unconscious, or it may be that the use of one title over another bears theological significance (e.g., in the Jacob narrative where he only used Elohim until he meets God and then uses Yahweh).
e. There is no legitimate reason why the proposed sources would have refrained from using the different names. No one questions that J knew the word Elohim, and no one has proposed theological reasons why J would have avoided it. Similarly, while some propose that E and P writers thought that Israelites did not know of the divine name Yahweh until the time of Moses (a conclusion based on faulty exegesis of Gen. 4:26; Exod. 3:13–15; 6:24), there is no reason for them to avoid using the name in patriarchal stories except when they were directly quoting a character whom they believed did not yet know the name. Indeed, we would expect P to use Yahweh in his patriarchal narrative in order to establish continuity with the Exodus.
3. Variations in language and style
  a. Style depends on context and is not a mark of authorship. One person is capable of writing many different types of material. Shakespeare wrote sonnets, tragedies, comedies, and prose.
  b. The alteration of words may be purely stylistic for the sake of variation, or it may be due to distinct nuances of meaning, even unknown to us.
  c. The "arid" style of the genealogies of P is simply a by-product of their nature as genealogies and has nothing to do with their being written in a different style. Furthermore, the genealogies of J look just like those of P.

———————

4. "Contradictions" and divergences in view
   a. <u>General note</u>: Every "contradiction" has to be examined on a case-by-case basis, but apparent contradictions hardly sustain the documentary hypothesis. The key teaching of the passages must be emphasized. Inconsistencies can be forced on anybody's writing if one is determined to do so.
   b. *Inconsistencies in the flood account.* Whereas Genesis 6:20 calls for one pair of every kind of animal to be brought on the ark, 7:2 says to bring seven pairs of clean animals. This difference is easily explained if 7:1–2 provides the precise figure given immediately before the flood, whereas 6:20 is a general figure given before the ark was built. Provision had to be made to ensure that there would be sufficient livestock after the flood, and thus the higher number of clean animals.
   c. *The inconsistent use of the term Levite.* The solution is best explained within the context of the history of Israel as it is traditionally and canonically understood (see Garrett, *Rethinking Genesis,* ch. 11).
   d. *Distinct portraits of God.* God is not a stone. He adapts his methods to meet the needs of people and circumstances.
   e. *Different means of worship.* The view that approaching God by prayer and ritual is contradictory is highly subjective. Both are true.
   f. *Human faults.* The Bible is the most honest book of antiquity. Where it appears to tone down faults in descriptive material, the prescriptive texts must still serve as the norms for proper behavior.
5. Duplicate accounts and / or repetitions
   a. General comments:
      i. In an ancient text, there is no stronger indication that a single document is present than parallel accounts. For example, in the Ugaritic Epic of Keret, large portions of the text are repeated verbatim (albeit from different perspectives). Similarly, in Genesis 24, a great deal of vv. 12–27 is repeated in vv. 34–48, albeit from the servant's perspective.
      ii. If two or more separate events were perceived to be similar to one another, ancient writers tended to give accounts of the events in parallel fashion, highlighting the similarities. In Kings, for example, a common formula is used of all northern kings to highlight their common evil in departing from Yahweh.
   b. Creation
      i. Genesis 2 does not claim to duplicate Genesis 1 as a description of the creation of the world. Rather, Genesis 2 may be interpreted as a complementary exposition that officially begins the narrative history that runs all the way to the end of Ezra-Nehemiah. Genesis 1:1–2:3 is a foundation introduction to the whole, introducing the biblical worldview in light of initial creation.
      ii. Even if Genesis 2 is repetitious at points, the technique of recapitulation was common to all Semites.

      c.   The naming of Beersheba
- i. The details of the two accounts in Genesis 21:31 and 26:33 are actually different.
- ii. Genesis 26 may well be seen as a covenant renewal.
- iii. In Genesis 21, Abimelech seizes the well, which is not so in ch. 26.
- iv. Abimelech and Phicol could be the same men, with one or both of the "names" being official titles rather than personal names.
- v. Abraham was an old man in ch. 21. Isaac also needs a well, and therefore, he renews the covenant.
- vi. In Genesis 26:17 the wells are filled up by the Philistines; Isaac does need to reclaim them.

6. Signs of composite structure—the flood:
   a. An unbiased reader does not recognize the fine distinctions proposed by the document critics.
   b. Nothing of that which is attributed to J is incompatible with P.
   c. Whereas Genesis 6:10–22 is attributed to P and 7:1–5 to J, the two texts, while containing some repetition, are actually consecutive. The P material is prior to the building of the ark and the J material is a speech of God after its completion but prior to the beginning of the flood. The repletion heightens the dramatic anticipation of the deluge to follow and is not indicative of two separate documents having been combined.
   d. Similarly, Genesis 7:21 and 22 are viewed as redundant, with v. 21 being assigned to P and v. 22 to J. However, the two verses are simply chiastic: (A) They perished (B) Every living thing that moves on the earth… (B') Everything that has the breath of the living spirit… (A') They died. This suggests a single, unified narration (so F. Anderson, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew*, 40).
   e. Gordon J. Wenham has also observed a high level of literary balance and symmetry of structure that would be lost if the flood account was not originally a unified whole (so "The Coherence of the Flood Narrative," *Vetus Testamentum* 28 [1978] 338).

Fig. 1.2. The Unified Structure of the Flood Narrative in Genesis 6:10–9:19
Gordon J. Wenham, "The Coherence of the Flood Narrative," *Vetus Testamentum* 28 (1978): 338

A	Noah (6:10a)
B	Shem, Ham, and Japheth (10b)
C	Ark to be built (14–16)
D	Flood announced (17)
E	Covenant with Noah (18–20)
F	Food in the ark (21)
G	Command to enter the ark (7:1–3)
H	7 days waiting for flood (4–5)
I	7 days waiting for flood (7–10)
J	Entry to ark (11–15)
K	Yahweh shuts Noah in (16)
L	40 days of flood (17a)
M	Waters increase (17b–18)
N	Mountains covered (19–20)
O	150 days waters prevail ([21]–24)
P	**GOD REMEMBERS NOAH (8:1–2)**
O′	150 days waters abate (3)
N′	Mountain tops visible (4–5)
M′	Waters abate (5)
L′	40 days (end of) (6a)
K′	Noah opens window of ark (6b)
J′	Raven and dove leave ark (7–9)
I′	7 days waiting for waters to subside (10–11)
H′	7 days waiting for waters to subside (12–13)
G′	Command to leave the ark (15–17[22])
F′	Food outside the ark (9:1–4…)
E′	Covenant with all flesh (8–10)
D′	No flood in the future (11–17)
C′	Ark (18a)
B′	Shem, Ham, and Japheth (18b)
A′	Noah (19)

7. Anachronisms
   a. General statement: No one questions that the grammar and some geographical references have been updated to clarify for later generations the meaning of the text; this is a far cry for complete editorial overhaul.
   b. The Philistines
      i. While it is true that the Philistine inscriptions begin only in the 12th century, much of their early trade was in perishable goods. It is well known that at this time trade was wide spread in the Mediterranean, and Aegean goods have been found at Ras Shamra.
      ii. Furthermore, ethnic names were not used with modern precision. Deriving from Crete, the Philistines were a mixture of Sea Peoples, Caphtorites, Pelethites, etc. These were not carefully distinguished by name. (See Kitchen, "Philistines," *People in Old Testament Times*.)
      iii. Just because Ramses II is the first to mention the Philistines on his stele in 1195 does not mean that they were not in the area prior to that. This is an argument from silence.

      c.   Camels
- i. The first archaeological mention of the domesticated camel is on a cuneiform tablet dated in the 18th century B.C. (Cf. J. Zarins, *ABD* 1:824–26.)
- ii. The Scriptures agree with archaeology that, although camels were domesticated early, their use was not widespread.

      d.   Key expressions:
- i. "Before any king ruled in Israel"
  - (1) Mosaic authorship does not demand that every word was written by Moses. A later scribe may have inserted this as an observation, but he did so without doing any violence to the truthfulness of the text, and with the blessing of the Holy Spirit.
  - (2) This stated, Moses elsewhere predicated the day when a king would be ruling in Israel (Deut. 17:14–20), and a royal Messianic hope is found from the earliest parts of Genesis (3:15; 17:6, 16; 22:17b–18; 35:11; 49:8–10; Num. 24:17–19).
- ii. "The Canaanites were then in the land": There never was a time when the Canaanites were not in the Land, even after David's consolidation of the empire. This is imply a statement explaining why Abraham was prevented from taking the land.

8. Textual references to Moses
   a. The use of the third person is common in early histories: Xenophon, *Anabasis*; J. Ceasar, *The Galic Wars*.
   b. The fact that specific portions are attributed to Moses is more an argument for Mosaic authorship (he was involved in some writing task) than against it.
   c. The comment regarding Moses' death and succession at the end of the Pentateuch (Deut. 34:1–12) was likely an obituary or epilogue added by the editor of Deuteronomy who introduced the book (Deut. 1:1–4), clarified geo-historical data (2:10–11, 20–23; 3:9, 11, 13b–14; 10:6–7), and seamed together Moses' messages (e.g., 1:5; 4:41–43, 44–5:1a; 29:1). The presence of such an editor in Deuteronomy is suggested within the final form of the text itself, for to Moses, the Promised Land to the west was considered "beyond the Jordan" (Deut. 3:20, 25; 11:30; cf. Num. 32:19), where, for the editor, Moses and Israel's placement in Moab was "beyond the Jordan" (Deut. 1:1, 5; 3:8, 35; 4:41, 46–47, 49). The substantial Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is not called into question with the above view.

D. Conclusion:
1. Traditionally, literary analysis has been defined as source analysis, which is by nature "excavative" or "deconstructive." The attempt was to look behind the final form of the text as it comes to us in order to establish its compositional history. Reconstructing the Pentateuch's compositional history is a highly speculative task, and as R. W. Moberly has stated, "Critical conjectures that depend on reading between the lines are always more persuasive if combined with a cogent reading of the lines themselves" (*The Old Testament of the Old Testament*, 85 n. 4).

2. The effort to establish sources is not by nature wrong, and the authors of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Luke, and likely every other historical book in the Bible used sources where the author himself was not a witness to the events. This means that the presence of sources can still be compatible with the idea of Mosaic authorship (see esp. Garrett, *Rethinking Genesis*).

3. However, any approach to sources must treat the final form with integrity and authority and view it alone as the Scripture of the church. Canonical analysis serves as a helpful corrective to approaches that see only individual trees or parts of trees without accounting for the forest.

4. Since the 1960s, a new, more helpful and balanced form of "literary criticism" has arisen that is focused on the final form. Robert Alter defines it this way (*The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 12): "The manifold varieties of minutely discriminating attention to the artful use of language, to the shifting play of ideas, conventions, tone, sound, imagery, syntax, narrative viewpoint, compositional units, and much else; the kind of disciplined attention in other words, which through a whole spectrum of critical approaches has illuminated [literary works of all kinds]." This kind of analysis is needed more in contemporary OT studies.

II. **Excursus: An Evaluation of *DOTP*'s Articles Related to the Date & Authorship of the Pentateuch** (9/2010 [orig. sum. 2004)

   A. **Introduction:** In an age where the antiquity, historicity, authority, and revelatory nature of Scripture is questioned from all sides, the *DOTP*'s handling of the origin of the Pentateuch is both appreciated and distressing. I will evaluate T. D. Alexander's essay on "Authorship" and then make some brief comments regarding some of the other relevant articles.

   B. **Alexander's Conclusions that I Affirm:**

   1. *The Pentateuchal traditions are not "fictional creations" but "authentic" accounts*, and numerous examples are supplied where the Pentateuchal materials are most at home in an earlier rather than later period in Israel's history (Alexander, 2003: 66–67).

   2. *The Pentateuch is a composite document* made up of various pre-existing materials that were collected and joined into the narrative unity we have today (Alexander, 2003: 63). While never stating whether these pre-existing materials were oral or written, Alexander's stress on the "authenticity" (historicity?) of the accounts suggests the latter, which would mean he takes seriously the evidence that ANE societies "were highly literate and regularly committed material they thought worth remembering to writing" (Garrett, 2003: 868; cf. Waltke, 1986; Garrett, 1991: 41–42, 92, 104–105; Millard, 2003: 910; Kitchen, 2003: 368–71). A long oral process of oral composition, transmission and modification would have "serious implications regarding factual accuracy" (Baker, 2003: 799).

   3. *There are post-mosaic yet early elements in the Pentateuch.* There is evidence that shows that many traditions found in the Pentateuch were known in pre-exilic times (Alexander, 2003: 67–69).

C. Alexander's Questionable Thesis with Comment:

1. <u>Alexander's Thesis</u>: While traditions found in the Pentateuch were known prior to the exile, they were not known from a pre-existing Pentateuch as we have it; rather the Pentateuch was composed later (during the 6th cent.) using earlier traditions (Alexander, 2003: 69, 71).

2. *Later redaction does not necessarily imply inaccuracy*—especially because divine inspiration can be part of a redactional process (so with Gen. 1; Enns, 2002: 395, 397; cf. Garrett, 1991: 191–94). Alexander (2003: 71) views the Pentateuch as a "prophetic interpretation" of history and seems open to inspiration.

3. *The pre-exilic community knew of the Pentateuchal traditions.* Regardless of whether or not Pentateuchal traditions are referred to in the pre-exilic biblical materials, if the ancient historical traditions were not simply divinely revealed into the mind of the Pentateuchal compiler—a view that should be assumed in only a limited amount of texts (like Gen. 1) and that does not accord with what is seen in other OT historical books, which explicitly use sources (e.g., Num 21:14; Josh 10:13; 2 Sam 1:18; 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:29; 15:7, 23, 31; 2 Chr 16:11; 20:34; Ezra 4:11), then one must affirm that at least some people in the pre-exilic community knew of (all?) the ancient traditions in some form (cf. Garrett, 1991: 65–66). This fact begs the question why Alexander focuses the majority of his article on a post-Mosaic and ultimately exilic origin of the Pentateuch.

4. *Need for greater stress on the antiquity of the Pentateuchal traditions.* Although our primary focus as evangelical scholars and churchmen must always remain the biblical text's final form and not a speculative compositional history of a given work, we must stress more than Alexander does the antiquity, authenticity, authority, and historicity of the traditions retained in the Pentateuch, especially because we live in an age where an affirmation of later redactional activity is assumed to mean the work is a literary composite of disjointed, a-historical materials.

D. An Alternative to Alexander's Thesis with Comment

1. <u>My Thesis</u>: With D. I. Block (2001: 400 n.72), "[I]t seems reasonable to suppose that when the Israelites left Sinai [and later crossed the Jordan into Canaan], they carried with them a series of written documents [[i.e., substantially what we know of as Genesis–Numbers]], all of which were deemed normative and canonical, and which were eventually combined with additional narrative materials and the speeches of Deuteronomy to produce the present Pentateuch." While later updating of grammar and vocabulary happened into the post-exilic period, the present shape and meaning of the Pentateuch were likely to have been firmly established by David's reign and perhaps as early as Joshua.

2. *Recognizably, early does not necessarily mean Mosaic.* To affirm an early, even 2nd millennial provenance for the majority of the Pentateuch in no way vindicates a view for substantial Mosaic authorship or an early date for the final form. The Pentateuch makes no explicit claim to its authorship, and D. W. Baker (2003: 799) may be correct that many of the references to the "Law of Moses" and the like outside the Pentateuch are more referential than descriptive (800). Other

biblical texts, however, require that Moses had his hand in writing documents (see Josh 8:32; 2 Chr 34:14; John 5:46–47).

3. *Nevertheless, substantial Mosaic authorship is a rational conclusion.* While early does not necessarily mean Mosaic, large portions of the legal material are attributed directly to Moses (Exod 24:4; 30:11, 17; 33:1, 5; 39:1, 5, 29; Lev 1:1; 4:1; 6:1; Num 4:1; Deut 1:1, 5; 5:1; 31:22, 30; 33:1), and numerous narrative portions imply at the very least a Mosaic origin. Specifically, Moses is often the only one experiencing the narrated incident, and he is also the most likely candidate to have had the knowledge of international royal culture and vocabulary to detail the Israelite-Egyptian interaction found in Exodus (and Genesis?) and to utilize international treaty-type materials (Kitchen, 1994; 2003: 241–312, esp. 295–99 and 306; Garrett, 1991: 83–85; cf. Millard, 1994; Currid, 1997; Klingbeil, 2003: 413–16). These data alone make it not irrational to conclude that Moses is indeed the primary person responsible for the writing of the Pentateuchal materials (cf. Garrett, 1991: 51). But Alexander gives comparatively little space to detailing the arguments for a 2nd millennial origin or for substantial Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and in doing so, he fails to give adequate stress to the foundational and thus antecedent nature of the material to the rest of the Scriptures.

4. *But how much is Mosaic?* How much of the actual composition of the Pentateuch's final form should be attributed to Moses is unclear. With reference to the Genesis materials, where the use of sources is unquestionably an issue, D. A. Garrett has argued that the driving theme of alienation in the book fits best into Israel's history either during the Egyptian and/or wilderness sojourn or the exile, and he makes a strong case for the former (1991: 233–36). This seems likely to me, though G. J. Wenham (2000) has recently argued that the rhetorical features of the Pentateuch's first book point to a date of composition in the early monarchy. Clearly, Genesis and the rest of the Pentateuch is written in standard biblical Hebrew and includes some features that do not suite Mosaic authorship (cf. Baker, 2003: 800). However, none of the proposed "anachronisms" require an exilic or post-exilic date, and statements like "beyond the Jordan" (Gen. 50:10–11; Num 22:1; Deut 1:1, 5) and "to this day" (Gen. 22:14; 26:33; 32:32; 35:20; Deut 2:22; 3:14; 34:6) suggest a perspective from within the land rather than outside of it.

5. *The bulk of the Pentateuch as it comes to us must be dated to early monarchy or before.* (1) The final editing suggests presence *in the land.* (2) Numerous linguistic features tie the Pentateuchal materials to the late 2nd or early 1st millennium, and some may even require a date prior to the 7th cent. BC (cf. Rabin, 1982). (3) The covenant structure evidenced in the Pentateuch is best understood to have grown out of a 2nd millennial rather than 1st millennial context (Kitchen, 2003: 283–307; 1989; 1966: 90–102). (4) Comparative evidence from the ancient Near East suggest that the Pentateuch fits comfortably into a late 2nd millennial/early 1st millennial setting (Kitchen, 2003).

6. *The Pentateuch's Mosaic stamp.* It is increasingly apparent that the whole of Genesis–Numbers bears a "deuteronomic stamp" (cf. Schmid, 1976: 167; Rendtorff, 1990: 94–100, 194–97; *contra* Noth, 1981: 13; cf. Whybray, 1999:

_____

222–25), which, in accordance with the explicit statements regarding Moses' authorship of key elements of Exodus–Numbers and the body of Deuteronomy (Deut 5:1–26:19[?]; cf. e.g., Deut 31:9, 24), means that at a significant level the whole Pentateuch is Mosaic not only in authority but also in origin, and this view does not require that he wrote every word.

E. **Comments on Other Essays:**
1. D. W. Baker on "Source Criticism":
   a. *Positives*: Correct to note the weaknesses and speculative nature of the Documentary Hypothesis, to stress the need for Israel's theology to be historically grounded, and to affirm that the Pent. is indeed a composite document made up of sources (2003: 802–803). While he cautions against viewing Mosaic authorship of the Pent. as an essential doctrine, stating that it "goes beyond what the Scripture itself demands" (2003: 800, cf. 804), he fails to explain adequately texts like John 5:46–47 (cf. Josh 8:32; 2 Chr 34:14) and the significant plausibility for substantial Mosaic authorship of the whole.
   b. *Negatives*: Such an article would have been better had he offered an alternative source theory to the Documentary Hypothesis that handles the text with more respect (on this see Garrett, 1991: 91–182).
2. B. T. Arnold on "Pentateuchal Criticism, History of" and G. A. Klingbeil on "Historical Criticism":
   a. *Positives*: Both Arnold (2003: 630) and Klingeil (2003: 403) stress how the philosophical presuppositions of historical criticism can be easily adapted to a Judeo-Christian perspective where God is central and active in history. Klingbeil (406–16) also argues well for the historical reliability and unity of the Pent. in the face of higher critical distrust.
   b. *Negatives*: Arnold's bibliography on the history of Pent. criticism includes only three works by evangelicals (R. K. Harrison, T. Longman III, G. J. Wenham), and none of the major evangelical contributions to the field are surveyed in the body of his essay (e.g., Kline, 1963; Kitchen, 1966; Harrison, 1969; Wenham, 1971; Archer, 1973; McConville, 1984; Rooker, 1990; Garrett, 1991; Moberly, 1992)—and this in a *Dictionary* that proffers to show "some possible ways forward for evangelical scholarship" (*DOTP* cover).
3. Others: The articles on "Form Criticism" (Taylor, 2003), "Traditio-Hisotrical Criticism" (Garrett, 2003), "Literary/Narrative Criticism" (Hawk, 2003), and "Social-Scientific Approaches" (Matthews, 2003) did not directly comment on the dating or authorship of the Pent.

F. **Conclusion:** The *DOTP* provides a remarkable array of articles and gives ample space to questions of Pentateuchal criticism—nearly 1/10 of the *Dictionary*. Often, however, the articles major on survey and minor on evaluation and thus fail to give a clear evangelical voice. The articles by Klingbeil and Garrett are exceptions, as are those by Alexander and Baker, though the latter two fail in other respects. Alexander fails to stress adequately the antiquity, accuracy, and authority of the Pentateuchal materials and Baker fails to provide a clear conservative alternative to the Documentary Hypothesis. Nevertheless, for a work designed to interact with contemporary

Pentateuchal scholarship, it provides a good introduction from a conservative perspective.

G. **Bibliography:**

Alexander, T. D., 2003. "Authorship of the Pentateuch." In *DOTP* 61–72.

Archer, G. L., Jr., 1973. *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction.* Chicago: Moody.

Arnold, B. T., 2003. "Pentateuchal Criticism, History of." In *DOTP* 622–31.

Baker, D. W., 2003. "Source Criticism." In *DOTP* 798–805.

Block, D. I., 2001. "Recovering the Voice of Moses: The Genesis of Deuteronomy." *JETS* 44: 385–408.

Currid, J. D., 1997. *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids: Baker.

Enns, P., 2002. "William Henry Green and the Authorship of the Pentateuch: Some Historical Considerations." *JETS* 45: 385–403.

Garrett, D. A., 1991. *Rethinking Genesis: The Sources and Authorship of the First Book of the Pentateuch* Grand Rapids: Baker.

_____. 2003. "Traditio-Historical Criticism." In *DOTP* 864–70.

Harrison, R. K., 1969. *Introduction to the Old Testament.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Hawk, L. D., 2003. "Literary/Narrative Criticism." In *DOTP* 536–44.

Kline, M. G., 1963. *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenantal Structure of Deuteronomy.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Klingbeil, G. A., 2003. "Historical Criticism." In *DOTP* 401–420.

Kitchen, K. A., 1966. *Ancient Orient and Old Testament.* Chicago: Inter-Varisty.

_____, 1989. "The Fall and Rise of Covenant, Law, and Treaty." *TynB* 40: 118–35.

_____, 1994. "Genesis 12–50 in the Near Eastern World." In *He Swore an Oath: Biblical Themes in Genesis 12–50*, ed. R. S. Hess, G. J. Wenham, and P. E. Satterthwaite, 67–92. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker.

_____, 2003. *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Matthews, V. P., 2003. "Social-Scientific Approaches." In *DOTP* 787–93.

McConville, J. G., 1984. *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy.* JSOTSup 33. Sheffield: JSOT.

Millard, A. R., 1994. "Abraham, Akhenaten, Moses and Monotheism." In *He Swore an Oath: Biblical Themes in Genesis 12–50*, ed. R. S. Hess, G. J. Wenham, and P. E. Satterthwaite, 119–29. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker.

_____. 2003. "Writing." In *DOTP* 904–911.

Moberly, R. W. L., 1992. *The Old Testament of the Old Testament.* Minneapolis: Fortress.

Noth, M., 1981. *The Deuteronomistic History*, trans. J. Doull, J. Barton, and M. D. Rutter. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield: JSOT; orig. German, 1957.

Rabin, C., 1982. "Discourse Analysis and the Dating of Deuteronomy." In *Interpreting the HB*, Festschrift for E. I. J. Rosenthal, ed. J. A. Emerton and S. C. Reif, 171–77. UCOP 32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rendtorff, R., 1990. *The Problem of the Process of the Transmission of the Pentateuch,* trans. J. J. Scullion. JSOTSup 89. Sheffield: JSOT; orig. German, 1977.

Rooker, M., 1990. *Hebrew in Transition: the Language of the Book of Ezekiel.* JSOTSup 90. Sheffield: JSOT.

Schmid, H. H., 1976. *Der sogenannte Jahwist.* Zurich.

Taylor, R. A., 2003. "Form Criticism." In *DOTP* 336–43.

Waltke, B. K., 1986. "Oral Tradition." In *A Tribute to Gleason Archer*, ed. W. C. Kaiser Jr. and R. F. Youngblood, 17–34. Chicago: Moody.

Wenham, G. J., 1971. "The Structure and Date of Deuteronomy: A Consideration of Aspects of the History of Deuteronomy Criticism and a Re-examination of the Question of Structure and Date in the Light of that History and of the Near Eastern Treaties." Ph.D. diss., London University.

_____, 2000. *Story as Torah: Reading the Old Testament Ethically.* OTS. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Whybray, R. N., 1987. *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study*. JSOTSup 53. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

III. Recent Developments in Pentateuchal Criticism

A. **Introduction:** The consensus established by Gerhand von Rad and Martin Noth began to unravel as early as the mid-1960s, as scholars began to reexamine and reject key aspects of their proposals. Scholars challenged the principle of source analysis and began questioning the dating of the sources themselves. They denounced von Rad's claim that the Yahwist was early and that Israel's ancient traditions originated from little creeds. Furthermore, they rejected Noth's theory regarding Israelite origins and the amphictyony, which once again raised the question as to how the Pentateuchal traditions could have arisen. A number of proposals have come forward, and they can generally be divided into diachronic and synchronic approaches.

B. **Diachronic Approaches**

C. **Synchronic Approaches**

A.2.2. Linguistic Analysis and the Dating of the Pentateuch
Jason S. DeRouchie, PhD

While the overall grammar of the Pentateuch and the rest of the Hebrew Bible [HB] is similar, there are features of orthography, morphology/vocabulary, and discourse structure that make the Pent. Distinctive and suggest an earlier date for the majority of its content, if not its final form. I will handle each in turn, addressing along the way the suggestion of minimalists that these features are better attributed to archaizing tendencies of those who "created" the Scriptures in the Persian period (so e.g., Thompson, Van Seters, Whybray, Lemche, Davies).

I. **Orthography**
   - *Archaic spelling.* F. I. Andersen and A. D. Forbes (1986: 288–308) recognized a cluster of forms in the Pentateuch that used less vowel letters, thus preserving spellings more archaic than those found in the rest of the OT. The fact that the defective spellings are substantially grouped in the Pentateuch alone discourages a view that the entire HB was written at the same time, even though the grammar as whole is unified (*contra* Whybray, 1987 = 5th cent. date; Davies, 1992 = 3rd cent. date). That there is a consistent biblical Hebrew grammar, however, does suggest that the Pentateuch, though written earlier, was edited or updated at a later period so that its language would conform to that of the remainder of the Bible (Hess, 2003: 494; cf. K. A. Kitchen, 2003: 304–306).

II. **Morphology/Vocabulary**
   - *Archaic poetic forms.* F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman (1955) have cogently argued for the presence of *yaqtul* forms in the poetry of Exod 15—forms that do not appear in biblical narrative or in the later poetry of the Bible but that do occur in abundance in the 14th cent. Amarna materials from Palestine (cf. Rainey, 1996: 222–27; Cross and Freedman, 1997). Poetry naturally resists updating due to its poetic forms and structure, and thus older features would be expected to be preserved even when the rest of the language was changing. The Hebrew of Exod 15 suggests that it was written in the 2nd millennium.
   - *Archaic pronoun form.* G. Rendsburg (1982) proposed that the peculiar third *common* personal pronoun awIh, which occurs some 120 times in the Pent. And only 3 times elsewhere (cf. 1 Kgs 17:15; Isa 30:33; Job 31:11), is not an artificial form or scribal error but one of many genuine Hebrew forms that resulted from Hittite and Hurrian influence on Israel during the Late Bronze Age (1550–1200 BC) or immediately thereafter. He posits that during the centuries after Israel's initial conquest of Canaan, as the people assimilated more into the culture, the normal Canaanite/Semitic usage was adopted with clear differentiation between the 3f. and 3m. forms.
   - *Broader word usage.* A. R. Millard (2003: 907) has noted that in the Pent. The single word rRpEs refers to all types of written texts, whereas the terms "roll" (hD;lIgVm) and "little roll" (NowyD;lI…g) found in other biblical books are absent, as is any trace of the Aramaic and Persian words that appear in Ezra, Nehemiah, Daniel, Esther, and Chronicles (MD…gVtI;p "word," NrgRvVtI;p "copy," h∂rV…gIa "letter," t®rR…gIa "letter," NDw√;tVvIn "letter"). While the absence of evidence is not the evidence of absence, the use of rRpEs in the Pent. Suggests to Millard a pre-exilic origin for the Pent.

- *Different word usage.* In a series of studies, A. Hurvitz (1981, 1982, 1988) has noted ten Priestly terms that are absent from Ezekiel where one would expect them. With this, his student M. Paran (1983) has pointed to twenty-two Priestly terms that are replaced by synonyms in Ezekiel and post-exilic books. While some may deduce that the so-called Priestly materials are guilty of archaizing (so Cross, 1973: 322–23), Hurvitz profoundly notes that one may only posit archaizing if "one can furnish positive evidence proving the existence of *late* linguistic elements in the same work" (1982: 163; cited by Milgrom, 1992: 5.459).
- *Different word meanings.* J. Milgrom (1992: 5:459) has argued for a pre-exilic date of the Priestly materials by noting that the term t®rRmVvIm has undergone a change of meaning from "guard duty" in the early biblical literature to "service unit" in the late literature. Moreover, the term h∂;dUbSo also went a change, and its meaning in later biblical literature ("physical labor") "is incompatible with, and even contradictory to, its predecessor" ("cultic service"). The evolution of both of these terms cut across any argument for anachronism in the post-exilic period.
- *Archaic names.* There are numerous proper names (both place and personal) in the Pent. That are frequent in 2nd millennial contexts and yet less frequent or non-existent in the 1st millennium (Hess, 1993, 1996, 1997, 2003; Kitchen, 1994: 80–86; 2003: 341–43, 345–47; Klingbeil, 2003: 414–15). With this, the fact that a number of the unique proper names are related to insignificant people or places makes their appropriation in the Persian period very unlikely, for they would have probably not been preserved outside the narrative within which they occur (Hess, 2003: 496). Furthermore, theophoric elements in names are almost if not totally absent from the Pent., whereas they occur in great number in the historical books (Hess, 2003: 496–97; cf. Wenham, 1980: 180–83; Kitchen, 2003: 417–18). Finally, the verbal *yod* prefix represented at the beginning of the patriarchal names of Isaac, Jacob, Ishmael, Joseph was regular during the early and mid-2nd millennium but much less common in the later 2nd millennium and early 1st millennium (Kitchen, 2003: 341–43).

III. **Discourse structure**

- *Archaic style.* In his essay titled "Discourse Analysis and the Dating of Deuteronomy," C. Rabin (1982) noted that because Moses' speeches in Deuteronomy include no extensive and systematic use of parallelism as is found in the prophets of the late monarchy. He thus concluded that the book should be dated to the early monarchy and aligned with the "old rhetoric" style of figures like Elijah and Elisha.

Although the Pentateuch as a whole is grammatically consistent with the rest of the HB, it does bear features of orthography (spelling), morphology (vocabulary), and discourse structure that set it a part as having an earlier origin. In many cases, extra-biblical comparative evidence links these features solely to a 2nd millennial context, which renders unlikely the view that they are merely the result of archaizing tendencies in the post-exilic period. Furthermore, some terms linked with the so-called Priestly materials are either not found or appear to have undertaken different meanings in the post-exilic times, rendering the archaizing argument very implausible. On the basis of the linguistic evidence alone, therefore, the Pentateuch appears not to have been an invention of the Persian Period but rather to have been written earlier and then later edited or updated so that its language would conform with the rest of the Scriptures (cf. Hess, 2003: 494). A number of older linguistic features, however, refused modernization.

Bibliography:

Andersen, F. I., and A. D. Forbes, 1986. *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*. Rome.

Cross, F. M., Jr., 1973. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Cross, F. M., Jr., and D. N. Freedman, 1955. "The Song of Miriam." *JNES* 14: 237–50.

_____, 1997. *Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry.* Biblical Resource. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; repr. from 1975.

Davies, P. R., 1992. *In Search of 'Ancient Israel.'* JSOTSup 148. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

Hess, R. S., 1993. *Studies in the Personal Names of Genesis 1–11*. AOAT 234. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker.

_____, 1996. "Non-Israelite Personal Names in the Book of Joshua." *CBQ* 58: 205–14.

_____, 1997. "Getting Personal: What Names in the Bible Teach Us" *BRev* 13.6: 30–37.

_____, 2003. "Language of the Pentateuch." In *DOTP* 495–97.

Hurvitz, A., 1981. "The Language of the Priestly Source and Its Historical Setting—the Case for an Early Date." *PWCJS* 8:83–94.

_____, 1982. *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel.* CahRB 20. Rome.

_____, 1988. "Dating the Priestly Source in Light of the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew a Century after Wellhausen. *BZAW* 100: 88–99.

Klingbeil, G. A., 2003. "Historical Criticism." In *DOTP* 401–420.

Kitchen, K. A., 1994. "Genesis 12–50 in the Near Eastern World." In *He Swore an Oath: Biblical Themes in Genesis 12–50*, ed. R. S. Hess, G. J. Wenham, and P. E. Satterthwaite, 67–92. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker.

_____, 2003. *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Millard, A. R., 2003. "Writing." In *DOTP* 904–911.

Milgrom, J., 1992. "Priestly ('P') Source." In *ABD* 5:454–61.

Paran, M., 1983. "Literary Features of the Priestly Code: Stylistic Patterns, Idioms, and Structures." Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University (Hebrew).

Rabin, C., 1982. "Discourse Analysis and the Dating of Deuteronomy." In *Interpreting the HB*, Festschrift for E. I. J. Rosenthal, ed. J. A. Emerton and S. C. Reif, 171–77. UCOP 32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rainey, A. 1996. *Canaanite in the Amarna Tablets: A Linguistic Analysis of the Mixed Dialect Used by Scribes from Canaan*, 2: *Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Verbal System*. HO 25. Ledien: Brill.

Rendsburg, G. A., 1982. "A New Look at Pentateuchal *HW'*." *Bib* 63: 351–69.

Wenham, G. J., 1980. "The Religion of the Patriarchs." In *Essays on the Patriarchal Narratives*, ed. A. R. Millard and D. J. Wiseman, 157–88. Leicester: Inter-Varsity.

Whybray, R. N., 1987. *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study*. JSOTSup 53. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.